



Henrie the fift, prince of Wales, sonne and heire to Henrie the fourth.



An. Reg. 1.

Will. Perren.
Bachman
per. Boncar.
1572.

Henrie prince of Wales, son and heire to R. Henrie the fourth, borne in Wales at Monmouth on the riuer of Wye, after his father was departed toke vpon him the regiment of this realme of England, the twentieth of March, the morrow after proclaimed king, by the name of Henrie the fift, in the yeare of the world 5375, after the birth of our saviour, by our account 1413, the third of the emperor Sigismund: the thirde and thirtieth of Charles the first French king, and in the seventh yeare of gouernance in Scotland vnder Robert brother to him that (before entrance into his kingdome 1390) had John to name, which by deuile and order of the states was changed into Robert the third, who at Rossaie (a towne in the Island of Got, 1406) decessed by occasion thus. As vpon hope in this gouernor, to himselfe concluded how to come to the crowne, he at the castell of Falkland, latelie had famisht his cosine Dauid the kings elder sonne and heire (a dissolute yong prince) yet to his fathers exceeding sorrow, at whose decess the father berie carefull, and casting for the safeguard of James his yonger son and heire, from Basse the rocke in a well appointed ship, vnder charge of Henrie Saintclere earle of Dykeneie, into France to his old friend king Charles for good education and safetie this yong prince he sent: who in the course, whether for tempest or tendernes of stomach, toke land in Poitshyre at Flamboyrow, that after by wisdome and good consideration of the king and his counsell was thought verie necessarie here to be retained. But by the sudden netwes of this staie, the father (at supper as he sat) so stroken at hart that well neight had he fallen doونه dead, yet borne into his chamber, where for greefe and pine within thre daies next he decessed. The yong king James his sonne after an eightene peares staie, in which time he had bene well trained in princehood, at last with right honorable marriage at saint Marie Queries vnto Iane daughter to the earle of Summerset, consine vnto Henrie the first then king, and with manie other high gratuities here beside was sent and set in his rule and kingdome at home.

Such great hope, and good expectation was had of this mans fortunate successe to follow, that within thre daies after his fathers decess, diuerse noble men and honorable personages did to him homage, and swore to him due obedience, which had not bene sene done to any of his predecessors kings of this realme, till they had bene possessed of the crowne. He was crowned the ninth of Aprill being Passon sondaie, which was a fore, rugged, and tempestuous day, with wind, snow andleet, that men greatlie maruelled thereat, making diuerse interpretations what the same might signifie. But this king euen at

first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his person princelie honors should change publike manners, he determined to put on him the shape of a new man. For whereas aforetime he had made himselfe a companion vnto multie mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence (but not vntowarded, or else vnpreferred) in his biting them vpon a great paine, not once to approach, lodge, or sojourne within ten miles of his court or presence: and in their places he chose men of grauitie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise counsell he might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie; calling to mind how once to his offense of the king his father, he had with his fist stricken the chafe iustice for sending one of his minions (vpon desert) to prison, when the iustice stoutlie commanded himselfe also to ward, & he (then prince) obeyed. The king after expelled him out of his princie counsell, banished him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his yonger brother) president of counsell in his stead. This reformation in the new king Christ. Okl. hath reported, fullie consenting with this. For saith he,

*Ille inter iuuenes paulo lasciuior ante,
Defuncto genitore grauius constansq; repente,
Moribus ablegat corruptis regis ab aula
Assuetos socios, & nugatoribus acrem
Penam (si quisquam sua tella reuiserit) addit,
Atq; ita mutatus facit omnia principe digna,
Ingemo magno post consultoribus usus, &c.*

In Angl. prel.
sub Hen. 5.

But now that the king was once placed in the royal seat of the realme, he vertuously considering in his mind, that all goodnesse cometh of God, determined to begin with some thing acceptable to his diuine maiestie, and therefore commanded the cleargie sincerelie and trulie to preach the word of God, and to liue accordingly, that they might be the lanternes of light to the temporallie, as their profession required. The laie men he willed to serue God, and obeie their prince, prohibiting them aboue all things breach of matrimonie, custome in swearing; and namelie, with full perturie. Beside this, he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the realme, to the offices of iustice; and men of good liuing, he preferred to high degrees and authoritie. Immediatlie after Easter he called a parlement, in which diuerse good statutes, and wholesome ordinances, for the preservation and advancement of the common-wealth were deuised and established. On Trinitie sondaie were the solemne exequies done at Canturburie for his father, the king himselfe being present thereat.

About the same time, at the speciall instance of the king, in a conuocation of the cleargie holden at Paulies in London, it was ordeined, that saint Georges his daie should be celebrate and kept as a double feast. The archbishop of Canturburie meant to haue honored saint Dunstons daie with like reuerence, but it toke not effect. When the king had setled things much to his purpose, he caused the bodie of king

A parliament.

Thom. Walsin.
The funerals
of king Henrie
the fourth
kept at Canturburie.S. Georges
day made a
double feast.

Abr. Pi. out
Polychron.

king Richard to be removed with all funerall dignitie convenient for his estate, from Langley to Westminister, where he was honorable interred with quene Anne his first wife, in a solemne tombe erected and set up at the charges of this king. & Polychronicon saith, that after the bodie of the dead king was taken up out of the earth, this new king (happily tendering the magnificence of a prince, and abhorring obscure buriall) caused the same to be conveyed to Westminister in a rotall seat (or chaire of estate) covered all over with blacke velvet, & adorned with banners of divers armes round about. All the horses likewise (saith this author) were apparelled with blacke, and bare sundrie lutes of armes. Many other solemnities were had at his interment, according to the qualitie of the age wherein he lived and died.

Also in this first yere of this kings reigne, sir John Mordaunt, which by his wife was called lord Cobham, a valiant capteine and a hardie gentleman, was accused to the archbishop of Canturburie of certeine points of heresie, who knowing him to be highlie in the kings favour, declared to his highnesse the whole accusation. The king first having compassion of the noble man, required the prelates, that if he were a strayed sheepe, rather by gentleness than by rigor, to reduce him to the fold. And after this, he himselfe sent for him, and right earnestlie exhorted him, and lovinglie admonished him to reconcile himselfe to God and to his lawes. The lord Cobham not onely thanked him for his most favourable clemencie, but also declared first to him by mouth, and afterwards by writing, the foundation of his faith, and the ground of his beleefe, affirming his grace to be his suppreme head and competent iudge, and none other person, offering an hundred knights and esquiers to come to his purgation, or else to fight in open lists in defense of his iust cause.

The king understanding and perswaded by his counsell, that by order of the lawes of his realme, such accusations touching matters of faith ought to be tried by his spirituall prelates, sent him to the Tower of London, there to abide the determination of the clergie, according to the statutes in that case provided, after which time a solemne session was appointed in the cathedra church of saint Paule, upon the three and twentieth day of September, and another the five and twentieth daie of the same moneth, in the hall of the Blacke friers at London, in which places the said lord was examined, apoled, and fully heard, and in conclusion by the archbishop of Canturburie denounced an heretike, & remitted againe to the Tower of London, from which place, either by helpe of friends, or favour of keepers, he privilie escaped and came unto Wales, where he remained for a season.

After this, the king keeping his Christmasse at his manor of Eltham, was advertised, that sir Roger Acton knight, a man of great wit and possessions, John Browne esquier, John Buewerlie priest, and a great number of other were assembled in armour against the king, his brethren, the clergie and realme. These newes came to the king, on the twelfth daie in Christmasse, whereupon understanding that they were in a place called Ficket field beside London, on the backe side of saint Giles, he straight got him to his palace at Westminister, in as secret wise as he might, and there calling to him certeine bands of armed men, he repaired into saint Giles fields, nere to the said place (where he understood they should fullie meet about midnight) and so handled the matter, that he took some, and slew some, such as stood with his pleasure. The captives of them afore mentioned, being apprehended, were brought to the kings presence, and to him declared the causes of their commotion

& rising, accusing a great number of their complices.

The king vied one policie, which much served to the discomfiting of the adversaries (as Thom. Walsingham saith) which was this: he gave order, that all the gates of London should be strictly kept and garded, so as none should come in or out, but such as were knownen to go to the king. Whereby came it to passe, that the chiefeest succour appointed to come to the captives of the rebels, was by that meanes cut off, where otherwise suertie (had it not bene thus prevented and staied) there had issued forth of London to have joined with them, to the number (as it was thought) of fiftie thousand persons, one and other, servants, prentises, and citizens, confederate with them that were thus assembled in Ficket field. Divers also that came from sundrie parts of the realme, hasting towards the place, to be there at their appointed time, chanced to light among the kings men, who being taken and demanded whether they went with such speed, answered, they came to meet with their capteine the lord Cobham.

But whether he came thither at all, or made shift for himselfe to get awaie, it doth not appeare; for he could not be heard of at that time (as Thomas Walsingham confesseth) although the king by proclamation promised a thousand marks to him that could bring him forth, with great liberties to the cities or townes that would discover where he was. By this it maie appeare, how greatlie he was beloved, that there could not one be found, that for so great a reward would bring him to light. Among other that were taken was one William Purle, who dwelt in Dunsfable, a man of great wealth, and by his occupation a brewer, an earnest maintainer of the lord Cobhams opinions, and (as the brute ran) in hope to be highlie advanced by him if their purposed deule had taken place, apparant by this; that he had two horses trapped with guilt harness led after him, and in his bosome a paire of gilt spurs (as it was deemed) prepared for himselfe to weare, looking to be made knight by the lord Cobhams hands at that present time. But when he saw how their purpose quailed, he withdrew into the citie with great feare to hide himselfe; howbeit he was perceived, taken, and finally executed among others.

To conclude, so manie persons hereupon were apprehended, that all the prisons in and about London were full, the chiefe of them were condemned by the cleargie of heresie, and attainted of high treason in the Guildhall of London, and adjudged for that offense to be hanged and hanged, and for heresie to be consumed with fire, gallowses and all, which judgement was executed the same moneth, on the said sir Roger Acton, and eight and twentie others. & Some saie, that the occasion of their death was onely for the conveying of the lord Cobham out of prison. Others write, that it was both for treason and heresie, and so it appeareth by the record. Certeine affirme, that it was for feined causes furnished by the spirituality, more upon displeasure than truth, and that they were assembled to heare their preacher (the foresaid Buewerlie) in that place there, out of the waie from resort of people, lest they might not come together openly about any such matter, without danger to be apprehended; as the manner is, and hath bene ever of the persecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publickly the exercise of their religion. But howsoever the matter went with these men, apprehended they were, and diverse of them executed (as before ye have heard) whether for rebellion or heresie, or for both (as the forme of the indictment importeth) I need not to spend manie words, with others have so largelie treated thereof; and therefore I refer those that wish to be more fullie satisfied herein unto their reports.

Sir John Mordaunt escaped out of the Tower.

Titus Livius.
1414

Hall.
A commotion raised by sir Roger Acton and others.
Titus Livius.

The rebels surprised.

Thom. Wals.

By this it may be seen, that the matter according to the monition, was not as one that feared out on occasion of truth.

William Purle.

Sir Roger Acton & his complices condemned of treason and heresie.

Whilke

An. Reg. 1.2.

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Whilste in the Lent season the king laie at
lillingworth, there came to him from Charles Dolphin
of France certein ambassadoers, that brought with
them a barrell of Paris balles, which from their
maister they presented to him for a token that was
taken in verie ill part, as sent in scoone, to signifie,
that it was more meet for the king to passe the time
with such childish exercise, than to attempt any woꝝ
thie exploit. Wherefore the k. wrote to him, that per
ought long, he would tolle him some London balles
that perchance should shake the walles of the best
court in France. This yeare, Thom. Arundell arch-
bishop of Canturburie departed this life, a stout
prelat, and an earnest maintainer of the Romish re-
ligion: Henrie Chichelie bishop of saint Dauid suc-
ceeded the same Arundell in the see of Canturburie,
and the kings confessor Stephen Watrington a Car-
melite frier was made bishop of S. Dauid. Henrie
Perle then but a child, sonne to the lord Henrie Per-
le surnamed Hotspur, after his fathers deceasse, 10
that was laine at Shrevesburie field, was conueied
into Scotland, and there left by his grandfather,
where ever since he had remained: the king there-
fore pittied his case, and so procured for him, that he
came home, and was restored to all his lands and
earldome of Northumberland, which lands before
had bene given to the lord John, the kings brother.

A case verie strange, and for manie causes allwaies
right woꝝthe of remembrance, in this yeare 1414,
the second of this kings reigne did befall, which con-
teining in it so manie matters for knowledge of
Gods great power and iustice, of willfull breaking
his diuine lawes, of the easie slip into ruine where his
mercie dooth not staie vs, the busie bogging of the di-
uell alwaies, our weakenesse in combat with him,
into what outrage and confusion he haleth where he
is not withstood, with what tyrannie he tormenteth
where he vanquisheth, what the will and power of
a fouereigne ouer a subiect may force in cases of in-
quitie, where by vertue and grace he be not restrai-
ned: the zeale of a parent, the pangs of a child, but
chiefly the verie plague of Gods wrath and in-
dignation vpon willfull and obdurate offenders, all
which at those daies though touched in payles, yet at
all times and euerie where so well seruing for exam-
ple and warning, it hath bene thought verie conue-
nient the same in our stories also here to be noted,
which was thus. At this time newes were brought
into France, how king Lancelot (the aduersarie to
Elwes king of Sicill) was departed, and in man-
ner thus. It hapned that he fell in loue with a yong
damosell his owne physicians daughter (a payell ve-
rie beautifull) and he in hope to inioy hir the easlier,
caused hir father for his consent to be talked withall
in the matter, which he offerlie refused to grant, and
shewed forth manie reasons for him; but at last all
causes & excuses reiected, sith (though constrained)
he must needs assent, feined himselfe willing and
content. And forcing talke with his daughter vpon
his mind in the matter, chiefly how meet it were
she shold his counsell how best with the king to keepe
hir still in grace, he gaue hir a little box of ointment,
and instruction withall, that when the king should
come to haue his will, the should asoze with that
balme annoint all hir toombe; the damosell on good
obseruation did after (at oportunitie) as hir father
taught hir. Wherevpon so pittifullie came it to passe,
that the verie same night the king laie with hir, his
bellie and hers were by and by set as it were all on
a smoking fier, with comments of such unquench-
able scorching and burning euen into the verie en-
trailes, that he of his kingdome, his life, his loue; and
the of hir princelie promotion, thus some both tog-
ther made a forowfull end. After the plaie of this la-

mentable tragedie, the physician fled for his safetie,
and straight vpon the newes king Elwes gathered
a great assemblie, wherewith to passe towards Pa-
ples, and sent before a good companie vnder the lord
Longue marshall of France.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie
called his high court of parlement, the last daie of A-
pill in the towne of Leicester, in which parlement
manie profitable lawes were concluded, and manie
petitions moued, were for that time deferred. A-
mongst which, one was, that a bill exhibited in the
parlement holden at Westminster in the eleuenth
yeare of king Henrie the fourth (which by reason the
king was then troubled with ciuill discord, came to
none effect) might now with good deliberation be
pondered, and brought to some good conclusion. The
effect of which supplication was, that the temporall
lands deuoutlie giuen, and disordinatlie spent by re-
ligious, and other spirituall persons, should be seized
into the kings hands, sith the same might suffice
to mainteine, to the honoꝝ of the king, and defense of
the realme, sixtene earles, sixtene hundred knights,
sir thousand and two hundred esquiers, and a hundred
almshouse-houses, for reliefe onelie of the poore, im-
potent, and needie persons, and the king to haue cleere-
lie to his coffers twentie thousand pounds, with ma-
nie other prouisions and values of religious houses,
which I passe ouer.

This bill was much noted, and more feared among
the religious sort, whom suerlie it touched verie nere,
and therefore to find remedie against it, they deter-
mined to assaie all waies to put by and ouerthrow
this bill: wherein they thought best to trie if they
might moue the kings mow with some sharpe in-
uention, that he should not regard the importunate
petitions of the commons. Wherevpon, on a daie in
the parlement, Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Can-
turburie made a pithie oration, wherein he declared,
how not onelie the duchies of Normandie and Agi-
taine, with the counties of Anion and Maine, and the
countrie of Gascoigne, were by vndoubted title ap-
pertaining to the king, as to the lawfull and one-
lie heire of the same; but also the whole realme of
France, as heire to his great grandfather king Ed-
ward the third.

Herein did he much inuete against the furnished
and falseained lato Salike, which the Frenchmen
alledge euer against the kings of England in barre
of their iust title to the crowne of France. The verie
words of that supposed lawe are these, *In terram Sali-*
cam mulieres ne succedant, that is to saie, Into the Sa-
like land let not women succed. Which the French
glossers expound to be the realme of France, and
that this lawe was made by king Pharamond; where-
as yet their owne authoꝝ affirme, that the land Sa-
like is in Germanie, betwene the riuers of Elbe
and Sala; and that when Charles the great had ouer-
come the Saxons, he placed there certein French-
men, which hauing in disceine the dishonest maners
of the Germane women, made a law, that the fe-
males should not succed to any inheritance within
that land, which at this daie is called Helsen, so that
if this be true, this lawe was not made for the realme
of France, nor the Frenchmen possessed the land Sa-
like, till foure hundred and one and twentie yeares
after the death of Pharamond, the supposed maker
of this Salike lawe, for this Pharamond deceased in
the yeare 426, and Charles the great subdued the
Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in those parts
beyond the riuier of Sala, in the yeare 805.

Moreouer, it appeareth by their owne writers, that
king Pepine, which deposed Childerike, claimed the
crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he
was descended of Blithild daughter to king Clo-
thair

Anno Reg. 2.
1414

A bill exhibi-
ted to the par-
lement against
the clergie.

The archb-
shop of Can-
turburies or-
ation in the
parlement
house.

The Salike
law.

Helsen,

5 g g. i.

that the first: Hugh Capet also, who usurped the crowne upon Charles duke of Lozaine, the sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the great, to make his title seeme true, and appeare good, though in deed it was starke naught, conueied himselfe as heire to the ladie Lingard, daughter to king Charlemaine, sonne to Leues the emperor, that was son to Charles the great. King Leues also the tenth or therwife called saint Leues, being verie heire to the said usurper Hugh Capet, could neuer be satisfied in his conscience how he might iustlie kepe and possesse the crowne of France, till he was perswaded and fullie instructed, that quene Isabel his grandmother was lineallie descended of the ladie Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles duke of Lozaine, by the which marriage, the blood and line of Charles the great was againe united and restored to the crowne & scepter of France, so that more clere than the sunne it openlie appeareth, that the title of king Pepin, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of Leues, yea and the French kings to this date, are deriued and conueied from the heire female, though they would vnder the colour of such a fauned law, barre the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance.

The archbishop further alleaged out of the booke of Numbers this saying: When a man dieth without a sonne, let the inheritance descend to his daughter. At length, hauing said sufficientlie for the prowe of the kings iust and lawfull title to the crowne of France, he exhorted him to aduance forth his banner to fight for his right, to conquer his inheritance, to spare neither blood, sword, nor fire, with his warre was iust, his cause good, and his claime true. And to the intent his louing chapleins and obedient subiects of the spirituallie might shew themselves willing and desirous to aid his maiestie for the recouerie of his ancient right and true inheritance, the archbishop declared that in their spirituall consecration, they had granted to his highnesse such a summe of monie, as neuer by no spirituall persons was to any prince before those daies giuen or aduanced.

The earle of Westmerland perswaded the king to the conquest of Scotland.

When the archbishop had ended his prepared tale, Raife Beuill earle of Westmerland, and as then lord Warden of the marches against Scotland, vnderstanding that the king vpon a courageous desire to recouer his right in France, would shortly take the wars in hand, thought good to moue the king to begin first with Scotland, and thereupon declared how easie a matter it should be to make a conquest there, and how greatlie the same should further his wished purpose for the subduing of the Frenchmen, concluding the summe of his tale with this old saying: that Who so will France win, must with Scotland first begin. Many matters he touched, as well to shew how necessarie the conquest of Scotland should be, as also to proue how iust a cause the king had to attempt it, trusting to perswade the king and all other to be of his opinion.

The duke of Excester his wife and pithie answer to the earle of Westmerlands saying.

A true saying.

But after he had made an end, the duke of Excester, vncke to the king, a man well learned and wise, who had bene sent into Italie by his father, intending that he should haue ben a preerplyed against the earle of Westmerlands oration, affirming rather that he which would Scotland win, he with France must first begin. For if the king might once compass the conquest of France, Scotland could not long resist; so that conquere France, and Scotland would come obie. For where should the Scots learne policie and skill to defend themselves, if they had not their bringing by and training in France? If the French pensions maintained not the Scottish nobilitie, in what case should they be? Then take a waie

France, and the Scots will some be tamed: France being to Scotland the same that the sap is to the tree, which being taken a waie, the tree must needs die and wither.

To be brieue, the duke of Excester used such earnest and pithie perswasions, to induce the king and the whole assemblie of the parlement to credit his words, that immediatlie after he had made an end, all the compaignie began to crie; Warre, warre; France, France. Whereby the bill for dissolving of religious houses was clere set aside, and nothing thought on but onelie the recouering of France, according as the archbishop had moued. And vpon this point, after a few acts besides for the wealth of the realme established, the parlement was prorogued vnto Westminster. ¶ Some write, that in this parlement it was enacted, that Lollards and heretikes with their maintainers and fauourers should be *ipso facto* adiudged guiltie of high treason; but in the statute made in the same parlement against Lollards, we find no such words: albeit by force of that statute it was ordained, that persons so conuicted & executed, should lose their lands holden in fee simple, and all other their goods and cattels, as in cases of felonye.

During this parlement, there came to the king ambassadors, as well from the French king that was then in the hands of the Dauntiall faction, as also from the duke of Burgognie, for aid against that faction; promising more (as was said) than laie well in his power to performe. The king shortly after sent ambassadors to them both, as the bishop of Durham, and Norwich, with others. Forreouer at this parlement, John the kings brother was created duke of Bedford, and his brother Humphre duke of Gloucester. Also, Thomas Beaufort, marquisse Dorset, was created duke of Excester. Immediatlie after, the king sent ouer into France his vncke the duke of Excester, the lord Greie admerall of England, the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop of Norwich, ambassadors vnto the French king, with five hundred horse, which were lodged in the temple house in Paris, keeping such triumphant chere in their lodging, and such a solemne estate in their riding through the citie, that the Parisiens and all the Frenchmen had no small merueil at their honorable port.

The French king receiued them verie honorable, and banketted them right sumptuouslie, shewing to them iusts and spartiall pastimes, by the space of three daies together, in the which iusts the king himselfe, to shew his courage and actiuitie to the Englishmen, manfullie brake speares and lustilie turned. When the triumph was ended, the English ambassadors, hauing a time appointed them to declare their message, admitted to the French kings presence, required of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of France, with the entier duchies of Aquitaine, Normandie and Anjou, with the countries of Poitou and Maine. Many other requests they made: and this offered with all, that if the French king would without warre and effusion of christian blood, render to the king their maister his verie right & lawfull inheritance, that he would be content to take in marriage the ladie Katharine, daughter to the French king, and to indow hir with all the duchies and countries before rehearsed: and if he would not so do, then the king of England did expresse and signifie to him, that with the aid of God, and helpe of his people, he would recouer his right and inheritance wrongfullie withheld from him, with mostall warre, and dint of sword. ¶ This in effect doth our English poet commend in his report of the occasion, which Henric the

ambassadors from the French king and the duke of Burgognie.

Creation of dukes.

ambassadors sent to France.

Abt. F. 1472. In. Eng. 1472. no. 1472.

An. Reg. 23.

fit take to arreare battell against the French king: putting into the mouthes of the said king of Eng- lands ambassadoys an imagined speech, the conclusi- on whereof he maketh to be either restitution of that which the French had taken and detained from the English, or else fier and sword. His words are these,

*raptum nobis aut redde Britannia,
Aut serum expectes, ul' rices insuper ignes.*

The Frenchmen being not a little abashed at these demands, thought not to make anie absolute answer in so weightie a cause, till they had further breath; and therefore praised the English ambassa- doys to saie to the king their maister, that they now having no opportunitie to conclude in so high a mat- ter, would shortly send ambassadoys into England, which should certifie & declare to the king their whole mind, purpose, and intent. The English ambassadoys returned with this answer, making relation of eue- rie thing that was said or done. King Henrie after the returne of his ambassadoys, determined fullie to make warre in France, concluding a good and per- fect hope to haue fortunate successe, with victorie for the most part folloiweth where right leadeth, being advanced forward by iustice, and set forth by equi- tie.

And because manie Frenchmen were promoted to ecclesiasticall dignities, as some to benefices, and some to abbeies and priories within the realme, and sent daile innumerable summes of monie into France, for the releafe of their naturall countreimen and himselfe, he therefore in fauour of the publike wealth of his realme and subiects, in a counsell called at London, about Michaellmas, caused to be orde- ned, that no stranger hereafter should be promoted to anie spiritual dignitie or degree within this realme, without his especiall licence, and roiall con- sent, and all they that should be admitted, should find sufficient suerties, not to disclose the secrets of this realme to anie forreign person, no: to minister aid or succour to anie of them with monie, or by anie other means. This was confirmed in a conuocation cal- led at the same time by the new archbishop of Can- turburie.

Spokeouer, such as were to go vnto the generall counsell holden at Constance, were named and ap- pointed to make them readie: for the king hauing knowledge from the emperor Sigismund, of the as- sembling of that counsell, thought it not conuenient to sit still as an hearer, and no partaker in so high a cause, which touched the whole state of the christian common-wealth, as then troubled by reason of the schisme that yet continued. Wherefore he sent thither Richard earle of Gloucestre, the bishops of Salisburie, Bath, and Hereford, the abbat of Westminster, and the prior of Worcester, with diuerse other doc- toys and learned men of the spiritualtie; besides knights and esquires. They were in number eight hundred hoyses, so well appointed and furnished, as well the men as hoyses, that all nations meruelled to see such an honorable companie come from a coun- trie so far distant.

Diuerse other things were concluded at that pre- sent: for the king had caused not onelie the lords of the spiritualtie, but also of the tempozaltie to assem- ble here at London the same time, to treat speciallie of his iourne that he purposed to make shortly into France: and hereupon meanes was made for the gathering of monie, which was granted with so good a will both of the spiritualtie and tempozaltie, that there was leuied the summe of three hundred thou- sand markes English: and herewith order was gi- uen to gather a great host of men, thorough all his dominions. And for the more increasing of his na- me, he sent into Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, to

conduct and hire ships for the transporting and con- ueleng ouer of his men and munitions of war, and finallye provided for armour, victuals, monie, artillerie, cariage, boates to passe ouer riuers covered with leather, tents, and all other things requisite for so high an enterpryse.

The Frenchmen hauing knowledge hereof, the Dolphin, who had the gouernance of the realme, be- cause his father was fallen into his old disease of frensie, sent for the dukes of Berry and Alanson, and all the other lords of the counsell of France: by whose aduise it was determined, that they should not onelie prepare a sufficient armie to resist the king of England, when so euer he arrived to inuade France, but also to stiffe and furnish the townes on the frontiers and sea coasts with conuenient garri- sons of men: and further to send to the king of Eng- land a soleinne ambassage, to make to him some of- fers according to the demands before rehearsed. The charge of this ambassage was committed to the earle of Gloucestre, to maister William Bourasser archbishop of Burges, and to maister Peter Fre- meli bishop of Alesur, to the lords of Berry and Bea- quemont, and to maister Gaultier Cole the kings secretarie, and diuerse others.

These ambassadoys accompanied with 350 hoys- ses, passed the sea at Calis, and landed at Douer, be- fore whose arriuall the king was departed from Windsoze to Winchester, intending to haue gone to Hampton, there to haue surueied his nanie: but hearing of the ambassadoys approaching, he tarried still at Winchester, where the said French lords shewed themselves verie honorable before the king and his nobilitie. At time prestred, before the kings presence, sitting in his throne imperiall, the archbi- shop of Burges made an eloquent and a long orati- on, dissuading warre, and praising peace; offering to the king of England a great summe of monie, with diuerse countries, being in verie deed but base and poore, as a dowrie with the ladie Catharine in mar- iage, so that he would dissolue his armie, and dismis- se his soldiers, which he had gathered and put in a rea- dinesse.

When his oration was ended, the king caused the ambassadoys to be highlye feasted, and set them at his owne table. And after a daie assigned in the fore- said hall, the archbishop of Canturburie to their ora- tion made a notable answer, the effect whereof was, that if the French king would not giue with his daughter in marriage the duchesse of Aquitaine, An- iou, and all other seignories and dominions some- times appertaining to the noble progenitors of the king of England, he would in no wise retire his ar- mie, no: breake his iourne; but would with all dili- gence enter into France, and destroe the people, waste the countrie, and subuert the townes with blood, sword, and fire, and neuer cease till he had reco- uered his ancient right and lawfull patrimonie. The king answored the archbishops saieing, and in the word of a prince promised to perfoyme it to the uttermost.

The archbishop of Burges much grieved, that his ambassage was no more regarded, after certeine bzags blustered out with impatience, as more presu- ming vpon his prelasie, than respecting his dutie of consideration to whom he spake and what became him to saie; he praised safe conduct to depart. Which the king gentlie granted, and added withall to this effect: A little esteeme your French bzags, & lesse set by your powder and strength; I know perfectlie my right to my region, which you usurpe; & except you denie the apparant truth, so do your selues also: if you neither do nor will know it, yet God and the world knoweth it. The power of your maister you see, but my pow-
G g. g. fance

Anno Reg. 3.
Ambassadoys
out of France

Thom. Wall.
He is not like
them in this
counsell of
the counsell
of Constance
that was ad-
vised from
London to
Westminster,
where it be-
gan in the
counsell of
Constance, in
the second
year 1415.

The counsell
of Constance.

The earle of
Warwick and
others sent to
the generall
counsell.

Exaggerant.

Great prepa-
ration for the
French wars

The wife an-
swer of the R.
to the bishop.

“ Since ye haue not yett talked. If he haue louing sub-
 “ iects, I am (I thanke God) not withstood of the same:
 “ and I saie this vnto you, that before one yeare passe,
 “ I trust to make the highest crowne of your countrie
 “ to scope, and the proudest miter to learne his humi-
 “ liatedo. In the meane time tell this to the vsurper
 “ your master, that within thre moneths, I will enter
 “ into France, as into mine owne true and lawfull
 “ patrimonie, appointing to acquire the same, not with
 “ brag of words, but with dedes of men, and dint of
 “ sword, by the aid of God, in whome is my whole trust
 “ and confidence. Further matter at this present I
 “ impart not vnto you, sauing that with warrant
 “ your mate depart suerlie and safelie into your coun-
 “ trie, where I trust sooner to visit you, than you shall
 “ haue cause to bid me welcome. With this answer
 “ the ambassadors soze displeased in their minds (al-
 “ though they were highlie intertained and liberallie
 “ rewarded) departed into their countrie, reporting to
 “ the Dolphin how they had sped.

After the French ambassadors were departed, the
 king like a prouident prince, thought good to take or-
 der for the resisting of the Scots, if (according to
 their manner) they should attempt anie thing against
 his subjects in his absence. For that point appointed
 he the earle of Westmerland, the lord Scrope, the
 baron of Greilstocke, sir Robert Umfravill, & diuerse
 other valiant captains to keepe the frontiers & mar-
 ches of Scotland, which sir Robert Umfravill on the
 daie of Marie Magdalene fought with the Scots
 at the towne of Codering, hauing in his companie
 onelie thre hundred archers, and seven score spears,
 where he (after long conflict) slue of his enemies fiftie
 and odde, toke three hundred and fiftie prisoners, dis-
 comfited and put to flight one thousand and more,
 whome he followed in chase about twelue miles, but
 their hands full of pzeies and prisoners, retired home-
 ward (not unhurt) to the castell of Rocheforrough,
 of the which he was capitaine.

When the king had all prouisions readie, and or-
 dered all things for the defense of his realme, he lea-
 uing behind him for gouernour of the realme, the
 quene his mother in law, departed to Southamp-
 ton, to take ship into France. And first princelie ap-
 pointing to aduertise the French king of his com-
 ming, therefore dispatched Antelope his pursuant
 at armes with letters to him for restitution of that
 which he wrongfully withheld, contrary to the lawes
 of God and man; the king further declaring how
 soze he was that he should be thus compelled for re-
 peating of his right and iust title of inheritance, to
 make warre to the destruction of christian people,
 but sithens he had offered peace which could not be re-
 ceived, now for fault of iustice, he was forced to take
 armes. Neuerthelesse exhorted the French king in
 the bowels of Iesu Christ, to render him that which
 was his owne, whereby effusion of Christian blood
 might be auoided. These letters cheeflie to this effect
 and purpose, were written and dated from Hampton
 the fift of August. When the same were presented to
 the French king, and by his counsell well perused,
 answer was made, that he would take aduise, and
 prouide therein as time and place should be conueni-
 ent, so the messenger licenced to depart at his plea-
 sure.

When king Henrie had fullie furnished his nauie
 with men, munition, & other prouisions, perceiving
 that his captiues misliked nothing so much as de-
 laie, determined his souldiours to go a ship-board and
 atwaite. But for the hap, the night before the daie ap-
 pointed for their departure, he was credible infor-
 med, that Richard earle of Cambridge brother to
 Edward duke of Boike, and Henrie lord Scrope of
 Spalham lord treasure, with Thomas Craie a

knight of Northumberland, being confederat tog-
 ther, had conspired his death: wherefore he caused
 them to be apprehended. The said lord Scrope was
 in such fauour with the king, that he admitted him
 sometime to be his bedfellow, in whose fidelitie the
 king reposed such trust, that when anie priuat or
 publike counsell was in hand, this lord had much in the
 determination of it. For he represented so great gra-
 uitie in his countenance, such modestie in behauiour,
 and so vertuous zeale to all godlinesse in his talke,
 that whatsoeuer he said was thought for the most
 part necessarie to be done and followed. Also the said
 sir Thomas Craie (as some write) was of the kings
 priuie counsell.

These prisoners vpon their examination, confessed,
 that for a great summe of monie which they had re-
 ceived of the French king, they intended to deliue
 ether to haue deliuered the king alieue into the hands
 of his enemies, or else to haue murdered him before
 he should arrive in the duchie of Normandie. When
 king Henrie had heard all things opened, which he
 desired to know, he caused all his nobilitie to come
 before his presence, before whome he caused to be
 brought the offenders also, and to them said. Hauing
 thus conspired the death and destruction of me, which
 am the head of the realme and gouernour of the peo-
 ple, it maie be (no doubt) but that you likewise haue
 sowne the confusion of all that are here with me,
 and also the desolation of your owne countrie. To
 what horrox (O lord) for any true English hart to con-
 sider, that such an execrable iniquitie should euer so
 becompe you, as for-pleasing of a foren enemy to
 imbue your hands in your blood, and to ruine your
 owne native soile. Reuenge herein touching my per-
 son, though I seeke not; yet for the safegard of you
 my deere friends, & for due preservation of all sorts, I
 am by office to cause example to be shewed. Set ye
 hence therefore ye poore miserable wretches to the re-
 ceiuing of your iust reward, wherein Gods maiestie
 give you grace of his mercie and repentance of
 your heinous offenses. And so immediatlie they
 were had to execution.

This done, the king calling his lords againe afore
 him, said in words few and with good grace. Of his
 enterprises he recounted the honor and glorie, where-
 of they with him were to be partakers, the great
 confidence he had in their noble minds, which could
 not but remember them of the famous feats that
 their ancestors aforesome in France had atchieued,
 whereof the due report for euer recorded remained
 yet in register. The great mercie of God that had so
 grationlie reuealed vnto him the treason at hand,
 whereby the true harts of those afore him made so e-
 minent & apparant in his eie, as they might be right
 sure he would neuer forget it. The doubt of danger
 to be nothing in respect of the certaintie of honor
 that they should acquire, wherein himselfe (as they
 saie) in person would be lord and leader through
 Gods grace. To whose maiestie as cheeflie was
 knowne the equitie of his demand: euen so to his
 mercie did he onelie recommend the successe of his
 trauels. When the king had said, all the noble men
 knaked doونه, & promised faithfullie to serue him,
 bulie to obey him, and rather to die than to suffer him
 to fall into the hands of his enemies.

This done, the king thought that suerlie all treason
 and conspiracie had bene utterlie extind: not suspec-
 ting the fire which was newlie kindled, and ceased
 not to increase, till at length it burst out into such a
 flame, that catching the beames of his house and fa-
 milie, his line and stocke was cleane consumed to
 ashes. Diuerse write that Richard earle of Cam-
 bridge did not conspire with the lord Scrope & Tho-
 mas Craie for the murdering of king Henrie to please

Harding.
 Another
 throw to the
 Scots by sir
 Robert Um-
 fravill.

The quene
 mother gover-
 nour of the
 realme.

The earle
 of Cambridge
 and the othe-
 r traitors ap-
 prehended.

An. Reg. 3.

please the French king withall, but onelie to the intent to exalt to the crowne his brother in law Edmund earle of March as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence: after the death of which earle of March, for diuerse secret impediments, not able to haue issue, the earle of Cambridge was sure that the crowne should come to him by his wife, and to his children, of his begotten. And therefore (as was thought) he rather confessed himselfe for need of monie to be corrupted by the French king, than he would declare his inward mind, and open his verie intent and secret purpose, which if it were espied, he saw plainlie that the earle of March should haue tasted of the same cuppe that he had drunken, and what should haue come to his owne children he much doubted. Therefore desirous of comfort & in despaire of life to saue his children, he feined that tale, desiring rather to saue his succession than himselfe, which he did in deed: for his sonne Richard duke of Yorke not prouide but openlie claimed the crowne, and Edward his sonne both claimed it, & gained it, as after it shall appeare. Which thing if king Henrie had at this time either doubted, or foreseene, had neuer bene like to haue come to passe, as Hall saith.

But whatsoeuer hath bene reported of the confession of the earle of Cambridge, certeine it is, that in-
cluded he was by the name of Richard earle of Cambridge of Conneburgh in the countie of Yorke knight, and with him Thomas Craie of Heton in the countie of Northumberland knight; for that they the twentieth daie of Julie, in the third yeare of king Henrie the fifts reigne, at Southampton, and in diuerse other places within this realme, had conspired together with a power of men to them associat, without the kings licence, to haue led awaie the lord Edmund earle of March into Wales, and then to haue procured him to take vpon him the supreme gouernment of the realme, in case that king Richard the second were dead: and herewith had purposed to set forth a proclamation there in Wales, in name of the said earle of March, as heire of the crowne against king Henrie, by the name of Henrie of Lancaster the usurper, to the end that by such meanes they might draw the more number of the kings liege people onto the said earle; and further to haue conueied a banner of the armes of England, and a certeine crowne of Spaine set vpon a pallet, and laid in gage to the said earle of Cambridge, by the king, together with the said earle of March into the parties of Wales aforesaid.

Further, that the said earle of Cambridge, and sir Thomas Craie had appointed certeine of the kings liege people to repaire into Scotland, and to bring from thence one Thomas Trumpington; also another resembling in shape, fauour, and countenance king Richard, and Henrie Perie, together with a great multitude of people to fight with the king, and him to destroe in open field. Beside this, that they had meant to win certeine castles in Wales, and to keepe them against the king: and manie other treasons they had contriued, as by the indictment was specified, to the intent they might destroe the king and his children, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, and other the great lords & peers of the realme. And Henrie Scrope of Spalham, of Harflet, in the countie of Yorke was likewise indicted, as consenting to the premises. So that it appeareth their purpose was well enough then perceiued, although hapilie not much bruted abroad, for considerations thought necessarie to haue it rather hidt and kept secret.

About the selfe same time the lord Cobham with his friends, whether as one of counsell in the conspi-
racie with the earle of Cambridge or not, was deter-
mined to haue made some attempt against the lord

of Aburgauennie, who being aduertised thereof, got for his defense from Worcester, Hereford, Leakeburie, and other places thereabout, to the number of fise thousand archers, and other armed men, which came to him vnto his castell of Hancleie: whereof when the lord Cobham was aduertised, he withdrew againe to such secret places about Maluerne, as he had prouided for his suertie, to resort vnto: but a priest that belonged vnto him, was taken, and diuerse other, who disclosed to the lord Aburgauennie, one of the places where the said lord Cobham with his men vsed to keepe themselves close. Vnto that place the lord Aburgauennie went, where he found in deed monie and armor piled vp betwixt two wals, handsonelie conueied and framed for the purpose; but the lord Cobham with his folkes were withdrawn into some other place, after they once heard, that the earle of Cambridge and the lord Scrope were executed.

But now to proceed with king Henries doings.

After this, when the wind came about prosperous to his purpose, he caused the mariners to looke vp anchors, and hoist vp sailes, and to set forward with a thousand ships, on the bigill of our ladie daie the Assumption, and toke land at Caer, commonlie called Aidcaur, where the riuer of Saine runneth into the sea, without resistance. At his first comming on land, he caused proclamation to be made, that no person should be so hardie on paine of death, either to take anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the same, or to hurt or doe anie violence either to priests, women, or anie such as should be found without weapon or armor, and not readie to make resistance: also that no man should renew anie quarrell or strife, whereby anie fraie might arise to the disquieting of the armie.

The next daie after his landing, he marched toward the towne of Harflue, standing on the riuer of Saine betwene two hills; he besieged it on euerie side, raising bulwarks and a bastell, in which the two earles of Kent & Huntington were placed, with Cornwall, Craie, Steward, and Porter. On that side towards the sea, the king lodged with his field, and the duke of Clarence on the further side towards Hone. There were within the towne the lords de Monteuill and Caucourt, with diuerse other that valiantlie defended the siege, doing what damage they could to their aduersaries; and damming by the riuer that hath his course through the towne, the water rose so high betwixt the kings campe, and the duke of Clarence campe (diuided by the same riuer) that the Englishmen were constrained to withdraw their artillerie from one side, where they had planted the same.

The French king being aduertised, that king Henrie was arrived on that coast, sent in all haste the lord de la Brette constable of France, the sene-
shall of France, the lord Boucquait marshall of France, the sene-
shall of Henault, the lord Lignie with other, which fortified townes with men, victuals, and artillerie on all those frontiers towards the sea. And hearing that Harflue was besieged, they came to the castell of Canbebecke, being not farre from Harflue, to the intent they might succor their friends which were besieged, by some policie or meanes: but the Englishmen, notwithstanding all the damage that the Frenchmen could worke against them, for-
rated the countrie, spoiled the villages, bringing manie a rich preie to the campe before Harflue. And daie lie was the towne assaulted: for the duke of Gloucester, to whom the order of the siege was committed, made three mines vnder the ground, and approaching to the wals with his engins and ordinance, would not suffer them within to take anie rest.

Titus Lilius.

The king sat-
leth ouer into
France with
his host.

Titus Lilius.
A charitable
proclamation.

Princelie and
wiselie.

Harding.

The king be-
sieged Har-
flue.

Tinus Lilius.

For although they with their countermining somewhat disappointed the Englishmen, & came to fight with them hand to hand within the mines, so that they went no further forward with that tooke; yet they were so inclosed on each side, as well by water as land, that succour they saw could none come to them: for the king lieng with his battell on the hill side on the one partie, and the duke of Clarence beyond the river that passeth by the towne, and runneth into Saine on the other partie, beside other lords and captains that were lodged with their retinues for their most advantage: none could be suffered to go in, or come forth, without their licence: insomuch that such powder as was sent to haue bene conueied into the towne by water, was taken by the English ships that watched the river.

Harding.
Thom. Walf.The seven-
teerth of Sep-
tember they
within Har-
flue gave par-
le.

The captains within the towne, perceiuing that they were not able long to resist the continuall assaults of the Englishmen, knowing that their walls were undermined, and like to be ouerthrowne (as one of their bulwarks was alreadie, where the earles of Huntington and Kent had set up their banners) sent an officer at armes forth about midnight after the feast daie of saint Lambert, which fell that yeare upon the tuesdaie, to beseech the king of England to appoint some certeine persons as commissioners from him, with whome they within might treat about some agreement. The duke of Clarence, to whome this messenger first declared his errand, aduertised the king of their request, who granting thereunto, appointed the duke of Excester, with the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Thomas Erpingham, to vnderstand their minds, who at the first requested a truce untill sundae next following the feast of saint Michael, in which meane time if no succour came to remouue the siege, they would undertake to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, their liues and goods saued.

3 six daies
respit.

The king aduertised hereof, sent them word, that except they would surrender the towne to him the morow next ensuing, without any condition, they should spend no more time in talke about the matter. But yet at length through the earnest sute of the French lords, the king was contented to grant them truce untill nine of the clocke the next sundae, being the two and twentieth of September; with condition, that if in the meane time no rescue came, they should yeld the towne at that houre, with their bodies and goods to stand at the kings pleasure. And for assurance thereof, they deliuered into the kings hands thirtie of their best captains and merchants within that towne as pledges. But other while, that it was couenanted, that they should deliuer but one liue pledge, and that if the siege were not raised by the French kings power within six daies next following, then should they deliuer the towne into the king of England hands, and thirtie of the chiefeest personages within the same, to stand for life or death at his will and pleasure: and as for the residue of the men of warre and townermen, they should depart whether they would, without carieng forth either armour, weapon, or goods.

The king neuertheless was after content to grant a respit vpon certeine conditions, that the captains within might haue time to send to the French king for succour (as before ye haue heard) least he intending greater exploits, might lose time in such small matters. When this composition was agreed vpon, the lord Baquenuill was sent vnto the French king, to declare in what point the towne stood. To whome the Dolphin answered, that the kings power was not yet assembled, in such number as was conuenient to raise so great a siege. This answer being brought vnto the captains within the towne, they rendered it vnto the king of England,

after that the third daie was expired, which was on the daie of saint Maurice being the seuen and thirtieth daie after the siege was first laid. The souldiours were ransomed, and the towne sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishmen. Some writing of this yelding of Harflue, do in like sort make mention of the distresse whereto the people, then expelled out of their habitations, were driuen: insomuch as parents with their children, young maids and old folke went out of the towne gates with beaute harts (God wot) as put to their present shifts to seeke them a new abode. Besides that, king Henrie caused proclamation to be made within his owne dominions of England, that whosoever (either handicraftsman, merchantman, gentleman, or plowman) would inhabit in Harflue, should haue his dwelling given him gratis, and his heire after him also inioy the like grace and fauour: insomuch that great multitudes flocked to the sea coasts, waiting wind and weather for their transportage into Harflue, where being arrived, wonderfull it is to tell, within how short a time the towne was peopled. This doth Anglorum praelia report, saieing (not without good ground, I beleaue) as followeth;

—rum flentes tenera cum prole parentes
Virgineisq; chorus veteres liquere penates:
Tum populus cunctus de portu Gallicus exit
Mestus, inarmatus, vacuus, miser, ager, inopisq;
Vique notis sedes querat migrare coactus:
Oppidulo belli potuerunt inire Britanni, &c.

At this done, the king ordeined captaine to the towne his uncle the duke of Excester, who established his lieutenant there, one sir John Fastolfe, with fiftene hundred men, or (as some haue) two thousand and thirtie six knights, whereof the baron of Carew, and sir Hugh Lutterell, were two counsellors. And because many of his nobles whilst this siege late before Harflue, fell sicke of the sir and other diseases, diuerse also dead, amongst whom the earle of Stafford, the bishop of Norwich, the lords Spolins and Burnell were foure (beside others) the king licenced his brother the duke of Clarence, John earle marshal, and John earle of Arundell, being infected with that disease, to returne into England.

King Henrie, after the winning of Harflue, determined to haue proceeded further in the winning of other townes and fortresses: but because the dead time of the winter approached, it was determined by aduise of his counsell, that he should in all conuenient speed set forward, and march through the countrie towards Calis by land, least his returne as then homewards should of slanderous tongues be named a running awaie: and yet that iournie was aduised perillous, by reason that the number of his people was much diminished by the sir and other fevers, which fore vered and brought to death above fiftene hundred persons of the armie: and this was the cause that his returne was the sooner appointed and concluded.

But before his departing thence, he entred into the towne of Harflue, & went to the church of saint Martines, and there offered. All the men of warre which had not paid their ransoms, he sware them on the holie euangelists, to yeld themselves prisoners at Calis by the feast of saint Martine in November next. There were two strong towers standing on the haue side at Harflue, which looking for aid, did not yeld, till ten daies after the towne was rendered. When the king had repaired the walles, bulwarks and rampiers about the towne, and furnished it with vittels and artillerie, he remoued from Harflue toward Pontholfe, intending to passe the river of Some with his armie, before the bridges were either withdrawen or broken. Such vittels and other necessaries as were to be caried with the armie, he appointed

Great death
in the hall
the six.The king
mercifully
ling with
French
souldiers.

An. Reg. 3.

appointed to be laid on horses, leaving the carts and wagons behind for lesse incombr.

The French king hearing that the towne of Harfleur was gotten, and that the king of England was marching forward into the bowels of the realme of France, sent out proclamations, and assembled people on euerie side, committing the whole charge of his armie to his sounte the Dolfine and duke of Aquitaine, who incontinentlie caused the bridges to be broken, and the passages to be kept. Also they caused all the corne and vittells to be conueied awaie, or destroyed in all places, where it was conjectured that the Englishmen would passe. The king of England nothing dismayed hereunto, kept his iournie in spite of his enemies, constricting them within diuerse townes and holds to furnish him with vittells: but yet as he passed by the towne of Eu, the garrison of the towne issued forth, and gaue the Englishmen a skirmish, who beat them into the towne with losse, namelie of a right valiant man of armes, named Lancelot Piers. There were manie Englishmen hurt with quarrels shot off from the lops and wals, as they pursued the enemies unto the gates.

At length the king approached the river of Some, finding all the bridges broken, he came to the passage of Blanchetake, where his great grandfather king Edward the third a little before had striken the battell of Cressie: but the passage was now so impeached with stakes in the botome of the ford, that he could not passe, his enemies besides there awaie so swarming on all sides. He therefore marched forwards to Arames, marching with his armie, and passing with his carriage in so martiall a manner, that he appeared so terrible to his enemies, as they durst not offer him battell. And yet the lord Dalbryeth constable of France, the marshall Boncequault, the earle of Glendosme great master of France, the duke of Anlon, and the earle of Richmond, with all the puissance of the Dolfine laie at Abulle, but cuer kept the passages, and coasted aloofe, like a hawk though eager yet not hardie on his preie. The king of England kept on his iournie till he came to the bridge of saint Marce, where he found aboue thirtie thousand Frenchmen, and there pitched his field, looking fuerlie to be fought withall.

Wherefore to incourage his capteins the more, he dubbed certeine of his hardie and valiant gentlemen knights, as John lord Ferrers of Grobie, Reginald of Greischoke, Piers Tempest, Christopher Bonville, Thomas Disinger, William Huddeleston, John Husbaltou, Henrie Portimer, Philip Hall, and William his brother, Jaques de Diamond, and diuerse other: but the French making no semblance to fight, he departed in good order of battell by the towne of Amiens, to another towne nere to a castle called Wolues, and there laie two daies looking for their bidding of battell euerie houre. From thence he came nere to Corbie, where he was staied that night, for that the common people and pezants mightlie there assembled, hauing gotten them some head and hartening by meanes of their number that was great, and by trust of a strength then ioined vnto them) made of men at armes (manie tow tall and well appointed for fight) all of the garrison of Corbie: a strong towne well walled and warded. Hereupon at a streit (which they had preoccupied) they stonde from our armie not onelie kept the passage, but also upon vs gaue a proud onfet: wherein sir Hugh Stafford knight lord Bourghchier, cheffaine of a wing to the king vnder his standard of Guien, and as then next to the enimie, though far inferior in number, yet with readie and valiant encounter receiued them. The force and slaughter grew great both on the one side and the other, by the French in &

speciall at first right fiercelie pursued, in so much as with an hardie charge vpon our men, they had both beat downe the standard, and also from vs quite waie it awaie, to their hie incouragement, and our incredible despitte and dismaie. Whereat one John Bromley of Bromley in Staffordshire esquier, a nere kinsman vnto the lord Bourghchier, was euen freight so pearfed at hart, as he could not conteneine him, but by and by ran eagerlie vpon the French, and with his souldiers (in whom wrath and teene had alreadie inflamed furie and desire of reuenge) did so fiercelie set vpon them, that they were not onlie beaten backe, but also forced to abandon the place. At this push the capteine cutting through the thickest, strake downe the champion that bare the standard, and so gloriousslie recovered it againe, and after during the fight (where as manie of the French lost their liues) couragiously ouer his souldiers auanced it himselfe. The rest that fled awaie our people pursued in chasing & slaughter vnto Corbie verie gates. So in victorie, honor, and great ioy, with our small losse (in comparison) thanks vnto Gods maiestie, the cheffaine brought his host into his campe and order againe. The singular proues of this worthie capteine the noble man highlie regarding, in an ample testimony thereof and vpon his owne honorable consideration, by a faire ancient deed yet extant at these daies did giue him reward of fortie pounds annuite for his life. The monument so plainelie declaring the truth of the matter, with the maner and dignitie of the feat, as it was done, hath bene thought verie meet for the storie in hand here now to place it as foloweth.

A copie of the said deed.

Hic presens scriptum testatur, quod nos Hugo de Stafford dominus le Bourghchier concessimus & per presentes confirmauimus predilecto consanguineo nostro Johanni Bromley de Bromley armigero, pro suo magno auxilio nobis impenso in oppugnatione contra Francos prope le Corbie; & precipue pro suo laudabili seruitio in recuperatione & supportatione vexilli domini regis de Guien sub nostra conductione, vnam annuitatem sue annualem redditum quadraginta librarum legalis monete annuatim percipiendum, durante tota vita naturali predicti Johannis de Bromley, de & in omnibus manerijs, terris, & tenementis nostris cum pertinentibus in comitatu Stafford & Warwick, ad festa Penthecostes & sancti Martini in hyeme equis portionibus. Et si contingat predictam annuitatem sine annualem redditum quadraginta librarum, a retro fore in parte vel in toto, ad aliquod festum quo solui debeat, tunc bene licebit predicto Johanni & assignatis suis in predictis manerijs, ac in omnibus alijs terris & tenementis cum suis pertinentibus prescriptis, distringere & distractiones effugare & retinere, quousque de predicta annuitate simul cum arrearagijs si que fuerint, plenarie sibi fuerit satisfactum & persolutum. Et ut hac nostra concessio, & scripti huius confirmatio (durante tota vita predicti Johannis de Bromley) rata & stabilis permaneat, hoc scriptum impressione sigilli armorum meorum reborauimus. Hys testibus, Johanne de Holland, Richardo le Greynill, Richardo de Horwood, Thoma le Forestar, & alijs. Datum apud Madeley decimo die mensis Martij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum quarto.

John Bromley.

He came of a younger brother in the lineage of the right honorable the lord chancellor that now is 1585.

The kings standard recovered.

1585

King Henrie
passeth the ri-
uer of Some
with his host.

The kings
armie but of
15000.

The English
armie soys af-
flicted.

Iustice in
warre.
Dore & force
of iustice.

Hall.

The French
king cōsulterh
how to deale
with the Eng-
lishmen.

Dolphin king
of Sicill.

The French
king sendeth de-
fiance to king
Henrie.

King Henries
answer to the
defiance.

For that by the armes in the seale it may the bet-
ter be knowne of what stem this noble man sprang
(a matter which this storie seemes iustlie to require)
vnderstand ye thus were the same. In his shield, a
cheuorne charged with a mullet; his crest, a swans
head couped betwene two wings displayed all out
of a crowne supported by two greyhounds; about
the shield ingrauen, *Signa Eugenii de Stafford militis*.
Whereby is gathered that he was a third brother of
the duke of Buckingham house. This feat thus
well done, the king the same date found a shallow,
betwene Corbie and Peron, which neuer was es-
pied before, at which he with his armie and carria-
ges the night insuing, passed the water of Some
without let or banger, and therewith determined to
make haste towards Calis, and not to seeke for bat-
tell, except he were thereto constrained, because that
his armie by sickness was soe diminished, in so
much that he had but onlie two thousand horsemen
and thirtene thousand archers, bilmen, and of all
sorts of other footmen.

The Englishmen were brought into some dis-
tresse in this toinie, by reason of their bittels in ma-
ner spent, and no hope to get more: for the enmities
had destroyed all the corne before they came. Next
could they none take, for their enemies with alarmes
did euer so infect them: daile it rained, and nightlie
it frested: of fuel there was great scarcitie, of flures
plentie: monie enough, but waies for their reliefe
to bestow it on, had they none. Yet in this great ne-
cessitie, the poore people of the countrie were not spoli-
ed, nor anie thing taken of them without payment,
nor anie outrage or offense done by the English-
men, except one, which was, that a souldiour took a
pitt out of a church, for which he was apprehended, &
the king not once remoued till the boy was restored,
and the offender strangled. The people of the coun-
tries thereabout, hearing of such zeale in him, to the
maintenance of iustice, ministered to his armie victu-
als, and other necessities, although by open procla-
mation so to doe they were prohibited.

The French king being at Rone, and hearing
that king Henrie was passed the river of Some,
was much displeased therewith, and assembling his
councell to the number of fife and thirtie, asked their
advice what was to be done. There was amongst
these fife and thirtie, his sonne the Dolphin, calling
himselfe king of Sicill; the dukes of Berrie and Bri-
taine, the earle of Montieu the kings yongest sonne,
and other high estates. At length thirtie of them a-
greed, that the Englishmen should not depart un-
fought withall, and fife were of a contrarie opinion,
but the greater number ruled the matter: and so
Pontiory king at armes was sent to the king of
England to desire him as the entrie of France, and
to tell him that he should shortly haue battell. King
Henrie aduisedlie answered: Mine intent is to doe
as it pleaseth God, I will not seeke your maister at
this time; but if he or his seeke me, I will meet with
them God willing. If anie of your nation attempt
once to stop me in my iourne now towards Calis,
at their ieopardie be it; and yet with I not anie of
you so vnadvised, as to be the occasion that I die
your faworie ground with your red blood.

When he had thus answered the herald, he gaue
him a princelie reward, and licence to depart. Upon
whose returne, with this answer, it was incontinent-
lie on the French side proclaimed, that all men of
warre should resort to the constable to fight with the
king of England. Whereupon, all men apt for armes
and desirous of honour, drey them toward the field.
The Dolphin soe desired to haue bene at the battell,
but he was prohibited by his father: likewise Philip
earle of Charolois would gladlie haue bene there,

if his father the duke of Burgognie would haue suf-
fered him: manie of his men staid awaite, and went
to the Frenchmen. The king of England hearing
that the Frenchmen approached, and that there was
an other riuer for him to passe with his armie by a
brydge, and doubting least if the same brydge should
be broken, it would be greatlie to his hindrance,
appointed certeine capteins with their bands, to go
thither with all speed before him, and to take posses-
sion thereof, and so to keepe it, till his comming thir-
ther.

Those that were sent, finding the Frenchmen
busie to breake downe their brydge, assailed them so
vigozoulie, that they discomfited them, and took and
slue them; and so the brydge was preserved till the
king came, and passed the riuer by the same with his
whole armie. This was on the two and twentieth day
of October. The duke of Poike that led the bound-
gard (after the armie was passed the riuer) mounted
vp to the height of an hill with his people, and sent
out scouts to discover the countrie, the which vpon
their returne aduertised him, that a great armie of
Frenchmen was at hand, approaching towards them.
The duke declared to the king what he had heard,
and the king thereupon, without all feare or trouble
of mind, caused the battell which he led himselfe to
stale, and incontinentlie rode forth to view his ad-
uersaries, and that done, returned to his people, and
with cherefull countenance caused them to be put in
order of battell, assigning to euerie capteine such
rowne and place, as he thought conuenient, and so
kept them still in that order till night was come, and
then determined to seeke a place to incampe & lodge
his armie in for that night.

There was not one amongst them that knew any
certeine place whither to go, in that vnkowne
countrie: but by chance they happened vpon a bea-
ten waie, white in sight; by the which they were
brought vnto a little village, where they were refre-
shed with meat and drinke somewhat more plenti-
fullie than they had bene diuerse daies before. Or-
der was taken by commandement from the king
after the armie was first set in battell arraie, that no
noise or clamor should be made in the host; so that in
marching forth to this village, euerie man kept him-
selfe quiet: but at their comming into the village,
siers were made to giue light on euerie side, as there
likewise were in the French host, which was incamp-
ed not past two hundred and fiftie paces distant
from the English. The chiefe leaders of the French
host were these: the constable of France, the mar-
shall, the admerall, the lord d'Amboyses maister of the
crossbowes, and other of the French nobilitie, which
came and pitched downe their standards and ban-
ners in the countie of saint Paule, within the terri-
toirie of Agincourt, hauing in their armie (as some
write) to the number of threescore thousand horse-
men, besides footmen, wagoners and other.

They were lodged euen in the waie by the which
the Englishmen must needs passe towards Calis,
and all that night after their comming thither, made
great cheare and were verie merie, pleasant, and full
of game. The Englishmen also for their parts were
of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter,
and yet they were both hungry, wearie, soe trauel-
led, and bereed with manie cold diseases. Hobobell re-
conciling themselves with God by hostell and thirst,
requiring assistance at his hands that is the onlie
giuer of victorie, they determined rather to die,
than to yield, or flee. The date following was the fife
and twentieth of October in the yeare 1415, being
then fridaie, and the feast of Crispine and Crispina,
a day fatre and fortunate to the English, but
most sorrowfull and unluckie to the French.

King Henrie
rideth forth to
take view of
the French
armie.

The number
of the French
armie was
three hundred
thousand.
Enguerrand.

The battle
of Agincourt,
the 15 of Octo-
ber 1415.

In Reg. 3.

the French
army.

In the morning, the French capteins made three battels, in the vaward were eight thousand healmes of knights and esquiers, foure thousand archers, and fiftene hundred crobowes which were guided by the lord de la Beeth, constable of France, hauing with him the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earles of Cwe and Richmond, the marshall Bouciquant, and the maister of the crobowes, the lord Dampier admercall of France, and other capteins. The earle of Maudouline with firtene hundred men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battell. And the other wing was guided by sir Guichard Dolphine, sir Clugnet of Wabant, and sir Lewes Bourdon, with eight hundred men of armes, of elect cholen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishmen, were appointed sir Guiliam de Saueuses, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrie de Maille, and Allen de Gaspanes, with other eight hundred of armes.

the middle
battell.

In the middle ward, were assigned as manie persons, or more, as were in the foremost battell, and the charge thereof was committed to the dukes of Bar and Anson, the earles of Peuers, Maudemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Prié, & of Ruffie. And in the rereward were all the other men of armes guided by the earles of Parle, Dampmartine, Fauconberg, and the lord of Lourreie capteine of Arde, who had with him the men of the frontiers of Bolonois. Thus the Frenchmen being ordered vnder their standards and banners, made a great shew: for suchlie they were esteemed in number six times as manie or more, than was the whole companie of the Englishmen, with waggoners, pages and all. They rested themselves, waiting for the bloudie blast of the terrible trumpet, till the houre betwene nine and ten of the clocke of the same daie, during which season, the constable made vnto the capteins and other men of warre a pithie oration, exhorting and incouraging them to do valiantlie, with manie comfortable words and sensible reasons. King Henrie also like a leader, and not as one led; like a souereigne, and not an inferior, perceiving a plot of ground be-
tweene strong & meet for his purpose, which on the backe halfe was fenced with the village, wherein he had lodged the night before, and on both sides defended with hedges and bushes, thought good there to imbattell his host, and so ordered his men in the same place, as he saw occasion, and as stood for his most aduantage.

the order of
the English
army.

First, he sent priuillie two hundred archers into a lowe meadow, which was nere to the bauntgard of his enimies; but separated with a great ditch, commanding them there to keepe themselves close till they had a token to them giuen, to let drue at their aduersaries: beside this, he appointed a balward, of the which he made capteine Edward duke of York, who of an hauntie courage had desired that office, and with him were the lords Beaumont, Willoughbie, and Fanhope, and this battell was all of archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the king himselfe, with his brother the duke of Gloucester, and the earles of Marthall, Drenford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong bilmen. The duke of Gloucester uncle to the king led the rereward, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers. The hoistemen like wings went on euerie side of the battell.

the order of
the English
army.

Thus the king hauing ordered his battels, feared not the puissance of his enimies, but yet to provide that they should not with the multitude of hoistemen breake the order of his archers, in whome the force of his armie consisted. For in those daies the people had their lims at libertie, with their hosen were then fastened with one point, and their iackes long and easie to shot in; so that they might drue bowes

of great strenght, and shot arrowes of a yard long; beside the head he caused stakes bound with iron sharpe at both ends, of the length of five or six foot to be pitched before the archers, and of ech side the footmen like an hedge, to the intent that if the barbed hoistmen ran rashlie vpon them, they might shortlie be gozed and destroyed. Certaine persons also were appointed to remove the stakes, as by the moueing of the archers occasion and time should require, so that the footmen were hedged about with stakes, and the hoistmen stood like a bulwarke betwene them and their enimies, without the stakes. This device of fortifying an armie, was at this time first inuented: but since that time they haue devised caltraps, harrowes, and other new engins against the force of hoistmen; so that if the enimies run rashlie vpon the same, either are their hoistmen wounded with the stakes, or their feet hurt with the other engins, so as thereby the beasts are gozed, or else made vnable to mainteine their course.

10

20

30

40

King Henrie, by reason of his small number of people to fill vp his battels, placed his bauntgard so on the right hand of the maine battell, which himselfe led, that the distance betwixt them might scarce be perceived, and so in like case was the rereward joined on the left hand, that the one might the more readily succour an other in time of need. When he had thus ordered his battels, he left a small companie to keepe his campe and cartage, which remained still in the village, and then calling his capteins and soldiers about him, he made to them a right graue oration, mouing them to plaie the men, whereby to obtaine a glorious victorie, as there was hope certeinie they should, the rather if they would but remember the iust cause for which they fought, and whome they should encounter, such saint-barted people as their ancestors had so often overcome. To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to stirre them to do manfullie, assuring them that England should neuer be charged with his ransome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue; for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by Gods grace) win honour and fame.

It is said, that as he heard one of the host utter his wish to another thus: I would to God there were with vs now so manie good soldiers as are at this houre within England! the king answered: I would not wish a man more here than I haue, we are indeed in comparison to the enimies but a few, but if God of his clemencie do fauour vs, and our just cause (as I trust he will) we shall spend well enough. But let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strenght and might, but onelie to Gods assistance, to whome I haue no doubt we shall worthilie haue cause to giue thanks therefore. And if so be that for our offenses takes we shall be deliuered into the hands of our enimies, the lesse number we be, the lesse damage shall the realme of England susteine: but if we should fight in trust of multitude of men, and so get the victorie (our minds being prone to pride) we should thereby peraduenture ascribe the victorie not so much to the gift of God, as to our owne puissance, and thereby prouoke his high indignation and displeasure against vs; and if the enimie get the vpper hand, then should our realme and countrie suffer more damage and stand in further danger. But be you of good comfort, and shew your selues valiant, God and our iust quarrell shall defend vs, and deliuer these our proud aduersaries with all the multitude of them which you see (or at the least the most of them) into our hands. Whilest the king was yet thus in speech, either armie so maligned the other, being as then in open fight, that euerie man cried; Forward, forward. The dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, and York, were of

A politike in-
ucation.

Hall.

Henries
oration to
his men.

With
a noble con-
rage of a battle
and prince.

the same opinion, yet the king staied a while, least anie leoparable were not foresene, or anie hazard not prevented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as though they had bene sure of victorie, made great triumph, for the capitains had determined before, how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiers the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice. The noble men had deuised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantlie conuie the king captiue to the citie of Paris, crying to their soldiers; Haste you to the spoile, glorie and honoz; little weening (God wot) how soone their bags should be blowne awaie.

Hall.

Here we may not forget how the French thus in their iollitie, sent an herald to king Henrie, to inquire what ranfome he would offer. Wherevnto he answered, that within two or three houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the Englishmen for their ranfoms, than the English to take thought for their deliuerance, promising for his owne part, that his dead carcasse should rather be a prise to the Frenchmen, than that his liuing bodie should paie anie ranfome. When the messenger was come backe to the French host, the men of warre put on their helmets, and caused their trumpets to blow to the battell. They thought themselves so sure of victorie, that diuerse of the noble men made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standars: as amongst other the duke of Bzabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him in stead of his standard.

But when both these armies comming within danger either of other, set in full order of battell on both sides, they stood still at the first, beholding either others demeanoz, being not distant in sunder past thre bow shots. And when they had on both parts thus staied a good while without doing anie thing, (except that certeine of the French hoysmen aduancing forwards, betwixt both the hosts, were by the English archers constrained to returne backe) aduise was taken amongst the Englishmen, what was best for them to do. Therevpon all things considered, it was determined, that sith the Frenchmen would not come forward, the king with his armie imbatelled (as yee haue hard) should march towards them, and so leauing their trusse and baggage in the billage where they lodged the night before, onelie with their weapons, armour, and stakes prepared for the purpose, as yee haue heard.

The English gaue the onset.

The two armies ioine battell.

These made somewhat forward, before whome there went an old knight sir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the warre) with a warder in his hand; and when he cast by his warder, all the armie shouted, but that was a signe to the archers in the medow, which therewith shot wholie altogether at the vauward of the Frenchmen, who when they perceived the archers in the medow, and saw they could not come at them for a ditch that was betwixt them, with all hast set vpon the fore ward of king Henrie, but yet they could ioine, the archers in the forefront, and the archers on that side which stood in the medow, so wounded the footmen, galled the hoyses, and combed the men of armes, that the footmen durst not go forward, the hoysmen ran together vpon plunys without order, some ouerthrew such as were next them, and the hoyses ouerthrew to their masters, and so at the first ioining, the Frenchmen were foulely discomforted, and the Englishmen highly encouraged.

When the French vauward was thus brought to confusion, the English archers cast awaie their

bowes, & toke into their hands, ares, malle, swordes, bills, and other hand-weapons, and with the same slue the Frenchmen, untill they came to the middle ward. Then approached the king, and so encouraged his people, that hostlie the second battell of the Frenchmen was ouerthrowne, and dispersed, not without great slaughter of men: howbeit, diuerse were released by their barlets, and conueied out of the field. The Englishmen were so busied in fighting, and taking of the prisoners at hand, that they followed not in chase of their enemies, nor would once breake out of their arraie of battell. Yet sundrie of the Frenchmen stronglie withstood the fiercenesse of the English, when they came to handle strokes, so that the fight sometime was doubtfull and perillous. Yet as part of the French hoysmen set their course to haue entered vpon the kings battell, with the stakes ouerthrowne, they were either taken or slaine. Thus this battell continued thre long houres.

The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alanfon; yet with plaine strength he slue two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome when he would haue yeldeb, the kings garb (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand. In conclusion, the king minding to make an end of that daies forie, caused his hoysmen to fetch a compasse about, and to ioine with him against the rereward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greatest number of people. When the Frenchmen perceived his intent, they were suddenlie amayed and ran awaie like sheepe, without order or arraie. Which when the king perceived, he encouraged his men, and followed so quickelie vpon the enemies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour: manie on their knees desired to haue their liues saued.

In the meane season, while the battell thus continued, and that the Englishmen had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenchmen on horsebacke, whereof were capitains Robinet of Boneuill, Rissart of Clamas, Flambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of six hundred hoysmen, which were the first that fled, bearing that the English tents & pavillions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, either vpon a comenous meaning to gaine by the spoile, or vpon a desire to be reuenged, entred vpon the kings campe, and there spoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake vp chests, and carried awaie caskets, and slue such seruants as they found to make anie resistance, for which treason and baskardie in thus leauing their campe at the verie point of fight, for winning of spoile where none to defend it, verie manie were after committed to prison, and had lost their liues, if the Dolphin had longer liued.

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he doubting least his enemies should gather together againe, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enemies, or the verie enemies to their takers in deed if they were suffered to liue, contrarie to his accustomed gentleness, commanded by sound of trumpet, that enerie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinentlie slae his prisoner. When this dolorous decree, and pitifull proclamation was pronounced, pitie it was to see how some Frenchmen were suddenlie stricken with daggers, some were brained with pollaxes, some slaine with malle, other had their throats cut, and some their bellies panned, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number, few prisoners were saued.

When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the Englishmen

An. Reg. 3.

3 first onlet.

3 right wile
as want
challenge of
the king.

Thanks gi-
unto God
for the victo-
ry.

3 inesthe
temple of a
golden pance.

Two Liones.

The battell of
Agincourt.

The time day
that the mo-
narch went to
be crowned
at Reims his
cousin the
duke of Bur-
gundie came
to the coron-
ation in the
morning be-
cause he was
sore by from
the battle of
Poitiers.

Englishmen disposed themselves in order of battell, ready to abide a new field, and also to invade, and newlie set on their enemies, with great force they as- sailed the carles of Harle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Lourate, and of Rhine, with six hundred men of armes, who had all that daie kept together, but now slaine and beaten downe out of hand. ¶ Some write, that the king perceining his enemies in one part to assemble together, as though they meant to giue a new battell for preservation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and giue battell: promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people already had taken; but also so manie of them as in this new conflict, which they thus attempted should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

The Frenchmen fearing the sentence of so terrible a decree, without further delay parted out of the field. And so about foure of the clocke in the after none, the king when he saw no appearance of enemies, caused the retreat to be blown; and gathering his armie together, gave thanks to almighty God for so happie a victorie, causing his prelates and chaplains to sing this psalme: *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, and commanded euerie man to kneele downe on the ground at this verse: *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*. Which done, he caused *Te Deum*, with certaine anthems to be song, giuing laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or any humane power. What might he and his people take rest, and refreshed themselves with such victuals as they found in the French campe, but lodged in the same villiage where he laie the night before.

In the morning, Montioie king at armes and foure other french heralds came to the king to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead. Before he made them answer (to vnderstand what they would saie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that request, considering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs: When Montioie by true and iust confession had cleared that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montioie to vnderstand the name of the castell nere adjoining: when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, Then shall this conflict be called the battell of Agincourt. He feasted the french officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request, which busilie fought through the field for such as were slaine. But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they feared with them, & found manie hurt but not in icopardie of their liues, whom they took prisoners, and brought them to their tents. When the king of England had well refreshed himselfe, and his souldiers, that had taken the spoile of such as were slaine, he with his prisoners in good order returned to his towne of Calis.

When tidings of this great victorie, was blowne into England, solemne processions and other praises to almighty God with bounc-fires and soisfull triumphes, were ordeined in euerie towne, citie, and burrow, and the maior & citizens of London went the morow after the daie of saint Simon and Jude from the church of saint Paule to the church of saint Peter at Westminster in deuout maner, rendering to God hartie thanks for such fortunate lucke sent to the king and his armie. The same sundaie that the king removed from the campe at Agincourt towards Calis, diuerse frenchmen came to the field to view againe the dead bodies; and the peasants of the countie spoiled the carcasses of all such apparell and other things as the Englishmen had left: who took nothing but gold and siluer, iewels, rich apparell

and coslie armour. But the plowmen and peasants left nothing behind, neither shirt nor clout: so that the bodies laie stark naked untill wednesdaie. On the which daie diuerse of the noble men were conueied into their countries, and the remnant were by Philip earle Charolois (sore lamenting the chance, and moued with pittie) at his costs & charges buried in a square plot of ground of fiftene hundred yards; in the which he caused to be made three pits, wherein were buried by account five thousand and eight hundred persons, beside them that were caried a waie by their friends and seruants, and others, which being wounded died in hospitals and other places.

After this their dolorous tourment & pittifull slaughter, diuerse clearks of Paris made manie a lamentable verse, complaining that the king reigned by will, and that counsellors were parciall, affirming that the noble men fled against nature, and that the commons were destroyed by their prodigalitie, declaring also that the cleargie were dumbe, and durst not saie the truth, and that the humble commons durie obeyed, & yet euer suffered punishment, for which cause by diuine persecution the lesse number vanquished the greater: wherefore they concluded, that all things went out of order, and yet was there no man that studied to bring the vnrulie to frame. It was no maruell though this battell was lamentable to the french nation, for in it were taken and slaine the flower of all the nobilitie of France.

There were taken prisoners, Charles duke of Orleans nephew to the french king, John duke of Burbon, the lord Bouciquault one of the marshals of France (he after died in England) with a number of other lords, knights, and esquires, at the least fiftene hundred, besides the common people. There were slaine in all of the french part to the number of ten thousand men, whereof were princes and noble men bearing banners one hundred twentie and six; to these, of knights, esquires, and gentlemen, so manie as made by the number of eight thousand and foure hundred (of the which five hundred were dubbed knights the night before the battell) so as of the meaner sort, not past sixtene hundred. Amongst those of the nobilitie that were slaine, these were the chiefe, Charles lord de la Roche high constable of France, Jaques of Chatillon lord of Dampier admerall of France, the lord Rambures master of the crossebowes, sir Guilhard Dolphin great master of France, John duke of Alanson, Anthonie duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgognie, Edward duke of Bar, the earle of Fieuers another brother to the duke of Burgognie, with the eyles of Harle, Claude mont, Beaumont, Grandpre, Rouille, Fauconberge, Foies and Lesfrake, beside a great number of lords and barons of name.

Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, Edward duke of York, the earle of Suffolke, sir Richard Biskelie, and Dauid Samme esquier, and of all other not about five and twentie persons, as some doe report; but other writers of greater credit affirme, that there were slaine about five or six hundred persons. Titus Lilius saith, that there were slaine of Englishmen, beside the duke of York, and the earle of Suffolke, an hundred persons at the first incounter. The duke of Gloucester the kings brother was sore wounded about the hips, and boane downe to the ground, so that he fell backwards, with his feet towards his enemies, whom the king bestrid, and like a brother valiantlie rescued from his enemies, & so sauing his life, caused him to be conueied out of the sight, into a place of more safetie. ¶ The which order of this conflict which cost manie a mans life, and procured great bloodshed before it was ended, is liuelie described in *Anglorum praefatio*; where also, besides the manner of disposing

Three graces
that held si e
thousand and
eight hundred
copplis.

Noble men
prisoners.

The number
slaine on the
french part.
Englishmen
slaine.

Englishmen
slaine.

Rich. Grafton
Titus Lilius.

Abr. Fl. out of
Anglorum praefatio
lib. Henr. 5.

spoiling the armies, with the exploits on both sides, the number also of the slaine, not much differing (though somewhat) from the account here named, is there touched, which remembrance verie fit for this place, it were an error (I thinke) to omit; and therefore here inserted (with the shortest) as followeth.

*equitatus ordine primo,
Magnanimi satrapæ, post hoc cecidere secundo
Nauarra comes, & cum archiepiscopus (6 Sans)
Præterea comites octo periere cruentis
Puberibus, tria appellant quos voce barones
Plus centum, clari generis plus mille cadelant
Sexcenti, notig, decem plus millia vulgi
Ex Francorum, ter centum perdidit Angli:
Et penes Henricum belli victoria mansit.*

Hall.

After that the king of England had refreshed himselfe, and his people at Calis, and that such prisoners as he had left at Harflue (as ye haue heard) were come to Calis vnto him, the first daie of Nouember, he with all his prisoners toke shipping, and the same daie landed at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the duke of Poike, and the earle of Suffolke, and caused the duke to be buried at his colledge of Fordinghey, and the earle at new Elme. In this passage, the seas were so rough and troublous, that two ships belonging to sir John Cornetwall, lord Fanhope, were diuert into Zeland; howbeit, nothing was lost, nor any person perisht. The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained scarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautifull murrie, well mounted, and trimlie hoisted, with rich collars, & great chaines, met the king on Blackheath, reioysing at his returne: and the clergie of London, with rich crosses, sumptuous copes, and massie censers, receiued him at saint Thomas of Waterings with solempne procession.

Titus Lilius.

The king like a graue and sober personage, and as one remembryng from whom all victories are sent, seemed little to regard such baue pompe and shewes as were in triumphant sort deuised for his welcomming home from so prosperous a iournie, in so much that he would not suffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be seene in the same; neither would he suffer any ditties to be made and song by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praise and thanks altogether giuen to God. The news of this bloudie battell being reported to the French king as then sojourning at Rone, filled the court full of sorow. But to remedie such danger as was like to insue, it was decreed by counsell, to ordeine new officers in places of them that were slaine: and first, he elected his chiefe officer for the wars, called the constable, the earle of Arminacke, a wise and politike capteine, and an ancient enimie to the Englishmen, sir John de Cozie was made maister of the crossebowes. Shortlie after, either for melancholie that he had for the losse at Agincourt, or by some sudden disease Lelues Dolphin of Viennois, heire apparant to the French king, departed this life without issue, which happened well for Robinet of Bourneuill, and his fellows, as ye haue heard before, for his death was their life, & his life would haue bene their death.

The death of the Dolphin of France.
Part of those that spoiled the English campe.

1416

After the French king had created new officers, in hope to relieue the state of his realme and countrie, soze shaken by the late great ouerthrow, it chanced, that Thomas duke of Excester capteine of Harflue, accompanied with three thousand Englishmen, made a great rode into Normandie, almost to the cite of Rone, in which iournie he got great abundance both of riches and prisoners: but in his returne, the earle of Arminacke newlie made constable of France, intending in his first enterprize to win the

spurs, hauing with him aboute five thousand horsemen, incountred with the duke. The fight was hand- led on both parts verie hotlie, but because the Englishmen were not able to resist the force of the Frenchmen, the duke was constrained to retire with losse at the least of three hundred of his footmen.

Howbeit being withdraben into an orchard, which was stronglie fenced and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Englishmen; but yet they toke from them all their horses and spoile, & assaulted them till it was night, and then retired backe to the towne, not far distant from the place where they fought, called Challemon: this was vpon the 14 day of March. In the morning vpon the breake of the daie, the Englishmen issued forth of the orchard, where they had kept themselves all the night, & drew towards Harflue, wherof the Frenchmen being aduertised, followed them, & ouertooke them vpon the sands nere to Chiese de Caur, & there set on them: but in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and a great number of them slaine by the Englishmen, which afterwards returned without more adu vnto Harflue. The French writers blame the constable for this losse, because he kept on the high ground with a number of men of war, and would not come downe to aid his fellows.

In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the emperor Sigismund, cosine germane to king Henrie, came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betwene king Henrie and the French king: with whom he had bene before, byrning with him the archbishop of Remes, as ambassador for the French king. At Calis he was honorablie receiued by the earle of Marbrike lord deputie there, and diuerse other lords sent thither of purpose to attend him. Whereouer, the king sent thither thirtie great ships to byrning him and his traine oner. At Douer the duke of Gloucester, and diuerse other lords were readie to receiue him, who at his appoyning to land, entered the water with their weapons in their hands byawen; and by the mouth of the said duke declared to him, that if he intended to enter the land as the kings friend, and as a mediator to intreat for peace, he should be suffered to arriue: but if he would enter as an emperor into a land claimed to be vnder his empire, then were they readie to resist him. This was thought necessarie to be done for sauing of the kings prerogative, who hath full preheminnence within his owne realme, as an absolute emperor.

When the emperor hereupon answered that he was come as the kings friend, and as a mediator for peace, and not with any imperiall authoritie, he was of the duke and other his associats receiued with all such honor as might be deuised. The king with all his nobilitie receiued him on Blackheath, the seventh day of Maie, and brought him through London to Westminster with great triumph. Shortlie after there came also into England Albert duke of Hol- land, who was likewise friendlie interteined. Both these princes, the emperor and the duke of Holland were conueied to Windsor to saint Georges feast, and elected companions of the noble order of the garter, and had the collar and habit of the same to them deliuered, and sat in their thalls all the solemnitie of the feast. Shortlie after that the feast was finished, the duke of Holland returned into his countrie; but the emperor tarried still, and assayed all maner of means to perswade the king to a peace with the Frenchmen.

But their euill hap, as they that were appointed by Gods prouidence to suffer more damage at the Englishmens hands, would not permit his persuasions to take place: for whereas peace was cuen almost entring in at the gates, the king was suddenly sir-

Anno Reg. 4.
The emperor
Sigismund
cometh into
England.

Titus Lilius.

The French
manner of
creating the
emperor
Douer.

Robert
of Hol-
land
cometh into
England.

Continuation
de la chroni-
cles de Flan-
ders.

A truce be-
 twene the K.
 and the duke
 of Burgog-
 nie.

Titus Livius
W. P.

The prerogative of the English nation in the general council,

Thom. Walf.

The king's
oration.

of the league that was concluded betwixt them: the king sent his brother the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of March to the water of Craueling, to behold the flagges for the duke of Burgognie: and also the earle of Warwick, with a noble companie to conduct him to his presence. At Craueling first the dukes met; and after salutations done, the duke of Burgognie was conducted to Calis, where of the emperor; and the king he was highly welcomed and feasted. There is to be noted, that in June last, the king of England had sent the earle of Warwick, and other, unto the duke of Burgognie, as then remaining at Lille; where by the diligent trauell of those English ambassadors, a truce was concluded betwixt the king of England and the duke of Burgognie, touching onlie the countie of Flanders and Artois; to inforce from the feast of saint John Baptist in that present yeare 1416, unto the feast of saint Michael, in the yeare next ensuing. Which truce at the dukes being now at Calis (when no further agreement could be concluded) was prolonged unto the feast of saint Michael, that should be in the yeare 1419. The duke of Gloucester was received at Craueling, by the earle Charolois, and by him honorably conducted to saint Omers, and there lodged that night.

The next day, the earle Charolois came with divers noble men, to visit the duke of Gloucester in his lodging, and when he entered into the chamber, the dukes backe was towards him, talking with some one of his servants, and did not see nor welcome the earle at his first entrie; but after he said to him shortly without any great reverence, or comming towards him, You be welcome faire cousin, and so passed forth his tale with his servants. The earle Charolois for all his youth, was not well content thereof, but yet suffered for that time. When the duke of Burgognie had done all his businesse at Calis, after the ninth daie he returned to Graueling, where the duke of Gloucester and he met againe, and lovinglie departed, the one to Calis, and the other to saint Omers; for the which voiage the duke of Burgognie was suspected to be enimie to the crowne of France. After the dukes departing from Calis, the emperor was higblye feared and rewarded; and at his pleasure sailed into Spaine, & so rode towards Beame. The king likewise toke ship, and returned into England on saint Lukes euen.

About the same time, the king sent new ambassa-
dors unto the generall counsell, which still continued
at Constance, whither the emperorour Sigismund also
returned, cheselis for chasing awaie of that pestilent
smoke of schisme then blasted by betwene John the
thirde and twentieth, Gregorie the twelfth, and Venc-
the thirtieth, (as they intituled themselves) the thre
pernicious prelates, that all at once with such eager ma-
lice browe together for the sacred see of papasse Gods
dearage (that was) who to be highest here in earth.
The infectious smother of this venomous vapo: by
the spirit of these holie men thus raised by thorough
faction and parts taking, had bene ready to choke
all christendome, had not by the wisdome and autho-
ritie of the princes there, the same the sooner bene
vented away. Here by the consent also of all nations
it was ordeined in this counsell, that this realme
shoud haue the name of the English nation, and be
called and reputed for one of the five principall na-
tions of the counsell, which to grant before that time,
though emile, other nations had utterly refused.

The nineteenth of October, the parlement that had bene broken by, by reason of the emperours coming, began againe at Calcutminster, and there the king made to them a short and pithie oration, declaring the injuries lately done and committed by the French nation, the wrongs also the just and lawfull of

cession of the territories & dignities furthermore the
great difference shall be considered which required a
wrongful the House of Commons, rehearsing many
things, for the which it did beseeche the Lords to follow the
warres now in hand against the Spaniards that without
delaye they should send forth such a number of soldiers for mo-
rie and service that nothing should be wanting
when need should be: the request herein was graun-
ted by the Lords who was willing and glad for further
that solage to give that he should be granted by the Commons
and the Lords to be sent forth with the parliament as
John Duke of Bedford was made governor of
Genoa of his estate, to hold and exercise the same
for as the king was occupied in the French warres
and the parliament thinking good to send
the Duke of Bedford a thousand pounds by piece, to be
paid out of his estate to be & besides forty pounds
perelle, which he was to receive of the revenue of
Dorset of the king's revenues the same had the same
granted confirmed by authority of the parliament in
further that sanctuities that in the parliament he
was made Duke of Bedford, this not before.

The king kept his Court made at Killingworth, and the morow after Christmas date were certelie writings cast abroad in great mens houses, and almost in euery fine town in the townes of S. Albons, Dorhampton, and Reading, containing sharpe reproches against all estates of the church, and it could not be knowine from whence those writings came, nor who was the author of them. The king be-
30 came earnestlie procured all things to be made ready for the warre, meaning to passe the next summer o-uer into France, to recover his right by force, which by no other meane he saw how to obtaine. ¶ In this meane while had the Frenchmen hired a great num-ber of Genowaises and Itakans, with certelie ear-
40 riches and gallees well appointed, the which being iol-
ned with the French fleet, lay at the mouth of the
riuer of Seines, and by with in the same riuer, both to
stop all succoure by sea that should come to them
within Hartue, and also to traff abroad, and do what
damage they could vnto the English, as occasion
serued.

The king therefore per he passed ouer himselfe,
sent the erle of Huntingdon to search and to voye the
seas. This lustie earle, called John Holland sonne to
the erle of Huntingdon, otherwise called duke of
Excester, behended at Excester, in the time of king
Henrie the fourth, and aduill to the king, with a
great nauie of ships, searched the sea, from the one
coast to the other, and in conclusion encountered with
nine of those great cariches of Genes, the which the
lord Jaques the bassard of Warbon had retained to
serue the French king, and set on them sharple. The
conflict was great, and the fight long (continuing the
more part of a summers daie) but in the conclusion, the
Frenchmen and Italians were overcome and slayd.
Whyle of the greatest cariches with their patrons; and
monseieur Jaques de Warbon their admerall were
taken, with as much more as should haue payed the
soldiers of the whole fleet, he haste a peate, and then
their cariches were botmed.

The earle returning backe with this good lucke, found the king at Hampton, who received him with thanks; for he had well deserved. Shortly after, on the thirte and twentieth of Iulie, the king took his ship at Portsmouth, accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the earls of Huntingford, Northall, Bedford, Devonshire, Salisburie, Suffolke, and Devonshire; the Lordes Rolle, Willoughbie, fifty Hugh Clinton, Serpene, Patreners, Burghier, Ferrets of Grobie, and Ferrets of Chartleie, Fraunceys, Wate of Codnore, sir Gilbert Clarendon, sir Gilbert Talbot, and diuerse other; and so having

An. Reg. 5.

wind and weaſther to his deſire, the firſt daie of Auguſt he landed in Normandie, neere to a caſtell called Louque, where he conſulted with his capitaine, what waie was beſt for him to take concerning his high enterpriſe.

The number of the arme
of his
came pure
counſell.

Tit. Livius.

His armie contained the number of ſixtēe thouſand and foure hundred ſoldiers and men of warre of his owne purueitance, beſide others. The duke of Clarence had in his retinue a hundred lances, and three hundred archers: and beſide him, there were three earles, which had two hundred and forty lances, and ſeventie hundred and twenty archers. The duke of Gloceſter foure hundred and ſeventie lances, and ſouretēe hundred and ten archers. The earles of March, Warwicke, and Salisburie, each of them one hundred lances, and three hundred archers a peece. The earle of Huntingdon forty lances, and ſix ſcore archers. The earle of Suffolke thirty lances, and ſouretēe and ten archers. Beſide theſe, there were thirtēe lords, as Aburgauennie, Gattreuer, Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Graie, Willoughbie, Calbot, Courtine, Burchier, Roos, Louell, Ferrers of Chartie, and Harington, the which had in their retinue the number of ſixe hundred and ſix lances, and ſixtēe hundred and ſouretēe archers. Alſo, there were in this armie threſcore and ſeventie knights, which had vnder them nine hundred and forty ſixe lances, and two thouſand eight hundred and ſixty two archers; ſo that in all, there were ſixe and twenty thouſand, ſixe hundred, and eight and twenty fighting men: of which number euerie fourth man was a lance. Beſide the ſoldiers and men of warre, there were a thouſand maſons, carpenters, and other labourers.

The Normans
to the wall
did ſtrike.

The Normans hearing of the kings arriual, were ſuddenlie ſtricken with ſuch feare, that they fled out of their houſes, leauing the towne and villages, and with their wiues and children, bag and baggage, got them into the walled towne, preparing there to defend themſelues, & with all ſpeed ſent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defence and preſeruacion of his loving ſubiect. Whereupon, the men of war were appointed to reſort into the ſtrong towne, to lie within the ſame in gariſons, to reſiſt the power of the Engliſhmen, ſo that all the walled towne and caſtles in Normandie were furniſhed with men, munition, and vittells. The king of England, when he had reſolued with his counſell for his proceeding in his enterpriſes, laid ſiege vnto the caſtell of Louque. The duke of Gloceſter that led the ſore ward, had the charge of that ſiege, the which by force of aſſaults, and other warlike meanes, brought to that point, that they within yielded the place into his hands, the ninth daie of Auguſt. The earle of Salisburie, who led the battell, took the caſtell of Ambenilliers, the which was giuen to him by the king, and ſo this earle was the firſt that had anie territorie giuen him of the king in this new conqueſt. The king made at the winning of Louque eight and twenty knights, and left ſir Robert Kirkellie capitaine there.

Underſtand
the caſtell
taken.

After this, on deliberate aduiſe taken how to proceed, he ſet forth toward the towne of Caen in moſt warlike order, waſhing the countrie on euerie ſide as he paſſed. Which towne ſtandeth in a plaine fertile countrie, no ſtronger walled, than deepe ditched, and as then well vittelled and replenished with people: for the citizens fearing the kings coming, had there prouided all things neceſſarie and defendible. But his maielte doubting leaſt the Frenchmen, vpon their underſtanding of his approach to the towne, would haue burned the ſuburbs and buildings without the walles, ſent the duke of Clarence with a thouſand men beſore him, to pre-

uent that miſchæſe. The duke coming thither, found the ſuburbs already ſet on fire, but vſed ſuch diligence to quench the ſame, that the moſt part was ſaued. He alſo won the abbey church of ſaint Stephen, which the Frenchmen were in hand to haue ouerthrowne, by undermining the pillars; but the duke obtaining the place, filled up the mines, and ſo preſerued the church. He alſo won a cell of nunnies, verie ſtronglie fenced, after the manner of warre.

Then came the king beſore the towne, who cauſed ſouthwith to be caſt a deepe trench, with an high mount, to keepe them within from iſſuing forth, and that done, began fiercelie to aſſault the towne: but they within ſtood manfullie to their defence, ſo that there was ſore and cruell fight betwixt them, and their enimies. But when king Henrie perceiued that he loſt more than he won by his daillie aſſaults, he left off anie more to aſſault it, and determined to ouerthrow the wals, with undermining. Wherefore with all diligence, the pioners caſt trenches, made mines, & brought timber, ſo that within a ſeu daies, the wals ſtood onelie vpon poſts, ready to fall, when fire ſhould be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall aſſault, cauſed all the capitaine to aſſemble beſore him in counſell, vnto whom he declared his purpoſe, commanding them not beſore the next daie to utter it; till by ſound of trumpet they ſhould haue warning to ſet forth towards the wals, leaſt his determination being diſcloſed to the enimies, might cauſe them to prouide the better for their owne defence. He alſo preſcribed vnto them, what order he would haue them to keepe, in giuing the aſſault, and that was this; that euerie capitaine diuiding his band into three ſeueral portions, they might be ready one to ſucceed in an others place, as thoſe which fought ſhould hapilie be diuen backe and repelled.

Caen beſieged

Tit. Livius.

The order of
the aſſault.

In the morning next following, being the fourth of September, ſomewhat beſore the brake of the daie, he cauſed his people to approach the wals, and to ſhew countenance, as though they would giue a generall aſſault; and whilſt they were buſied in aſſailing and defending on both ſides, the Engliſhmen pearled and brake thorough the wals by diuerſe holes and ouertures made by the pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the king vpon diuerſe reſpects, offered them within pardon of life, if they would yield themſelues and the towne to his mercie; but they reſuſing that to do, the aſſault was newlie begun, and after ſore fight continued for the ſpace of an houre, the Engliſhmen preuailed, and ſue ſo manie as they found with weapon in hand, ready to reſiſt them.

The duke of Clarence was the firſt that entred with his people, and hauing got the one part of the towne, aſſailed them that kept the bzidge, & by force beating them backe, paſſed the ſame, and ſo came to the wals on the other ſide of the towne, where the fight was ſharpe and fierce betwixt the aſſailants and defendants; but the duke with his people ſetting on the Frenchmen behind, as they ſtood at defence on the wals, eaſilie vanquiſhed them, ſo that the Engliſhmen entred at their pleaſure. Thus when the king was poſſeſſed of the towne, he incontinentlie commanded all armour & weapons of the vanquiſhed, to be brought into one place, which was immediatlie done.

Titus Livius.

Caen taken
by the Engliſhmen.

Then the miſerable people came beſore the kings preſence, and kneeling on their knees, held vp their hands, and cried; ſpercie, mercie: to whom the king gaue certaine comfortable wordes, & had them ſtand vp. All the night following, he cauſed his armie to keepe themſelues in order of battell within the towne, and on the next morning called all the magiſtrats & gouernors of the towne to the ſenat houſe,

Wh. b. g.

where

Division of
spoile.

The captaine
of the castell
held out.

Titus Lilius.
Caen castell
yielded.

Titus Lilius.
The Scots
invade the
English boy-
bers.

Titus Lilius.
A great armie
to resist the
Scots.

Thom. Walsin.

The Scots
recoile home.

Placrus.

Sir John
Oldcastle.
The servants
of the abbat
of S. Albons
go about to
catch the lord
Cobham.

where some for their wilfull stubboynesse were ad-
judged to die, other were fore fined and ransomed.
Then he calling together his souldiers and men of
warre, not onelie gaue them great praifes and high
commendations for their manlie doings, but also di-
stributed to euerie man, according to his desert, the
spoile and gaine gotten in the towne, chæstie bicause
at the assault they had shewed god pzoofe of their
manhood and balliant courages.

After that the towne was thus woone, the lord
Montaigne, captaine of the castell, would not yeld,
but made semblance, as though he meant to defend
the place, to the utterance: but after that he was
sharplie called vpon by king Henrie, either to yeld
it, or else that he should be assured to haue all mercie
and sauour sequered from him, he toke better ad-
uise, and therevpon being in despaire of relæse, made
this composition, that if he were not rescued of the
French power by a certaine date, he should render
the fortresse into the kings hands, with condition,
that he and his souldiers should be suffered to depart
with all their goods, the habiliments of warre onelie
excepted. Herevpon twelue hostages were deliuered
to the king, and when the date came, being the twen-
tith of September, they withyn rendred the castell in-
to the kings hands; and thus, both the towne and cas-
tell of Caen became English.

Whilste the king was thus occupied about his
warres in Normandie, the Scots in great number,
entring England, wasted the countrie with fire and
sword whersoener they came. The English lords that
were left in trust with the keeping of those parties of
the realme, raised the whole power of the countries,
so that there came together the number of an hun-
dred thousand men vpon Walwore, where the gene-
rall assemblie was made, and as it chanced, the duke
of Excester, uncle to the king, who had latelie before
mustered a certaine number of men to conueie them
ouer to the king as a new supplie to his armie there,
was the same time in the north parts on pilgrimage
at Walsington; and hearing of this inuasion made
by the Scots, toke vpon him to be general of the
armie prepared against them, and to giue them bat-
tell. Also, the archbishop of Yorke, although he was
not able to sit on horsebacke by reason of his great
age, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a charet in
that iourne, the better to incourage other. But the
Scots hearing that the Englishmen approached to-
ward them with such a puissance, withdrew backe in-
to their countrie, and durst not abide the bickering;
either because they mistrusted an infortunat euent
on their side, by reason of the English pzoynesse; or
else for that they had learned by others ouerthrowes
to auoid the like, wherein standeth a profitable point
of wisdome, as the poet berie sententionlie saith,

Felicitas sapit qui in alieno periculo sapit.

The same time, the lord Cobham, sir John Old-
castle, whilste he shifted from place to place to escape
the hands of them, who he knew would be glad to
laie hold on him, had conueied himselfe in secret
wise into an husbandmans house, not farre from S.
Albons, within the precinct of a lordship belonging
to the abbat of that towne. The abbats seruants get-
ting knowledge hereof, came thither by night, but
they missed their purpose, for he was gone; but they
caught diuerse of his men, whome they caried streit
to prison. The lord Cobham herewith was fore dis-
maied, for that some of them that were taken were
such as he trusted most, being of counsell in all his
deuises. In the same place, were found books written
in English, and some of those books in times past had
bene trimlie gilt, limned, and beautified with ima-
ges, the heads whereof had bene scraped off, and in
the Letanie they had blotted forth the name of our

ladie, and of other saints, till they came to the verse
Parce nobis Domine. Diuerse writings were found
there also, in derogation of such honour as then was
thought due to our ladie. The abbat of saint Albons
sent the booke so disfigured with scrapings & blottings
out, with other such writings as there were found,
vnto the king; who sent the booke againe to the arch-
bishop, to shew the same in his sermons at Pauls
crosse in London, to the end that the citizens and o-
ther people of the realme might vnderstand the pur-
poses of those that then were called Lollards, to
bzing them further in discredit with the people.

In this meane time that the king of England was
occupied about Caen, the Frenchmen had neither a-
nie sufficient power to resist him, nor were able to as-
semble an host together in their necessitie, by reason
of the dissention among themselves: for their king
was so simple, that he was spoiled both of treasure
and kingdome, so that euerie man spent and wasted
he cared not what. Charles the Dolphin being of the
age of sixtē or seauentē years, betwix the
ruine and decaie of his countrie, he onlie studied the
relæse of the common-wealth, and deuised how to
resist his enimies; but hauing neither men nor mo-
nie, was greatlie troubled and disquieted in mind.
In conclusion, by the aduise and counsell of the earle
of Arminacke the constable of France, he found a
meane to get all the treasure & riches which his mo-
ther quene Isabell had gotten and hoarded in diuerse
secret places: and for the common defense and profit
of his countrie he wiselie bestowed it in waging
souldiers, and preparing of things necessarie for the
warre.

The quene forgetting the great perill that the
realme then stood in, remembryng onelie the displea-
sure to hir by this act done, vpon a womanish malice,
set hir husband John duke of Burgognie in the high-
est authoritie about the king, giuing him the reg-
ment and direction of the king and his realme, with
all pzeheminentie & souereignitie. The duke of Bur-
gognie hauing the sword in his hand, in reuenge of
old iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin,
determining, that when he had tamed this yong un-
bribeled gentleman, then would he go about to with-
stand, and beat backe the common enimies of the
realme. The like reason moued the Dolphin, for he
minded first to repelle the assaults of ciuill discord,
before he would set vpon foreine enimies, and there-
fore prepared to subdue and destroie the duke of Bur-
gognie, as the cheefe head of that mischæse, whereby
the realme was vniquieted, decayed, and in manner
brought to vtter ruine. Thus was France afflicted,
and in euerie part troubled with warre and dission,
and no man to pzooude remedie, nor once put forth
his finger for helpe or succour.

King Henrie in the meane time following bito-
rie and his god successe, sent the duke of Clarence to
the sea coast, where (with great difficultie) he got the
towne of Basseur, whereof the lord Spatreuers was
appointed captaine. The duke of Gloucester also fin-
ding small resistance, toke the citie of Lescar, of
which citie sir John Birkleie was ordeined captaine.
King Henrie himselfe taried still at Caen, forti-
fying the towne and castell, and put out sixtē hun-
dred women and impotent persons, replenishing
the towne with English people. Where while the
king sojourned, he kept a solempne feast, and made
manie knights; beside that, he shewed there an ex-
ample of great pittie and clemencie: for in fear-
ching the castell, he found innumerable substance of
plate and monie belonging to the citizens, whereof
he would not suffer one penie to be touched, but re-
stored the same to the owners; deliuering to euerie
man that which was his owne.

Communica-
tion of the
Dolphin of
France.

The yong
Dolphin de-
ced his mo-
ther of the
treasure, which
mischæse was
vpon it.

The duke of
Burgognie
chose dead
France.

Salopie
taken.

Caen
taken
with
English
troops
taken
Caen
taken

Then

An. Reg. 5.

When the fame of his mercifull dealing herein, of his bountie to captiues, and of his fauourable vifiting of thofe that fubmitted themfelues to his grace, was fped abroad, all the capitaine of the townes adjoining, came willingly to his prefence, offering to him themfelues, their townes, and their goods, whereupon he made proclamation, that all men, which had, or would become his fubiects, and fweare to him allegiance, fhould inioy their gods, and liberties, in as large or more ample maner, than they did before: which gentle intertaining of the Stubborne Normans, was the verie caufe, why they were not onlie content, but alfo glad to remoue and turne from the French part, and become fubiects to the crowne of England.

When the king had fet Caen in good order, he left there for captiues, the one of the towne, the other of the caftell, fir Gilbert Umfrevill earle of Arme, or Angus, & fir Gilbert Talbot, and made bailiffe there fir John Popham, and fo departed from Caen the firft of October, and comming to the caftell of Courfay, within thre daies had it rendered to him. From thence, the fourth of October, he came vnto Argenton: they within that towne and caftell offered, that if no relieue came by a daie limited, they would deliver both the towne and caftell into the kings hands, fo that fuch as would abide and become the kings faithfull fubiects fhould be received, the other to depart with their goods and lues faued whither they would: the king accepted their offer. When the daie limited came, and no fuccours appeared, they yelded according to the covenants, and the king performed all that on his behalfe was promifed. The lord Grate of Cobnors was appointed capitaine there. After this, reforted daile to the king, of the Normans, people of all forts and degrees, to fweare to him fealtie and homage. The citie of Sees which was well inhabited, and wherein were two abbies of great ftrength, one of them yelded to the king, and fo likewife did divers other townes in thofe parties, without ftrike ftriken.

The towne of Alanson above a ftege for the fpace of eight daies, they within defending it right balliantlie at the firft; but in the end, confidering with themfelues, what fmall hope there was for any fuccours to come to remoue the ftege, they grew to a compofition, that if within a certeine daie they were not relieued, they fhould yeld both the towne and caftell into the kings hands, which was done: for no fuccours could be heard of. The king appointed capitaine of this towne, the duke of Glocefter, and his lieutenant fir Rafle Lenthal. The duke of Britaine under fafe conduct came to the king, as he was thus bufie in the conquest of Normandie, and after fundry points treated of betwixt them, a truce was taken, to indure from the feuenth daie of Nouember, vnto the laft of September, in the yeare next following, betwixt them, their fouldiers, men of warre, and fubiects. The like truce was granted vnto the queene of Ierufalem and Sicill, & to hir fonne Lewis, for the duchie of Anjou, and the countie of Maine, the duke of Britaine being their deputie for concluding of the fame truce.

About the fame time alfo, at the fute of Charles the Dolphin, a treatie was in hand at Conque, for a fmall peace, but it came to none effect. From Alanson the king fet forward towards the towne and caftell of Faleis, meaning to befiege the fame, where the Frenchmen appointed to the keeping of it, had fortified the towne by all meanes poffible, and prepared themfelues to defende it to the vttermoft. The earle of Montreuil was firft fent thither before with certein bands of fouldiers to inclofe the enemies within the towne, & to view the ftrength thereof. After

him came the king with his whole armie, about the firft of December, and then was the towne befieged on ech fide. The king lodged before the gate that leadeth to Caen, the duke of Clarence before the caftell that ftandeth on a rocke, and the duke of Glocefter laie on the kings right hand, and other lords & noble men were assigned to their places as was thought expedient. And to be fure from taking damage by any fudden inuafion of the enemies, there were great trenches and rampiers caft and made about their feuerall campes, for defence of the fame.

The Frenchmen notwithstanding this ftege, balliantlie defended their wals, and fometimes made iffues forth, but fmall to their gaine: and fill the Englifhmen with their guns and great ordinance made batterie to the wals and bulworks. The winter feafon was verie cold, with fharp frofts, & hard weather; but the Englifhmen made fuch shift for prouifion of all things neceffarie to ferue their turns, that they were fufficientlie prouided, both againft hunger and cold: fo that in the end, the Frenchmen perceiving they could not long indure againft them, offered to talke, and agreed to giue over the towne, if no relieue came by a certeine daie appointed. About the fame feafon was fir John Oldcaftell, lord Cobham taken, in the countie of Powes land, in the borders of Wales, within a lordfhip belonging to the lord Powes, not without danger and hurts of fome that were at the taking of him: for they could not take him, till he was wounded himfelfe.

At the fame time, the ftates of the realme were afsembled at London, for the leuieng of monie, to furnifh the kings great charges, which he was at about the maintenance of his wars in France: it was therefore determined, that the laid fir John Oldcaftell fhould be brought, and put to his trial, per the affembly brake vp. The lord Powes therefore was fent to fetch him, who brought him to London in a litter, wounded as he was: herewith being firft laid fall in the Tower, fhottlie after he was brought before the duke of Bedford, regent of the realme, and the other eftates, where in the end he was condemned; and finally was drawen from the Tower vnto faine Giles field, and there hanged in a chaine by the middle, and after consumed with fire, the gallows and all.

When the daie was come, on the which it was covenanted that the towne of Faleis fhould be delivered, to wit, the fecond of Januarie, becaufe no fuccours appeared, the towne was yelded to the king: but the caftell held out fill, into the which the capitaine and gouernour both of the towne and caftell had withdrawne themfelues, with all the fouldiers; and being ftreiallie befieged, the capitaine defended himfelfe and the place right ftoutlie, although he was foze laid to, untill at length, perceiving his people wearied with continuall assaults, and fuch approaches as were made to and within the verie wals, he was diluen to compound with the king, that if he were not fuccoured by the firft of February, then fhould he yeld himfelfe prifoner, and deliver the caftell: fo that the fouldiers fhould haue licence to depart, with their lues onelie faued. When the daie came, the covenants were performed, and the caftell rendered to the kings hands, for no aid came to the relieue of them within. The capitaine named Oliuer de Spanie was kept as prifoner, till the caftell was repaired at his cofts and charges, becaufe the fame, through his obftinat wilfulneffe, was foze beaten and defaced, with underminings and batterie. Capitaine there, by the king, was appointed fir Henrie Fifti Hough.

After this, king Henrie returned to Caen, and by reason of a proclamation which he had caufed to be made for the people of Normandie, that had withdrawne

Faleis belies
red.Thom. Wall.
Sir John
Oldcaftell
taken.Sir John
Oldcaftell
executed.1418
Faleis rendered
up to king
Henrie.Hiftoir des
ducs de Nor-
mandie.

Tho. Wallin.
Taus. Liams.

Abr. H. out of
Fabian pag.
397. and John
Stow pag. 398.

Slaughter
and bloudshed
in S. Dun-
stons church
on Easter
day.

women full of
mischeie.

Record. Cant.

The princies
pall offenders
punishment.

* Not teares
of hir complaint
(A trust) for
sorrow of hir
kings.

drawne themselves forth of the balliwicks of Caen and Falais, he granted alwaie to his owne people the lands of those that came not in vpon that proclamation, and in speciall, he gaue to the duke of Clarence, bearing his life, the vicounties of Auge, Durbec, and Pontenau de Mer, with all the lands of those that were withdrawne forth of the same vicounties. This gift was made the sixteenth of Februarie, in this fift yeare of this kings reigne. All the Lent season, the king laie at Baieur with part of his armie, but the residue were sent abroad, for the atchieving of certeine enterprises, because they should not lie idle.

In this yeare 1418, and in the first yeare of the reigne of this victorious king, Henrie the fift, on Easter daie in the after none (a time which required deuotion) at a sermon in saint Dunstons in the east of London, a great fraie happened in the said church, where through manie people were sore wounded, and one Thomas Petwarden fishmonger that dwelt at Sprets keie was slaine outright; as they (vpon a god intent) did what they could (to their owne perill as vnforsunately it befell) to appease the turmoile, and to procure the keeping of the kings peace. Here vpon the church was suspended, and the beginners of the broile, namelie the lord Strange and sir John Russell knight (betwene whom such coles of vnkindnesse were kindled (at the instigation of their wives, gentlewomen of euill disposition and at cursed hatred one with another) that their husbands went at their meeting in the said church to haue slaine one another) were committed to the counter in the Pultrie. Two wise gentlemen (A wise) and well aduised (no doubt) who without regard of day, place, people, preacher, or perill that might insue, were so forward to become the instruments of their mischionous wifes malice; the fulfilling wherof they would haue forborne, if with discretion they had pondered the verdict of the poet concerning the said sex:

Femina letalis, facina plena malis.

The archbishop of Canturburie, when he had intelligence giuen of this outrageous profanation of the church, caused the offenders to be excommunicat, as well at Paules, as in all other parish churches of London. Shortly after, to wit on the one and twentieth of Aprill, the said archbishop sat at saint Pagnys, vpon inquisition for the authors of the said disorder, and found the fault to consist speciallie in the lord Strange and his wife. So that vpon the first daie of Maie next following in Paules church, before the said archbishop, the mayor of London, and others, the said offenders submitted themselves to doe penance, and swore to do it in such sort as to them it was intained; namelie, as followeth. That immediatlie all their seruants should (in their shirts) go before the parson of saint Dunstons, from Paules to the said saint Dunstons church; and the lord Strange bare-headed, with his ladie barefooted; Reigbold Kenwood archdeacon of London following them. Also it was appointed them, that at the consecrating or hallowing of the said church (which they had profaned) the ladie should fill all the vessels with water, and offer likewise to the altar an ornament of ten pounds; and the lord his husband a peece of silver of five pounds. Which done by waie of a satisfactorie expiation, it is likelie they were absolved: but the lord Strange had first made the wife of the said Petwarden slaine in the fraie, large amends: as Fabian saith, though in that sort he maketh no mention.]

Whilist the king of England was thus in Normanie, his nauie lost nothing on the sea, but so scoured the streames, that neither Frenchmen nor Britons durst once appeare: howbeit, on a daie there arose such a storme and hideous tempest, that if the

earles of March and Huntington had not taken the haven of Southhampton, the whole nauie had perished; yet the safeguard was strange, for in the same haven, two balingers, and two great carrikes, laden with merchandize were drowned, and the broken mast of another carrike was blowne ouer the wall of the towne. When the furie of this outrageous wind and weather was asswaged, and the sea wared calme, the earles of March and Huntington passed ouer with all their compaignie, and landing in Normandie, they marched through the countrie, destroying the French villages, and taking prizes on each hand, till they came to the king where he then was.

In the first yeare of king Henries reigne, he sent the earle of Warwick, and the lord Talbot, to besiege the strong castell of Dampfront. The duke of Clarence was also sent to besiege and subdue other townes, vnto whom, at one time and other, we find, that these townes vnderwritten were yeldded, where in he put capteins as followeth. In Courton John Aubin, in Warney William Houghton, in Chambray James Perill, in Bechelouin the earle of March, in Harecourt Richard Wooduill esquier, in Fangeron John S. Albion, in Creuenier sir John Kirbie to whom it was giuen, in Anuilliers Robert Hoznebie, in Bagles sir John Arthur, in Frenicle vicont sir Robert Hynt.

The duke of Gloucester the same time, accompanied with the earle of March, the lord Greie of Codner, and other, was sent to subdue the townes in the Ile of Constantine, vnto whom these townes hereafter mentioned were yeldded, where he appointed capteins as followeth. At Carentine the lord Soetreux, at Saint Lo Reginald West, at Valoignes Thomas Burgh, at Pont Done Danie Holwell, at the Hate de Pais sir John Aston, at saint Sautur le vicont sir John Kobfert, at Pontorson sir Robert Garraue, at Hamberie the earle of Suffolke lord of that place by gift, at Briqueuill the said earle also by gift, at Auranches sir Philip Hall balliue of Alancon, at Uice the lord Patteners, at S. James de Beumeron the same lord.

After that the duke had subdued to the kings domination, the most part of all the townes in that Ile of Constantine, Chierburgh excepted, he returned to the king, and forthwith was sent thither againe to besiege that strong fortreffe, which was fenced with men, munition, vittels, and strong walles, towers, and turrets, in most defensible wise, by reason wherof it was holden against him the space of five moneths, although he vsed all waies and meanes possible to annoy them within, so that manie fierie assaults, skirmishes, issues, and other exploits of warre were atchieued, betwixt the Frenchmen within, and the Englishmen without: yet at length, the Frenchmen were so constrained by power of baterie, mines, and other forcible waies of approachings, that they were glad to compound to deliuer the place, if no rescue came to raise the siege, either from the Dolphin, that then was retired into Aquitaine, or from the duke of Burgonie that then laie at Paris, within the terme of three score and two daies (so long respite the duke granted) but they trusting further vpon his lenitie and gentlenesse hoped to get a far longer terme.

Now were the Dolphin and the duke of Burgonie growen to a certeine agreement, by mediation of cardinals sent from the pope, so that the Englishmen shortly thought, that they would leaue a power, and come vnto us to resiste Chierburgh. The duke of Gloucester therefore raised his camps to be stronglie intrenched, and manie defensible blockhouses of timber to be raised, like to small turrets, that the same might be a safeguard to his people, and

to conclude, lest nothing unforeseen nor undone, that was available for the defense of his armie. The king doubting least some power should be sent downe, to the danger of his brother, and those that were with him at this siege, caused two thousand men to be imbarked in thirtie ships of the west countrie, by order sent vnto certeine lords there.

Clarendon
Bromley
Bromley

The Frenchmen within the towne, perceiuing those succors to approach nere to the towne, thought verelie that there had bene a power of Frenchmen coming to their aid: but when they saw them receiued as friends into the English campe, their comfort was some quailed: and so when the date appointed came, being the nineteenth of October, or rather about the later end of November (as the historie of the dukes of Normandie hath) they rendered up both the towne and castell, according to the covenants. The lord Greie of Cobour was made the kings lieutenant there, and after his deceasse, Sir Walter Hungerford. About the same time, or rather before, as Titus Livius writeth, to wit, the two and twentieth of June, the strong castell of Dampfront was yelbed into the hands of the earle of Warwike, to the kings use. But the historie writen of the dukes of Normandie affirmeth, that it was surrendered the two and twentieth of September, after the siege had continued about it from April last. The king by honorable report of other, and of his owne speciall knowledge, so rightlie ascertained of the great valure that (for feats at armes and policie in warre) was alwaies found in the person of that John Bromley esquier (spoken of a little here before) for which his maiestie so sundrie waies roiallie rewarded him againe, some specialtie yet of the gentleman's merits together with the fouereignes bountie to him among other, seemes here (at mention of this Dampfront, whereof shortly after he was capteine) verie well to deserue a place: and to that purpose as the king in Julie went ouer againe, and this John Bromley in June the same yeare, with conduct of charge was sent afooe, imploring himselfe still in venturous activitie with great annoie to the enimie: his highnesse for good liking of the same, and for hartening and example to other (in April next following) gaue fourtie pounds land to him and his heires males by letters patents in words as followeth, and remaining yet of record in the Tower of London.

A copie of the said letters patents.

Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglie & Francie & dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem. Scias quod de gratia nostra speciali & pro bono servitio quod dilectus servus noster Iohannes Bromley nobis impendit & impendet in futurum: dedimus & concessimus ei hospitium de Molay Bacon, infra comitatum nostrum de Baieux, ac omnes terras, tenementa, redditus, hereditates, & possessiones infra ducatum nostrum Normandie, que fuerunt Alani de Beaumont nobis rebellis, ut dicitur: Habendum & tenendum prefato Iohanni & heredibus suis masculinis de corpore suo procreatis, hospitium, terras, & tenementa, redditus, hereditates, & possessiones predictas, una cum omnimodis franchisijs, privilegijs, iurisdictionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releijs, eschevis, forisfacturis, feodis militum, advocacionibus ecclesiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque, terris, pratis, pasturis, boscis, warrens, chafais, aquis, vijs, et agnis, molendi-

nis, vinarijs, moris, mariscis, ac alijs comoditatibus quibuscumque, dictis hospitio, terris, tenementis, redditibus, hereditatibus, & possessionibus pertinentibus siue spectantibus, ad valorem quadraginta librarum sterlingorum per annum, tenendis de nobis & heredibus nostris per homagium, &c.: ac reddendo nobis & eisdem heredibus nostris apud castrum nostrum de Baieux unam zonam pro loricis, ad festum Nativitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste singulis annis: nec non faciendo alia servitia, &c. Reservato, &c. Promisso semper, &c. Castro seu civitati nostro de Baieux, &c. Quodque predictum hospitium, &c. In cuius rei, &c. Teste me ipso apud dictam civitatem nostram de Baieux, 18 die Aprilis, anno regni nostri sexto, per ipsum regem.

Yet hereat the noble prince not lacking his bountie, but rather regarding ever how iustlie new merits doe deserue new dignities, and peradventure the more moved somewhat to reare up the degree of this esquire, toward the state of his brother, who a long time before had bene indued with knighthood, and also because that vnto the duke of Buckingham he was of blood, which his behaviour alwaies had from staine so farre preserved, as rather brought to it some increase of glorie, did in the most worthe wise which to that order belongeth, dub him knight of warfare in field, made him also capteine generall of this strong castell of Dampfront, seneschall and great constable of Bossenille le Rossie, with other offices and titles of worship, as partlie may appeare by a deed, in which this knight taking patterne at his princes benignitie had given an annuite of twentie pounds to his kinsman Walter Audeley.

Sir John
Bromley
made capteine
of Dampfront.

A copie of that writing sundrie waies so well serving to the truth of the storie was thought right necessarie heere to be added, thus.



Contribus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit, Iohannes de Bromley miles, capitaneus generalis de Dampfront, seneschallus & magnus constabularius de Bossenille le Rossie & March ibidem, salutem. Scias quod pro bono & fideli servitio quod dilectus consanguineus meus Gualterus de Audeley mihi fecerit, tam infra regnum Anglie quam extra, & precipue contra Francos: dedisse & concessisse, & hac presenti charta mea confirmasse eidem Gualtero unum annualem redditum viginti librarum, exeuntem de xpanerio meo de Bromley, & omnibus alijs terris & tenementis meis infra regnum Anglie, una cum herbagio, pro quatuor equis habendo infra hoscos meos de Bromley & Willoughbridge, & alio carucatis feni capiendis infra praiam mea de Shurlebrooke & Eoorsmedo annuatim, durante tota vita predicti Gualteri, in festo sancti Iacobi apostoli. Et si contingat predictum annualem redditum, a retro fore in aliquo festo, durante termino predicto, tunc bene licebit eidem Gualtero, in manerio meo, & omnibus alijs terris meis predictis distringere, & districtiones inde capias penes se retinere, quousque de redditu predicto, una cum arveragijs (si que fuerint) plenarie fuerit persolutum & satisfactum. Et ulterius volo, quod predictus Gualterus habeat liberum egressum & regressum cum equis suis predictis, & ad asportandum fenum predictum, quando docuerit, voluerit, per omnes semitas & vias, sine aliqua

aliqua contradictione mei predicti Iohannis, aut heredum meorum aliquali. Reddendo inde mihi ipsi Gualtero annuatim in festo sancti Georgij martiris, si tunc fuerim infra regnum Anglia, unum par calcarium deauratorum, pro omnibus. Et etiam volo & concedo quod predictus Gualterus liber sit, durante tota vita sua, ad volandum, venandum, piscandum, & alias commoditates percipiendum, tam infra manerium meum de Bromley quam in omnibus alijs manerijs, terris, & teneamentis meis infra regnum Anglia, sine aliqua contradictione vel impedimento mei prefati Iohannis de Bromley militis, heredum, aut assignatorum meorum aliquali. Et ut fidele testimonium presentibus habeatur, sigillum meum apposui: hijs testibus, Roberto de Bruyn milite, Iohanne de Holland, Gulielmo de Breton, Richardo le Grenill, Iohanne de Egerton, Richardo le Beſton, Thomaſe Creu, & alijs. Datum apud Damprfont predicto, 12 die mensis Augusti, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum sexto.

The old armes of the house of Bromley being quarterlie gules and oze per fesse indented, had in the scale to this deed, an inscutchen charged with a griffin rampant; his creast, out of a crowne, a demilion supporting a standard charged with a lion passant gardant: about the shield was ingrauen, sigillum Iohannis de Bromley militis. That inscutchen and creast (as like is) glorie him in laudable remembrance for his valiant recoverye of the standard at the Harpe and bloodie skirmish by Corbie. The earle of Warwike, and the lord Talbot, after the winning of this forreſſe, made speed to come vnto the siege of Rone, where they were imploied, as after shall appeare. And in like manner, the duke of Gloucester, having once got the possession of Chierburgh, hastened towards the same siege: for the better furnishing of which enterpryse, he had first caused an armie of fiftene thousand men to be brought over to him, vnder the leading of his uncle the duke of Exceſſer, who imbarcking with the same, about the feast of the holye Trinitie, was appointed by the king to besiege the citie of Curreur, as the earle of Angus, otherwise called earle of Raine, was sent to win the castell of Millie Lucſche. These towneſes being deliuered to the kings vse, the duke ordeined capitaine of Curreur sir Gilbert Walsail knight.

The king now determining with all speed to besiege Rone, prepared all things necessarie for his purpose. Into this citie the Normans had conueied out of euerie part their monie, iewels, and household stuffe, as into the most sure and strongest place of the whole duchie. For since his arrivall, they had not onlie walled that citie, and fortified it with rampiers and strong bulworks, but also furnished it with valiant capitaine, and hardie soldiers, to the number of foure thousand, beside such of the citizens as were appointed for the warre, according to their estates, of the which there were at the least fiftene thousand readie to serue in defense of the citie, as soldiers, and men of warre in all places where they should be assigned. King Henrie, to haue the countrie free, before he would besiege this citie, thought good first to win such towneſes as late in his waie, and therefore departing from Caen (where he had kept the feast of saint George) the ninth daie of June, he marched straight vnto the towne of Louiers, and laid his siege about the same.

They within the towne, being well furnished of all things necessarie for the defending of a siege, manfully resisted the Englishmens inforcements,

which spared not to deuise all waies and means how to approach the walles, and to batter the same with their great artillerie, till at length they brought the Frenchmen to that extremitie, that they were contented to yeld the towne on these conditions; that if by the thre and twentieth of June there came no succour from the French king to raise the siege, the towne should be deliuered into the kings hands, the soldiers of the garrison should serue vnder the king for a time, and the towneſmen should remaine in their dwellings as they did before, as subiects to the king: but the gunners that had discharged anie peece against the Englishmen should suffer death. When the daie came, and no aid appeared, the covenants were performed accordinglie. From thence went the king with all speed vnto Pont de Larch, standing vpon the river of Seine, eight miles above Rone towards Paris: he came thither about the seauen and twentieth of June.

When the Frenchmen which kept the passage there heard of the kings approach, they gathered together a great number of men of warre, minding to defend the passage against him, appointing an other band of men (if they failed) to keepe the further side of the bidge; and to watch, that neither by boate nor vessel he should come ouer the river by anie maner of meanes. At his conuening nere to the towne, he perceived that it was not possible to passe by the bidge without great losse of his people, and therefore he retired almost a mile backward, where, in a pleasant and commodious place by the river side he pitched his campe, and in the night season, what with boates and barges, and what with hogheads and pipes, he conueied ouer the broad river of Seine a great companie of his soldiers, without anie resistance made by his enemies. For they which were on the hither side of Seine, thinking that the Englishmen had gone to winne some other place, followed them not, but studied how to defend their towne, which was inough for them to do.

And to put the Frenchmen in doubt, least the Englishmen should take passage somewhere else, the king appointed certeine of the soldiers which had skill in swimming, to go to a place thre miles from the siege by the river side, and there to enter into the water, making great clamor and noise, as though they had meant to haue passed; but they had in commandement not to traueſe past halfe the river, so to procure the Frenchmen to make thitherwards, whilst the king in one place, and his brother the duke of Clarence in another, got ouer their men, and that in such number, before the Frenchmen had anie vnderstanding thereof, that when they made towards them, and perceived that they were not able to encounter them, they fled backe, and durst not abide the English footmen, which would faine haue bene doing with them.

When the king saw that his men were on the other side of the water, he (the next daie earlie) returned to the towne, & assaulted it on both sides. When the inhabitants therefore saw themselves compassed on both sides, contrarie to their expectation, with humble heart and small toy they rendered vp the towne vnto the kings hands. After this, the king having no let nor impediment, determined forthwith to besiege the citie of Rone, and first sent before him his uncle the duke of Exceſſer, with a great companie of horsemen & archers to view the place, & ther vpon with banner displayed came before the citie, and sent Windſore an herault to armes to the capitaine within, willing them to deliuer the citie vnto the king his maister, or else he would pursue them with fire and sword. To whom they pouldie answered, that none they receiued of him, nor anie they would

Thus Louiers
Rone was be-
sieged.

Louiers
1475

The English
armie policy
the river of
Seine.

A good place

Pont de Larch
betweene
the river of
& Englishmen

would deliuer him, except by fine force they were thereunto compelled: and herewith there issued out of the towne a great band of men of armes, and encountered hercelie with the Englishmen, the which receiuing them with like valour, and great force, drave the frenchmen into the towne againe to their losse, for they left thirtie of their fellows behind prisoners and dead in the field.

The duke returned with this good speed and proud answer of the frenchmen vnto the king, who remained yet at Pont de Larch, and had giuen the towne of Louiers to his brother the duke of Clarence, which made there his departhe sir John Godard knight. After that the duke of Gloucester was returned to Pont Larch, the french captains within Rone set fire on the suburbs, beat downe churches, cut downe trees, dyed the bushes, destroyed the vines round about the citie, to the intent that the Englishmen should haue no reliefe no comfort either of lodging or felwell. When the king heard of these despitefull doings, he with his whole armie remoued from Pont Larch, and the last daie of Iulie came before the citie of Rone, and compassed it round about with a strong siege. This citie was verie rich in gold, silver, and other precious things, in so much that when the same was taken and seized vpon by the English, the spoile was verie great and exceeding aduantageable: which the compiler of *Englorum prolia* hath verie well noted, in a few lines, but pitie, saieing:

*Prima Rothomagus restat, qua mercibus, auro,
Argento, vasis pretiosis diues abundat:
Rothomagus captus, iamq. Anglus adeptus opimas
Prædæ, in patriam per pulchra trophæa remittit.*

The king laie with a great puissance at the Charterhouse, on the east side of the citie, and the duke of Clarence lodged at St. Geruais before the port of Carr on the west part. The duke of Gloucester took his place on the north side: at port St. Denis, betwene the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, was appointed the earle marshall, enen before the gate of the castle, to whome were ioined the earle of Desmond, and the lords Harington and Talbot, vpon his coming from Dampfront: and from the duke of Gloucester toward the king, were incamped the lords Ross, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, and sir William Porter, with a great band of northerne men, enen before the port of saint Hilarie. The earles of Portaigne and Salubrie were assigned to lodge about the abbie of saint Katharine. Sir John Greie was lodged direclie against the chappell called mount St. Michael: sir Philip Lech treasurer of the warres kept the hill next the abbete, and the baron of Carew kept the passage on the riuer of Seine, and to him was ioined that valiant esquier Xenico Darcot.

On the further side of the riuer were lodged the earles of Warren and Huntington, the lords Pell and Ferrers, sir Gilbert Umfreuile with a well furnished companie of warlike soldiers direclie before the gate called Port de Pont. And to the intent that no aid should passe by the riuer toward the citie, there was a great chaine of iron deuised at Pont Larch, set on piles from the one side of the water to the other: and beside that chaine, there was set vp a new forced bridge, sufficient both for cariage and passage, to passe the riuer from one campe to another. The erle of Warwicke that had lately wone Dampfront, was sent to besiege Caluodebecke, a towne standing on the riuer side, betwene the sea and the citie of Rone. A memorable feat in seruice nere to that place was done at that time by a well minded man then noted some after in writing: which matter unable to be better reported than by him that had so well marked it, no; like to be more trulie expressed

than by the ancient simplicitie (and yet effectually) of the selfe same words wherein they were written, therefore thought meetest to haue them rehearsed as they were in order, thus.

The truth of the said memorable feat
as it was reported in writing.

Memorandum, that my lord the earle of Warwicke did send out my cosin sir John Bromley and my cosin George Umfreuile with an hundred archers, and about two hundred soldiers a frett, to keepe at a little castle called the Strou nere to Caluodebecke where they wearen met with aboue eight hundred frenchmen & the fraie betwene them long yfought, and the Englishmen in great dread and perill: till at length by the might of God and saint George, the field did fall to our Englishmen, & the frenchmen wearen put to flight, and thear wearen yslaine aboue two hundred frenchmen, and as manie ytaken prisoners, and their capteine who was ycalled the lord of Estriles was thear also yslaine, and thear wearen yslaine of our Englishmen my said cosin George Umfreuile and about twentie mo: on whose solles Iesus haue mercie, and thear wearen hurt in the face my said cosin sir John Bromley & my cosin Walter Audeley soze wounded and mained in the right arme of his bodie, he then being but of the age of eightene yeares. But thanks be giuen to the blessed Trinitie, thear wearen manie noble victories ywon by the said noble erle of Warwicke and his folke, as in his officiall booke written by Maister John le Tucke then present with the said noble erle is ampie recorded. My said cosin Walter Audeley died at Warwicke the seauententh daie of Iulie anno Domini one thousand foure hundred and twentie, and was buried at Acton in Cheshire, nere the bodie of my said cosin sir John Bromley: on whose solles Iesus haue mercie. By me sir Richard Braie, chapleine to my ladie the old countesse of Warwicke; Iesus Maria, Amen, Pater noster, Ave Maria.

After this confliat, this towne was so hardlie handled with fierce and continuall assaults, that the capteins within offered to suffer the English naue to passe by their towne without impeachment, by to the citie of Rone. And also if Rone yelded, they promised to render the towne without delate. Herevpon the English naue, to the number of an hundred sailles, passed by Caluodebecke, and came to Rone, and so besieged it on the water side. There came also to this siege the duke of Gloucester, with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Aburgauenne, which had taken (as before yce haue heard) the towne of Etrichburgh, & lodged before the port of St. Hilarie, nearer to their enemies by fortye rodes than any other person of the armie.

During this siege also, there arrived at Harline the lord of Bilmaine in Ireland, with a band of fixtome hundred Irishmen, in maille, with darts and stans after the maner of their countrie, all of them being tall, quicke, and nimble persons, which came and

A confliat nere to Caluodebecke.

The L. of Estriles name.

George Umfreuile name.

Walter Audeley soze wounded.

* And this sir John Bromley departed from this life the fourth day of Sept. 1479. which was in anno reg. 7. as by the office take after his death remaining of record in y castle of Chester doth manifestly appeare.

The lord of Bilmaine captaine of the Irishmen.

An. Reg. 6.

within the citie were brought to such extremitie for want of vittels, that they were in danger all to haue starued. Whereupon being now full hope of reliefe, they determined to treat with the king of England, and so upon Shewpares euen there came to the walls such as they had chosen amongst them for commissioners, which made a signe to the Englishmen lying without the gate of the bridge, to speake with some gentleman, or other person of authority. The carle of Huntington, which kept that part, sent to them sir Gilbert Amfrecute, unto whom they declared, that if they might haue a safe conduct, they would gladly come forth to speake with the king. Sir Gilbert repairsto to the duke of Clarence, and other of the kings counsell, advertised them of this request.

They within
the citie demand
guilt.

Whereupon the duke of Clarence with the other counsellors resorted to the kings lodging, to informe him of the matter, and to know his pleasure therein; who after good aduiseement and deliberation taken, willed sir Gilbert to advertise them, that he was content to heare twelue of them, which should be safely conueied into his presence. This answer being brought to the Frenchmen by the said sir Gilbert, on the next daie in the morning, foure knights, foure learned men, and foure sage burgeses, all clothed in blacke, came forth of the citie, and were received at the port saint Marie by sir Gilbert Amfrecute, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and yeomen of the kings household, commonlie called yeomen of the crowne, by whome they were conueied to the kings lodging, whome they found at masse, which being ended, the king came out of his chamber, steele, and princelie beholding the French messengers, and passed by them into his chamber. And incontinentlie after he commanded that they should be brought in before his presence, to heare what they had to say.

By counsel
was made.

One of them scene in the ciuill lawes, was appointed to declare the message in all their names, who shewing himselfe more rash than wise, more arrogant than learned, first took upon him to shew wherein the glorie of victorie consisted, aduising the king not to shew his manhood in furnishing a multitude of poore, simple, and innocent people, but rather suffer such miserable wretches as laie betwixt the walls of the citie, and the trenches of his siege, to passe through the campe, that they might get their living in other places, and then if he durst manfullie assault the citie, and by force subdue it, he should win both worldlie fame, and merit great meed at the hands of almighty God, for hauing compassion of the poore, needy, and indigent people.

For kings
ministers to this
great mis-
take.

When this orator had said, the king who no request lesse suspected, than that which was thus desired, began a while to muse; and after he had well considered the craftie cautell of his crinicks, with a fierce countenance, and bold spirit he reprimed them, both for their subtil dealing with him, and their malapert presumption, in that they should seeme to go about to teach him what belonged to the dutie of a conquerour. And therefore since it appeared that the same was unknowne unto them, he declared that the goodnesse of battell called *Bellona*, had three handmaidens, cuer of necessitie attending vpon hir, as blood, fire, and famine. And whereas it laie in his choise to vse them all three; yea, two, or one of them at his pleasure, he had appointed onelie the meekest maide of those three damels to punish them of that citie, till they were brought to reason.

And whereas the gaine of a capteine attained by any of the said three handmaidens, was both glorious, honourable, and worthy of triumph: yet of all the three, the yongest maide, which he meant to vse at

that time was most profitable and commodious. And as for the poore people lying in the ditches, if they died through famine, the fault was theirs, that like cruell tyrants had put them out of the towne, to the intent he should slay them; and yet had he saved their liues, so that if any lacke of charitie was, it rested in them, and not in him. But to their cloked request, he meant not to gratifie them within so much, but they should keepe them still to helpe to spend their vittels. And as to assault the towne, he told them that he would they should know, he was both able and willing thereto, as he should see occasion: but the choise was in his hand, to tame them either with blood, fire, or famine, or with them all, whereof he would take the choise at his pleasure, and not at theirs.

This answer put the French ambassadors in a great studie, musing much at his excellent wit and hardihood of courage. Now after they had dined (as his commandement was they should) with his officers, they vpon consultation had together, required once againe to haue access to his royal presence, which being granted, they humbling themselves on their knees, besought him to take a truce for eight daies, during the which they might by their commissioners take some end and good conclusion with him and his counsell. The king like a mercifull prince granted to them their asking, with which answer they iofullie returned. After their departure were appointed and set vp three tents, the one for the lords of England, the second for the commissioners of the citie, and the third for both parties to assemble in, and to treat of the matter.

A truce for
eight daies.

The commissioners for the English part were the earles of Warwike and Salisburie, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir Walter Hungerford, sir Gilbert Amfrecute, sir John Robbert, and John de Masques de Alameda. And for the French part were appointed, sir Guic de Butteler, and sir others. These commissioners met every daie, arguing and reasoning about a conclusion, but nothing was done the space of eight daies, nor so much as one article concluded: wherefore the Englishmen took downe the tents, the Frenchmen took their leaue: but at their departing they remembering themselves, required the English lords (for the loue of God) that the truce might indure till the sunne rising the next daie, to the which the lords assented.

Commissioners
appointed.

When the French commissioners were returned into the citie without any conclusion of agreement, the poore people ran about the streets, crying, and calling the capteins and gouernors murderers and manquellers, saying that for their pride and stifte stomachs all this miserie was happened, threatening to sea them if they would not agree vnto the king of Englands demand. The magistrats herewith amazed, called all the townesmen together to know their minds and opinions. The whole voice of the commons was, to yeld rather than to sterue. When the Frenchmen in the euening came to the tent of sir John Robbert, requiring him of gentleness to moue the king, that the truce might be prolonged for foure daies. The king thereunto agreed, and appointed the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other seven before named for his part, and the citizens appointed a like number for them.

The tents were againe set vp, and daillie they met together, and on the fourth daie they agreed on this wise, that the citie and castell of Rone should be deliuered vnto the king of England, at what time after the middell of the nineteenth daie of that present moneth of Januarie, the said king willed the same; and that all the capteins and other men whatsoeuer, dwelling or being within the said citie and castell, should submit them in all things to the grace of the said king:

The articles
concerning the
yelding vp of
Rone.

king: and further, that they should paie to the said king three hundred thousand scutes of gold, whereof of allwaies two should be worth an English noble, or in stead of euerie scute thirtie great blankes white, or sixtene grotes.

Howeuer it was accorded, that euerie soldier and stranger, being in the said citie and castell, should sweare on the euangelists before their departure, not to beare armour against the king of England, before the first daie of Januarie next to come. Also they within the towne should suffer all the poore people lying in ditches, or about the ditches of the citie, which for penurie were chased out, to enter the citie againe, and to find them sufficient food till the said nineteenth daie of Januarie. There were diuerse other articles, in all to the number of two and twentie agreed aswell on the behalfe of the citizens, as of king Henrie, who granted, that all the souldiers, strangers, and other within the said citie and castell at that time, being not willing to become his lieges, should depart, after that the citie and castell was once yielded, freely without let, leaving to the said king all their armors, horses, harnesse, & goods, except the Normans, which if they should refuse to become lieges to him, were appointed to remaine as his prisoners, together with one Luca Italico, and certeine others.

Luca Italico.
The vicar
generall of
the archie-
shoppe of
Rome for de-
nouncing the
king excommunic-
ed was deliuered
to him and de-
tained in pri-
son till he died.
Titus Livius.
Dne Blane
Blanchart
was likewise
deliuered to
him, & by his
comandement
put to death.
Titus Livius.
King Henrie
enters into
Rome.

When the daie of appointment came, which was the daie of saint Molliane, sir Guie de Buttiler, and the burgeses, deliuered the keys of the citie and castell unto the king of England, beseeching him of fauour and compassion. The king incontinentlie appointed the duke of Cerester, with a great companie to take possession of the citie, who like a valiant capteine mounted on a goodlie courser first entered into the citie, and after into the castell. The next daie being fridaie, the king in great triumph like a conquerour, accompanied with foure dukes, ten earles, eight bishops, sixtene barons, and a great multitude of knights, esquieres, and men of warre entered into Rome, where he was receiued by the cleargie, with two and fourtie crosses; and then met him the senat, and the burgeses of the towne, offering to him diuerse faire and costlie presents.

In this manner he passed through the citie to our ladie church, and there hauing said his orisons, he caused his chaplains to sing this anthem: *Qvis est tam magnus dominus*: Who is so great a lord as our God. This done, he came to the castell, where he continued a good space after, receiuing homages and fealties of the burgeses and townesmen, and setting orders amongst them. He also redressed diuerse foetrestes, and townes, during which time he made proclamation, that all men which would become his subiects, should inioy their goods, lands & offices, which proclamation made manie townes to yield, and manie men to become English the same season.

Titus Livius.

The duke of Britaine, understanding that if the king of England should continue in possession of Normandie, his countrie could not but be in great danger, if he prouided not to haue him his friend, by on safe conduct obtained for him & his retinue, came to Rome with six hundred horses, and being honourable receiued of the king, after conference had betwixt them of diuerse things, at length they agreed upon a league on this wise, that neither of them should make warre vnto the other, nor to any of the others people or subiects, except he that meant to make war denounced the same six moneths before. Thus this league being concluded, the duke took leaue of the king, and so returned into Britaine.

A league con-
cluded be-
tweene king
Henrie and
the duke of
Britaine.

About the same time, at the sute of certeine bishops and abbats of Normandie, the king confirmed vnto them their ancient priuileges, granted by the former dukes of Normandie and kings of France, except

such as were granted by those whome he repented for usurpers, and no lawfull kings or dukes. He also established at Caen the chamber of accounts of the revenues of his dukedome of Normandie. In Rome he began the foundation of a strong tower behind the castell, that from the castell to the tower, and from the tower to his palace, the men of warre appointed there in garison, might passe to furiety without danger of the citie; if perhaps the citizens should attempt any rebellion.

In this first yeare, whilst these things were doing in Normandie, quene Jone late wife of king Henrie the fourth, and mother in law to this king, was arrested by the duke of Bedford the kings lieutenant in his absence, and by him committed to safe keeping in the castell of Leeds in Kent, there to abide the kings pleasure. About the same time, one frater Hamboll of the order of Franciscanes that professed diuinitie, and had bene confessor to the same quene, was taken in the Ile of Cernessey, and being first brought ouer into Normandie, was by the kings commandement sent thither into England, and committed to the Tower, where he remained till the parson of the Tower quarelling with him, by chance sue him there within the Tower ward. It was reported that he had conspired with the quene by sorcerie and necromancie to destroy the king.

Whilst the king remained in Rome, to set things in order for the establishment of good policie in that citie, he sent abroad diuerse of his capteins, with conuenient forces to subdue certeine townes & castles in those parties, as his brother the duke of Clarence, who wan the strong towne of Vernon and Gante. In Vernon was sir William Porter made capteine, and in Gant the earle of March. The earle of Salisburie wan Hundes, after he had besieged it from the fourth of Februarie vntill the twelfth of March. This towne was giuen afterwards vnto the duke of Clarence. Also the said earle of Salisburie wan the townes of Pontfret de Williers, Cw, Pelw castell, and finally all the places in that quarter, which till that present were not vnder the English obedience. At Pelw castell sir Philip Lech was made capteine.

After Candlemasse, the king departed from Rome to go to Eureur, whither he promised to come in like case, as the Dolphin promised to be at Dyeur, to the end that they might aduise upon a conuenient place where to meet, to treat of peace to be concluded betwixt the two realms. But the Dolphin by sinister persuation of some enemies to concord, brake promise, and came not. When the king saw that the rough default of his aduersarie, no treatie would be had, he remoued to Vernon, and there a while remained. From Eureur the king had dispatched the earle of Marwike vnto the siege of la Roch Guion, which fortresse he so constrained, that it was yielded into his hands, the sixt of Aprill, in the beginning of this seuenth yeare of king Henries reigne, and giuen to sir Guie Buttiler late capteine of Rome, of the kings free and liberall grant.

About the same time, the duke of Cerester laid siege vnto Chateau Galiard, which siege continued from the last of March, vnto the latter end of September, or (as some write) vnto the twentieth of December, as after shall appeare. The duke of Glouceter being sent to win the towne and castell of Port, took the towne by assault, and the castell was deliuered by composition after foure daies siege. After this the Englishmen ouerran the countrie about Chartres, and did much hurt to their enemies in all places where they came. The hearts of the Frenchmen were sore discouraged with the losse of Rome, and the other townes which yielded one after another thus to the English.

She was
deliuered
to the
king
by the
duke of
Bedford
the kings
lieutenant
in his
absence
and by
him
committed
to safe
keeping
in the
castell of
Leeds in
Kent, there
to abide
the kings
pleasure.

Vernon and
Gante taken
by the
duke of
Clarence.

Titus Livius.
Hundes taken
by the
duke of
Salisburie.

Anno Reg.
la Roch Guion
yielded by
composition.

Chartres &
other
townes
yielded
to the
English.

An. Reg. 7.

Englishmen, so that such as loued the wealth of their countrie sore lamented the imminent mischances, which they saw by the diuision of the nobilitie, like shortlie to fall on their heads, namelye because they saw no remedie prepared.

But who euer else was disquieted with this matter, John duke of Burgognie raged and swelled, yea and so much fretted therewith, that he wist not what to saie, and lesse to do: for he knew well that he was neither free from disdaine, nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice, because that he onelie ruled the king, and had the whole swings in all matters about him. And therefore he considered, that all such mishaps as chanced to the state of the common-wealth would be imputed to his negligence and disordred gouernement. To find some remedie against such dangers at hand, he thought first to assaie, if he might by any reasonable means conclude a peace betwixt the two mightie kings of England and France, which if he might bring to passe, he doubted not to reuenge his quarrell easilie inough against the Dolphin Charles, and to repress all causes of grudge and disdaine.

Herewith intending to build upon this fraile foundation, he sent letters and ambassadozs to the king of England, aduertising him, that if he would personallie come to a communication to be had betwene him and Charles the French king, he doubted not but by his onlie meanes, peace should be brought in place, and bloudie battell claretie cryed. King Henrie giuing courteous eare to these ambassadozs, sent with them the earle of Warwicke as his ambassadoz, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen to talke with the duke, as then remaining in the French court at the towne of Prouince. The earle was assailed by the waite as he iournied, by a great number of rebellious persons, gotten into armour of purpose to haue spoiled him of such monie and things as he and his companie had about them. But by the high balancie of the English people, with the aid of their bowes, the Frenchmen were discomfited and chased.

The earle at his coming to Prouince was honorablie receiued, and hauing done the effect of his message, returned; and with him the earle of saint Paule, and the sonne and heire of the duke of Burbon were also sent as ambassadozs from the French king, to conclude upon the time and place of the meeting, with all the circumstances. Whereupon the king of England agreed to come to the towne of Pante, with condition that the duke of Burgognie, and other for the French king should come to Pontoise, that either part might meet other in a conuenient place betwixt those two townes nere to Apellan. According to this appointment, K. Henrie came to Pante, where in the feast of Pentecost he kept a liberal house to all comers, and late himselfe in great estate. Upon the which daie, either for god service already by them done, or for the god expectation of things to come, he created Calcoigne de Foix, otherwise called the captaine or captall de Buca ballant Calcoigne, earle of Longueuille; and sir John Greie earle of Tankerville, and the lord Bourchier earle of Ew.

After this solemne feast ended, the place of entertainment and meeting was appointed to be beside Apellan on the river of Seine, where in a faire place euerie part was by commissioners appointed to their ground. When the daie of appointment approached, which was the last daie of Maie, the king of England accompanied with the dukes of Clarence, and Gloucester, his brethren, the duke of Excester his vnckle, and Henrie Beauford clerke his other vnckle, which after was bishop of Winchester and cardinall, with the earles of March, Salisburie, and others, to the

number of a thousand men of warre, entered into his ground, which was barred about and posted, where in his tents were pight in a princelie maner.

Likewise for the French part came Isabell the French quene, because hir husband was fallen into his old frantike disease, hauing in hir companie the duke of Burgognie, and the earle of saint Paule, and she had attending upon hir the faire ladic Katharine hir daughter, with sir and twentie ladies and damoysels; and had also for hir furniture a thousand men of warre. The said ladic Katharine was brought by hir mother, onelie to the intent that the king of England beholding hir excellent beautie, should be so inflamed and rapt in hir loue, that he to obtaine hir to his wife, should the sooner agree to a gentle peace and louing concord. But though manie words were spent in this treatie, and that they met at right seuerall times, yet no effect ensued, nor any conclusion was taken by this frendlie consultation, so that both parties after a princelie fashion toke leaue ech of other, and departed; the Englishmen to Pante, and the Frenchmen to Pontoise.

Some authors write that the Dolphin to saie that no agreement should passe, sent sir Canegue de Chastell to the duke of Burgognie, declaring that if he would breake off the treatie with the Englishmen, he would then common with him; and take such order, that not onelie they but the whole realme of France should thereof be glad and reioice. Howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that where it was agreed, that they should estewes haue met in the same place on the third of Iulie; the king according to that appointment came: but there was none for the French part, neither quene nor duke that once appeared; so that it was manifest inough how the fault rested not in the Englishmen, but in the Frenchmen. By reason wherof no conclusion sorted to effect of all this communication, saue onelie that a certaine sparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the sight of the ladic Katharine.

The king without doubt was highlie displeased in his mind, that this communication came to no better passe. Wherefore he mistrusting that the duke of Burgognie was the verie let and stop of his desires, said vnto him before his departure: *Cosine, we will haue your kings daughter, and all things that we demand with hir, or we will diue your king and you out of his realme. Well (said the duke of Burgognie) before you diue the king and me out of his realme, you shall be well wearied, and therof we doubt little.* Shortlie after, the duke of Burgognie and the Dolphin met in the plaine fields besides Apellan, and there comming together, concluded apparantlie an open peace and amitie, which was proclaimed in Paris, Amiens, and Pontoise.

This agreement was made the first of Iulie in the yeare 1419. It was ingrossed by notaries, signed with their hands, and sealed with their great scales of armes; but as the sequele shewed, hart thought not what tong spake, nor mind meant not that hard wrote. Whiles these things were a doing, diuerse of the Frenchmen in Rone went about a conspiracie against the Englishmen, wherof the king being well aduertised, sent thither certaine of his nobles, which tried out these conspiratozs, caused them to be apprehended, had them in examination, and such as they found guiltie were put to death; and so setting the citie in quietnes, returned to the king, who counted it great honor to keepe the countreies which he wone by conquest in obedience and awe; with such victories are not obtained without sore labour and toile, both of prince and people, as the poet rightlis saith:

*Querre regna, labor, virtus est pars meri
Maxima.*

Al. l.

The

A treatie of peace.

Seven times the last being on the last day of June, Titus Livius,

Chro. of Flinders,

Titus Livius,

An agreement betwene the duke of Burgognie & the Dolphin.

Titus Livius,

A conspiracie in Rone.

In Angl. pp. sub Hen. 5.

Hall.
These bands
belonged to
the earle of
Longueville
& to the lord de
Bespars Calcoignes.
Hilt. dez duez
de Normand.
The king
playeth the
porters part.

This captain
was brother
to the earle
of Fois.

Hall.

Pontoise sur-
prised by the
Englishmen.

Hall.

Hall.

The king of England, perceiving by this new alliance, that nothing was lesse to be looked for, than peace at the hands of the Frenchmen, devised still how to win towncs and fortresses, which were kept against him: and now that the truce was expired, on the thirtieth daie of Julie, he being as then within the towne of Hante, appointed certeine bands of soldiers in the after none to passe out of the gates, giving onelic knowledge to the capitaine what he would have them to do. And to the intent that no inkling of the enterprise should come to the enemies care, he kept the gates himselfe as porter. These that were thus sent forth being guided by the earle of Longueville, otherwise called the capitaine de Buef, were commanded in as secret maner as they could to draw toward the towne of Pontoise, and to keepe themselves in covert till the darke of the night, and then approach the walles of that towne, and upon espieng their advantage to enter it by scaling, having ladders and all things necessarie with them for the purpose.

Moreover, about the closing of the daie and night in the evening, he sent forth the earle of Huntingdon with other bands of soldiers, to succor and assist the other, if they chanced to enter the towne according to the order taken. Those that were first sent forth (according to their instructions) consulted themselves to close themselves to their appointed places, that the enemies heard nothing of their doings. Whereupon when the night was come, they came in secret wise under the walles, and there watched their time till the morning began to draw on. In the meane time, whilst the watch was departed, and before other were come in to their places to relieue it, the Englishmen setting by their ladders, entered and brake open one of the gates to receive the other that followed.

The Frenchmen perceiving that the walles were taken, and their enemies entered into the towne, at the first were sore amazed: but after perceiving the small number of the Englishmen, they assembled together and fiercely assailed them, so that they were constrained to retire to the walles and turrets which they had taken, and with much adoe defended the same; some leaping downe into the ditches, and hiding them in the vines, till at length the earle of Huntingdon, with his companies came to their succors, and entering by the gate which was open, easilie did beat backe the enemies, & got the market place. Which when the lord Lisle Adam capitaine of the towne perceived, he opened the gate towards Paris, by the which he with all his retinue, and diuerse of the townesmen to the number of ten thousand in all, (as Enguerant de Monstr. recounteth) fled towards Paris, taking awaie with them their coine, iewels, and plate. Some of them fleeing towards Beauvois were met with, and stripped of that they had, by Jehan de Saligny, and Jehan de Clau, two capitaine that served the Dauntiall faction.

There were within the towne of Pontoise at that time when it was thus taken by the Englishmen, a thousand lances, and two thousand archbalisters, as Thomas Wallingham affirmeth, and of Englishmen and Calcoignes that went first forth of Hante with the capitaine de Buef, not past fiftene hundred, as Hall reporteth: although Enguerant de Monstrellet saith, they were about thre thousand. But how manie soever they were, they durst not at the first, by reason of their small number (as may be thought) once divide themselves, or deale with batties, till about the houre of prime, that the duke of Clarence came to their aid with five thousand men, who much praising the valiantnesse of the earle and his retinue that had thus wonne the towne, gave to them the chiefe spoile of the which there was great plentie.

Then went the duke forth towards Paris, and comming thither, lodged before it two daies and two nights, without perceiving any proffer of issue to be made forth against him by his enemies, and there, for seeing they durst not once looke upon him, he returned to Pontoise, for the taking of which towne the whole countrie of France, and speciallie the Parisians were sore dismayed: sith now there was no fortress able to withstand the English puissance; for that the Frenchmen ouerran all the Isle of France, did to the Frenchmen damages innumerable (as their writers affirme) brought daile pices to the English armie, burst by houses, laid beds on the backs of the king, rid upon them, carried young children before them, and sold them to the Englishmen for slaves. These strange doings so feared the Frenchmen within the territorie of Paris, and the countrie about, that the sozie people fled out of the villages with all their stiffe into the citie.

The French king, and the duke of Burgogne living at saint Denis, in this season, departed from thence with the queene and his daughter, and went to Trois in Champaigne, there to consult of their businesse, having left at Paris the earle of S. Paule, and the lord Lisle Adam, with a great puissance to defend the citie. The king of England immediatlie after that Pontoise was wonne (as before ye have heard) came thither in person, as well to give order for the placing of a sufficient garrison there for defense thereof, as to proceed further into the countrie for the getting of other towncs and places: and so after he had well provided for the good government, & safe keeping thereof, the eighteenth daie of August he departed out of the same with his maine armie.

And because they of the garrison that laie in the castell of Clancou Willers had done, & daile did diverser and sundrie displeasures to the Englishmen, he pight downe his field nere to the same, the better to restrain them from their hostile attempts, and withall sent part of his armie to besiege the castell, which put them in such feare, that they despairing of all reliefe or succour, and perceiving they should not be able long to defend the place against the kings puissance, yielded the place, with all their coine and other goods into the kings hands. The soldiers of that garrison, and the inhabitants, at the contemplation of a certeine labie thers amongst them, were licensed by the king to depart without armes or weapons, onelic with their lives saved. John of Burgh that was after bailiffe of Glours, was appointed capitaine of this castell.

After this, all the towncs and castles within a great circuit offered to yield themselves unto the English obedience; the strong towne and castell of Glours onelic excepted, which still held out, & would shew no token of will to yield. Whereupon the king the last of August began to approach the same, but at the first he could not come nere, by reason of the marishes and fennes: but yet such was the diligence of the Englishmen, advanced by the presence of the king, readie in all places to commend them that were forward in their businesse, and to chastise such as slacked their duteie, that daile they came nearer and nearer, although the Frenchmen issued forth daile to encounter them, giving them manie sharpe skirmishes. For the towne being double walled and fenced with those broad marishes, so encouraged them within, that they thought no force had bene able to have subdued them.

But at length calling to remembrance, that the king of England came before no towne nor fortress, from which he would depart before he had brought it under his subiection, they offered to come to a parley, and in the end compounded to render the towne

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T. W. Wall

Case of Cla-
rence last
R. G. Grant.

T. W. Wall.

Common-
wealth
brought into
England
that
had bene
lost
& deterr'd
a long time
fro
the English.The Duke of
Burgundie
surrendered.

towne into the kings hands the eight daie of Sep-
tember next ensuing, and the castell (because it was
the stronger piece) they covenanted to deliuer the
four and twentieth of the same, if in the meane time
no rescue came to raise the siege. Whereupon when no
such rescue could be heard of, at the daies limited, the
soldiers of the garrison, & the moze part of the town-
men also submitted themselves, and receiued an oth
to be true subiects to the king, and so remained still in
their homes. The earle of Worcester was made cap-
taine there.

About the same time, to wit, the thre and twentieth
of September (as some write) was castell Gallard
surrendered to the hands of the duke of Excester, which
had bene besieged euer since the last daie of March
(as before ye haue heard.) But others write that it
held out seauen moneths, and was not deliuered vp
till the twentieth of December. This castell was not
onlie strong by situation, standing vpon the top of a
steep hill, but also closed with mightie thicke walles,
and furnished with men, and all manner of munition
and things necessarie. The king appointed the lord
Ros captaine of it. After that Gisors and castell
Gallard were thus yelded to the English obedience,
all the other townes and castels thereabout, and in
the countrie of Beaulieu, shortly after yelded to
the king, as Courneie, Chamouant, Beaulie, Dan-
gu, and other small fortresses. At Courneie, was sir
Gilbert Amfreville made captaine; at Beaulie, the
earle of Worcester; and at Dangu, Richard Wood-
ville, shortly after was the castell Daumall yelded
to the earle of Warwick, to whome it was giuen.
And thus was the whole duchie of Normandie (vnto
saint Michael onlie excepted) reduced to the posses-
sion of the right heire, which had bene wrongfullie de-
tained from the kings of England euer since the
daies of king John, who lost it about the yeare one
thousand two hundred and seauen.

To satisfie those that be desirous to know what
captains were appointed by the king in diuerse
townes that were yelded to him (of which we haue
made no mention heretofore but in generall) here
their names doe follow, and of the townes, as we
find them in the chronicles of maister Hall. At Creu-
leie, sir Henrie Tancard an Almaine; at Roignie,
sir John Dopham, to whome it was giuen; at Cham-
bole, the lord Fitz Hugh; at Cleruwell in Berch, sir
John Penill; at Elaise, sir William Huddleston
bailiffe of Alanson; at Crulle sir Lois Kobbert; at
Conde Rozeau sir John Fastolfe; at Catodebecke,
sir Lois Kobbert; at Depe, William lord Bourchi-
er earle of Eu; at Aubemarle, the earle of War-
wicke, and his depatie thereof William Spontfort; at
Wellincombe, sir Thomas Rampton lord thereof by
gift; at Longueville, the capitall de Beuf or Buz,
earle thereof by gift; at Danville, sir Christopher
Burden; at Couches, sir Robert Sparburie; at Cy-
erburg, sir John Gedding; at Bacqueville, the lord
Ros; at Arques sir James Fines, bailiffe of Caury;
at Ponceaur, sir Philip Lech; at Eglise Pagnie,
Richard Abraham; at Sentler Surget, William
Basset; at Bietueill, sir Henrie Spottimer bailiffe
of Buntel.

But now to returne where we left. The wise and
grauie personages of the realme of France, sore la-
menting & bewailing the miserie of their countrie,
saw they had puissance inough to defend their en-
emies, if they were of perfect concord amongst them-
selves. And therefore to remoue all rancor and dis-
pleasure betwixt the Dolphin, and the duke of Bur-
gognie, they procured a new meeting, which was ap-
pointed to be at Spontreau ou fault Ponne, where
the two princes at the daie assigned met. But such
was the fortune of France, that the duke of Bur-

gognie was there murdered, as he kneeled before
the Dolphin: whereupon ensued greater debate than
before. For Philip earle of Charolois, the sonne and
heire of the said duke, toke the matter verie gra-
uoulie, as he had no lesse cause, and determined to be
reuenged on the Dolphin, and other that were guiltie
of the murder: so that now there was great expecta-
tion of slaughter and bloudshed, but no hope for the
most part of tranquillitie & peace. France therefore,
that with overthowles giuen by the English, & dis-
sension among themselves, was verie sore afflicted; in-
somuch that one miserie riding on anothers necke,
the whole land was in danger of desolation by ciuill
dissention & mutuall mutinies; as the poet noteth:

—accessit ad ista

Tunc mala Celtarum Burgundia fraude peremptus

Sparfag, ciuiliu tota dissensio terra.

Anglorum pre-
lia sub Henr. 5.

When he had well considered of the matter, and
taken aduise with his counsell, he first sent ambassa-
dours to the king of England, then lieng at Gisors
to treat and conclude a truce betwixt them both for
a certeine space, that they might talke of some con-
clusion of agreement. King Henrie receiued the am-
bassadors verie courteously, and granted that com-
munication might be had of peace, but bitterlie deni-
ed anie abstinence from warre, because he would not
lose time, if the treatie sorted not to good effect. Here-
upon hauing his armie assembled at Gaunt, he di-
uided the same into thre parts, appointing the duke
of Gloucester with one part to go vnto the castell of
S. Germaine in Laie, and to laie siege therevnto. The
duke according to his commission, comming before
that castell, within a while constrained them within
by continuall skirmishes and assaults to deliuer vp
the place into his hands. An other part of the armie
was sent vnto the castell of Pontioie, which likewise
by such fierce assaults and manfull approches, as the
Englishmen made thereto, was shortly giuen ouer
and yelded. The third part of the host went to Hen-
ric lane, a verie strong towne compassed about with the
riuer of Seine.

But the king demised to fasten botes and barges
together, and to reere vp certeine frames of timber a-
loft on the same for defense of his soldiers, that should
by that meanes approach the walles, wherewith those
that had the towne in keeping were so put in feare,
that their captaine was glad to come to a communi-
cation, & agreed to deliuer the towne into the kings
hands, if no rescue came before the thirtieth daie of
October next ensuing. On which daie, for that no suc-
cours appeared, the towne (according to the cove-
nants) was giuen vp into the kings hands. Sir
Thomas Rampton was made captaine there, and
after him sir John Fastolfe. The king, whilst these
places were besieged, and thus brought vnder his
subiection, continued for the most part at Gaunt; but
yet oftentimes he went forth to visit his campes,
and to see that nothing should be wanting, that might
further the speedie dispatch of his enterprises.

About the same time, there came againe ambassa-
dours to him from Charles the French king, & from
the young duke of Burgognie to treat with him of
some good conclusion of peace to be had; who had no
such trust in their sute, but that he doubted their mea-
ning, and therefore ceased not to proceed in the win-
ning of townes and castels, as he was in hand. Now
when Chastmaile approached, the king withdrew to
Roze, and there kept the solemnization of that feast,
appointing in the meane time his men of warre to be
occupied as occasion serued. The earle of Salisburie
was sent to besiege the towne of Freine, the which
after stout resistance made at the first, shortly after
was deliuered to him to the kings vse. The earles
Sparshall and Huntingdon, sir John Greene Corne-
wall,

Ambassadors
sent to king
Henrie.
T. W. Wall.A soile and
princelike
caution.The castell of
S. Germaine
in Laie and
Pontioie yeld-
ed to the
Englishmen.A policie for
redie bridges.The strong
town of Hen-
ric lane yelded to
the English.

A great victorie on the English side.

Wall, sir Philip Aech, and diuerse other, were sent into the countie of Haine, where, not farre from the cite of Mons they were encountered by a power of Frenchmen, which the Dolphin had sent against them. There was at the first a sharpe bickering betwixt them, but in the end the victorie remained with the Englishmen; so that manie of the Frenchmen were slaine, and taken, and the residue chased out of the field. There were slaine (as Thomas Walsingham saith) at the point of five thousand, and two hundred taken prisoners, among whom was the marshall de Rouss, and diuerse other of good account. The two English earles remained there as victors, in the countie which was by the king to them assigned.

King Henrie condescendeth to a treatie of peace.

Whilste these victorious exploits were thus happylie attained by the Englishmen, and that the king laie still at Rone, in giuing thanks to almightie God for the same, there came to him embassadours from the French king and the duke of Burgognie to moue him to peace. The king minding not to be reputed for a destroyer of the countie, which he courted to preferue, or for a causer of christian bloud still to be spilt in his quarell, began so to incline and giue care vnto their sute and humble request, that at length (after often sending to and fro) and that the bishop of Arras, and other men of honor had bene with him, and likewise the earle of Marwick, and the bishop of Rochester had bene with the duke of Burgognie, they both finallie agreed vpon certaine articles, so that the French king and his commons would thereto assent.

A truce tripartite.

Now was the French king and the quene with their daughter Katharine at Trois in Champaigne gouerned and ordered by them, which so much fauored the duke of Burgognie, that they would not for any earthly good, once hinder or pull backe one lot of such articles as the same duke should seeke to preferre. And therefore what needeth manie words, a truce tripartite was accorded betwene the two kings and the duke, and their countries, and order taken that the king of England should send in the company of the duke of Burgognie his embassadours vnto Trois in Champaigne sufficientlie authorized to treat and conclude of so great matter. The king of England, being in good hope that all his affaires should take good successe as he could wish or desire, sent to the duke of Burgognie his vncle, the duke of Ercester, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Elie, the lord Stanhope, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir John Robert, and sir Philip Hall, with diuerse doctors, to the number of five hundred horse, which in the company of the duke of Burgognie came to the cite of Trois the eleuenth of March. The king, the quene, and the ladie Katharine them receiued, and hartlie welcomed, shewing great signes and tokens of loue and amitie.

The articles of the peace concluded betwene king Henrie and the French king.

After a few daies they fell to counsell, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of England should come to Trois, and marie the ladie Katharine; and the king his father after his death should make him heire of his realme, crowne and dignitie. It was also agreed, that king Henrie, during his father in lawes life, should in his stead haue the whole gouernement of the realme of France, as regent thereof, with manie other covenants and articles, as after shall appere. To the performance thereof, it was accorded, that all the nobles and estates of the realme of France, as well spirituall as temporall, and also the cities and commonalties, citizens and burgeses of townes, that were obedient at that time to the French king, should take a corporall oth. These articles were not at the first in all points brought to a perfect conclusion. But after the effect and meaning of them was agreed vpon by the commissio-

ners, the Englishmen departed towards the king their master, and left sir John Robert behind, to giue his attendance on the ladie Katharine.

King Henrie being informed by them of that which they had done, was well content with the agreement and with all diligence prepared to go vnto Trois, and thereupon having all things in a readinesse, he being accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the earles of Marwick, Salisburie, Huntingdon, Cu, Tankerville, and Longueville, fifteen thousand men of warre, went from Rone to Pontoise; departing from thence the eight daie of Maie, came to saint Denis two leagues from Paris, and after to Pontcharcanton, where he left a strong garrison of men, with sir William Cascoigne, to keepe the passage; and so then entering into Brie, he toke by the waie a castell which was kept against him, causing them that so kept it, some to be hanged, and the residue to be led forth with him as prisoners. And after this keeping on his iourne by Monins, and Nogent, at length he came to Trois.

The duke of Burgognie accompanied with manie noble men, receiued him two leagues without the towne, and conueied him to his lodging. All his armie was lodged in small villages thereabout. And after that he had reposed himselfe a little, he went to visit the French king, the quene, and the ladie Katharine, whom he found in saint Peters church, where was a verie iofous meeting betwixt them (and this was on the twentieth daie of Maie) and there the king of England, and the ladie Katharine were affianced. After this, the two kings and their counsell assembled together diuerse daies, wherein the first concluded agreement was in diuerse points altered and brought to a certeinete, according to the effect aboue mentioned. When this great matter was finished, the kings swore for their parts to obserue all the covenants of this league and agreement. Likewise the duke of Burgognie and a great number of other princes and nobles which were present, receiued an oth, the tenor whereof (as the duke of Burgognie vttered it in solemne words) thus inueth, accordinglie as the same is exemplified by Titus Linius De Foro Luuisiis in Latine.

The oth of the duke of Burgonie.



Go Philippus Burgundia dux, per me meosque haredes, ad sacra Dei euangelia domino regi Henrico Anglia, Franciaque, pro Carolo rege regem iuro, quod humiliter ipsi Henrico fideliterq. cunctis in rebus, qua rempublicam spectant & Francia coronam, obediemus, & statim post mortem Caroli domini nostri, domino Henrico regi suisque successoribus in perpetuum ligei fideles erimus; nec alium quempiam pro domino nostro supremo Francia rege, quam Henricum & suos haredes habebimus, neque patiemur. Non erimus praterea in consilio vel consensu cuiusquam damni regis Henrici, suorumue successorum, ubi quicquam detrimenti patiantur capitis sue membri, vel vitam perdant; sed predicta (quantum in nobis fuerit) quam citissimis literis vel nuntiis, ut sibi melius providere valeant, eis significabimus.

The same in English.



Philip duke of Burgonie, for my selfe, and for mine heires, doe here swear vpon the holie euangelists of God, to Henrie king of England

England, and regent of France for king Charles, that we shall humble and faithfully obey the said Henrie in all things which concerne the common-wealth and crowne of France. And immediatlie after the deceasse of our soueraigne lord king Charles, we shall be faithfull liegemen vnto the said king Henrie, and to his successors for ever. Neither shall we take or suffer any other soueraigne lord and supreme king of France, but the same Henrie and his heires: neither shall we be of counsell or consent of any hurt towards the said king Henrie or his successors, wherby they may suffer losse & detriment of life or lim, but that the same be so farre as in vs may lie, we shall signifie to them with all speed, by letters or messengers, that they may the better provide for themselves in such cases.

The like oth a great number of the princes and nobles both spirituall and temporall, which were present, received at the same time. This done, the morow after Trinitie sundae, being the third of June, the marriage was solemnized and fullie consummate betwixt the king of England, and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclaimed heire and regent of France. And as the French king sent the copie of this treatie to euerie towne in France: so the king of England sent the same in English vnto euerie citie and market towne within his realme, to be proclaimed and published. The true copie whereof, as we find it in the chronicles of maister Hall, we haue thought good here to set downe, for the more full satisfieng of those that shall desire to peruse euerie clause and article thereof, as followeth.

The articles & appointments of peace betweene the realmes of England and France.

Henrie by the grace of God king of England, heire and regent of France, lord of Ireland, to perpetuall mind of christian people, and all those that be vnder our obedience, we notifie and declare, that though there hath bene here before diuerse treaties betwene the most excellent prince Charles our father of France and his progenitors, for the peace to be had betwene the two realmes of France and England, the which heretofore haue borne no fruit: we considering the great harmes, the which haue not onelie fallen betwene those two realmes, for the great diuision of that hath bene betwene them, but to all holy church; we haue taken a treatie with our said father, in which treatie betwixt our said father and vs, it is concluded & accorded in the forme after the manner that followeth,

1 First, it is accorded betwene our father and vs, that forsomuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the god of the peace betwene vs and our most dere beloved Katharine, daughter of our said father, & of our most dere mother Klabell his wife; the same Charles and Klabell bene made our father and mother: therefore them as our father and mother we shall haue and worship, as it sitteth and seemeth so worship a prince and princeesse to be worshiped, principallie before all other temporall persons of the world.

2 Also we shall not disfraunce, discaion or let our father aforesaid, but that he hold and possede as long as he liueth, as he holdeth and possedeth at this time,

the crowne and dignitie roiall of France, with rents and profits for the same, of the sustentance of his estate and charges of the realme. And our foresaid mother also hold as long as she liueth, the stete and dignitie of queene, after the manner of the same realme, with conuenable conuenient part of the said rents and profits.

3 Also that the foresaid ladie Katharine shall take and haue dower in our realme of England as queeness of England here tofore were wont for to take and haue, that is to saie, to the summe of forty thousand scutes, of the which two algate shall be a noble English.

4 And that by the waies, manners, and meanes that we without transgression or offense of other made by vs, for to speake the lawes, customes, vsages and rights of our said realme of England, shall done our labour and pursuit, that the said Katharine, all so soone as it maie be done, be made sure to take, and for to haue in our said realme of England, from the time of our death, the said dower of forty thousand scutes yereleie, of the which twaine algate be worth a noble English.

5 Also if it happe the said Katharine to ouerlive vs, we shall take and haue the realme of France immediatlie, from the time of our death, dower to the summe of twentie thousand franks yereleie, of and vpon the lands, places and lordships that held and had Blanch sometime wife of Philip Deasail to our said father.

6 Also that after the death of our said father aforesaid, and from thence forward, the crowne and the realme of France, with all the rights and appurtenances, shall remaine and abide to vs, and beene of vs and of our heires for euermore.

7 And forsomuch as our said father is witholden with diuerse sicknesse, in such manner as he maie not intend in his owne person for to dispose for the needs of the foresaid realme of France: therefore during the life of our foresaid father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernance and disposition of the publicke & common profit of the said realme of France, with counsell, and nobles, and wise men of the same realme of France, shall be and abide to vs: so that from thenceforth we maie gouerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to our counsell and assistance of the said nobles, such as we shall thinke meet. The which faculties and exercise of gouernance thus being toward vs, we shall labour and purpose vs speedfullie, diligentlie, and trulie, to that that maie be and ought for to be vnto the worship of God, and our said father and mother, and also to the common good of the said realme, and that realme with the counsell & helpe of the worshipie and great nobles of the same realme for to be defended, peaced and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Also that we of our owne power shall do the court of parlement in France to be kept and obserued in his authoritie and souerainetie, and in all that is done to it in all manner of places that now or in time comming is or shall be subiect to our said father,

9 Also we to our power shall defend and helpe all and euerie of the pæres, nobles, citie, townes, communalities, and singular persons, now or in time comming, subiects to our father in their rights, customs, priuileges, freedoms, and franchises, long or due to them in all manner of places now or in time comming subiect to our father.

10 Also we diligentlie and truelie shall trauell to our power, and do that suffice be administred and done in the same realme of France after the lawes, customes, and rights of the same realme, without personall exception. And that we shall kepe and hold

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the subiects of the same realme in tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we shall defend them against all manner of violence and oppression.

11 Also we to our power shall provide, and do to our power, that able persons and profitable beene taken to the offices as well of iustices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines, and of other offices of the said realme of France, for the good right and peaceable iustice of the same, and for the administration that shall be committed vnto them; and that they be such persons, that after the lawes and rights of the same realme, and for the vtilitie and profit of our said father, shall minister, and that the foresaid realme shall be taken and departed to the same offices.

12 Also that we of our power, so farre as it may commodiously be done, shall trauell to put into the obedience of our said father, all manner of cities, townes, and castels, places, countries, and persons within the realme of France, disobedient, and rebels to our said father, holding with them which beene called the Dolphin or Arminacke.

13 Also that we might the more commodiously, suerlie and frelie done, exercise, & fulfill these things aforesaid, it is accorded that all worthe nobles and estates of the same realme of France, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities notable and communalities, and citizens, burghesses of townes of the realme of France, that beene obedient at this time to our said father, shall make these othes that followent.

14 First to vs hauing the facultie, exercise, disposition, and gouernance of the foresaid common profit to our heires and commandements, these shall make the othe of obedientlie obeie and intend in all manner of things concerning the exercise of gouernance of the same realme.

15 Also that the worthe, great, and noble estates of the said realme, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities and notable communalities, and citizens and burghesses of the same realme, in all manner of things well and trulie shall keepe and to their power shall do to be kept of so much as to them belongeth, or to anie of them, all those things that beene appointed and accorded betwene our foresaid father and mother and vs, with the counsell of them whome vs list to call to vs.

16 And that continuallie from the death, and after the death of our said father Charles, they shall be our true liegemen, and our heires; and they shall receive and admit vs for their liege and soueraigne and verie king of France, and for such to obeie vs without opposition, contradiction, or difficultie, as they beene to our foresaid father during his life, neuer after this realme of France shall obey to man as king or regent of France, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsell, helpe, or assent that we lese life or limme, or be take with euill taking, or that we suffer harme, or diminution in person, estate, worship, or goods; but if they know anie such thing for to be cast or imagined against vs, they shall let it to their power, & they shall done vs to waften thereof, as basillie as they may by themselves, by message, or by letters.

17 Also that all manner of conquests that should be made by vs in France vpon the said inobedients, out of the duchie of Normandie, shall be done to the profit of our said father; and that to our power we shall do, that all manner of lands and lordships that beene in the places so for to be conquered, longing to persons obeying to our foresaid father, which shall sweare for to keepe this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons to whom they long to.

18 Also that all manner of persons of the holie

church, beneficed in the duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the realme of France, subiect to our father, and fauouring the partie of the dukes of Burgogne, which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceable their benefices of holie church in the duchie of Normandie, or in other places next aforesaid.

19 Also likewise, all manner of persons of holie church, obedient to vs, and beneficed in the realme of France, and places subiect to our father, that shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceable their benefices of holie church in places next a bouesaid.

20 Also that all manner of churches, vniuersities, and studies generall, and all colleges of studies, and other colleges of holie church, being in places now or in time coming subiect to our father, or in the duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France subiect to vs, shall inioy their rights and possessions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, & franchises, longing or due to them in any manner of wise in the said realme of France, sauing the right of the crowne of France, and euerie other person.

21 Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the crowne of France, the duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of France, shall bow vnder the commandement, obeisance, and monarchie of the crowne of France.

22 Also that we shall force vs, & do to our power, that recompense be made by our said father without diminution of the crowne of France to persons obeying to him, and fauoring to that partie that is said Burgogne, to whom longeth lands, lordships, rents, or possessions in the said duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France, conquered by vs hither towarde, given by vs in places and lands gotten or to be gotten, and overcome, in the name of our said father vpon rebels and inobedients to him. And if so be that such manner of recompense be not made to the said persons, by the life of our said father, we shall make that recompense in such manner and places, of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the crowne of France. And if so be that the lands, lordships, rents, or possessions, the which longeth to such manner of persons in the said duchie and places be not given by vs, the same persons shall be restored to them without any delaie.

23 And during the life of our father, in all places now or in time coming subiect to him, letters of common iustice, and also grants of offices and gifts, pardons or remissions, and priuileges shall be written and proceed vnder the name and seale of our said father. And for so much as some singular case may fall, that may not be foresene by mans wit, in the which it might be necessarie and behouefull, that we do write our letters, in such manner case, if any hap for the good and suertie of our father, and for the gouernance that longeth to vs, as is before said; and for to eschewen perils that otherwise might fall, to the preiudice of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge, and defend after the nature and qualitie of the need, in our fathers behalf and ours as regent of France.

24 Also, that during our fathers life, we shall not call nor write vs king of France; but verelie we shall absteine vs from that name, as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry roy d'Engleterre heretere de France*. And in Latine in this manner: *Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus rex Anglie & hares Francia*.

26 Also that we shall put none impositions or exactions,

crations, or do charge the subiects of our said father without cause reasonable and necessarie, ne other wise than for common good of the realme of France, and after the saleng and asking of the lawes and customes reasonable approued of the same realme.

27 Also that we shall traueil to our power to the effect and intent, that by the assent of the three estates of either of the realmes of France and England, that all maner of obstacles maie be done awaie, and in this partie, that it be ordeined and provided; that from the time that we or any of our heires come to the crowne of France, both the crownes, that is to the crowne of France and England perpetuallie be togither in one; in the same person, that is to saie, from our fathers life to vs, and from the tearme of our life thenceforward in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after an other, and that both realmes shall be gouerned from that we or any of our heires come to the same, not seuerallie vnder diuerse kings in one time, but vnder the same person which for the time shall be king of both realmes, and our soueraigne lord (as it is before said) keeping neuerthelesse in all maner of other things to either of the same realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, vlags, and lawes, not making subiect in any maner of wise one of the same realmes, to the rights, lawes, or vlags of that other.

28 Also that thenceforward, perpetuallie, shall be still rest, and that in all maner of wise, dissensions, hates, rancours, enuies and wars, betwene the same realmes of France and England, and the people of the same realmes, drawing to accord of the same peace, may cease and be broken.

29 Also that there shall be from henceforward for evermore, peace and tranquillitie, and good accord, and common affection, and stable friendship betwene the said realmes, and their subiects before said. The same realmes shall kepe themselves with their counsell, helps, and common assistance against all maner of men that inforce them for to doen or to imagine wrongs, harines, displeasures, or grieuances to them or either of them. And they shall be conuersant and merchandize frelie and suerlie togither, paieing the custome due and accustomed. And they shall be conuersant also, that all the confederats and allies of our said father and the realme of France aforesaid, and also our confederats of the realme of England aforesaid, shall in eight moneths from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauing neuerthelesse either of the same crownes, and also all maner actions, rights and reuenues, that longen to our said father and his subiects, and to vs and our subiects, against all maner of such allies and confederats.

30 Also neither our father, neither our brother the duke of Burgognie shall begin, ne make with Charles, cleping himselfe the Dolphin of Viennes, any treatie, or peace, or accord, but by counsell and assent of all and eche of vs three, or of other the three estates of either of the said realmes aboue named.

31 Also that we with assent of our said brother of Burgognie, and other of the nobles of the realme of France, the which there to othen to be called, shall ordeine for the gouernance of our said father schekerlie, louinglie, and honestlie, after the asking of his roiall estate and dignitie, by the maner that shall be to the worship of God, and of our father, and of the realme of France.

32 Also all maner of persons, that shall be about our father to do him personall seruice, not onclie in office, but in all other seruices, as well the nobles and gentilles as other, shall be such as hath bene borne

in the realme of France, or in places longing to France, good, wise, true, and able to that foresaid seruice. And our said father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience, and no where else. Wherefore we charge and command our said liege subiects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they kepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and maner as it is accorded; and that they attempt in no maner wise, any thing that may be prejudiciall or contrarie to the same accord and peace, vpon paine of life and lim, and all that they may forfeit against vs. Given at Troes, the thirtieth day of Maie, 1420, and proclaimed in London the twentieth day of June.

33 Also that we for the things aforesaid, and encerie one of them, shall giue our assent by our letters patents, sealed with our scale vnto our said father, with all approbation and confirmation of vs, and all other of our blood roiall, and all other of the cities and towne to vs obedient. Sealed with our scales accustomed. And further our said father, besides his letters patents sealed with our great scale, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatorie, and confirmations of the peeres of his realme, and of the lords, citizens, and burgeises of the same, vnder his obedience. All which articles we haue sworn to kepe vpon the holie euangelists.

On the fourteenth of June being fridaie, there was a solemn procession at London, and a sermon at Paules crosse, in which the preacher openly declared the effect of the kings mariage, and the articles concluded vpon the same, by reason wherof (he said) there must be a new great scale deuised, and the old broken, and in the new the kings name with a new addition of his title as regent of France, and heire apparent of that kingdome was to be ingrauen. Beside the league thus concluded by king Henrie with the French king, and the whole bodie of the realme of France, there was a priuat league accorded betwixt him and the duke of Burgognie, the effect wherof was comprehended in articles as followeth.

First, that the duke of Burgognie should procure this peace latelie before concluded, to be obserued firme and stable in all covenants and points therof, so far as he by any meanes might further the same: in consideration wherof, one of the brethren of king Henrie should take to wife one of the said duke of Burgognies sisters. That king Henrie should euer haue in singular fauour the said duke of Burgognie, as his most deere brother, and support him in all his rights. That the said duke, after the deceasse of king Charles, should take an oth of fealtie to be true to B. Henrie and his heires, according to the forme and tenor therof before expressed, and should in all things be friend to king Henrie and his heires for euer. That king Henrie should do his uttermost indeuour, that due punishment might be had for the murder of duke John, father to the said duke of Burgognie, as well vpon Charles that named himselfe Dolphin, as vpon others that were guiltie and priue to that murder.

If the said Dolphin chanced to be taken, either in battell or to bene besieged, or if anie other chanced so to be taken, that should be proued guiltie or priue to the murder of the said duke John, he should not be deliuered without iust punishment for his deeds, nor without the consent of the two kings Charles and Henrie, and of the three estates of both the realmes. In consideration of the great diligence, and painfull traueil sustained by the duke of Burgognie, it was also agreed, that he should haue by patent granted of king Charles and queene Isabell a fee of twentie thousand pounds Parisien, of puerlie reuenues, assigned forth nere to the confines of his countrie.

Tho. Wals.

A league betwene king Henrie and the duke of Burgognie.

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to inioy the same to him and to his wife the duchess Michacl, and to the hoires males betwixt them two, lawfullie begotten, to the obtaining thereof, king Henrie should shew all his furtherance; & if it might not be brought to passe till king Henrie had obtained the crowne of France, then should he see the same performed, vpon the receiving of his boimage.

The king of England, after all the articles of the said treaties and agréments were concluded, passed and sworn vnto, made to the French king, the duke of Burgognie, and other the French lords, a sumptuous banquet; and before they departed from the same, he said with great grauitie made to them a right pithie and sententious oration, declaring to them both how profitable the ioining of the two kingdomes should be to the subiects of the same, and also the right that he had thereto, being by lineall descent of the womans side (which is the surest) rather a Frenchman than an Englishman. And though he was an Englishman borne, yet he assured them to tender the wealth of the realme of France, as much as he would the advancement of his owne native countrie of England.

Wherewith, he intreated against Charles the Dolphin, being the head and onelie maintainer of all the civil discord, whose wicked nature, and cruell disposition, did well appeare in the murder of the late duke of Burgognie. He therefore willed them, according to their dutie, oath, and agrément, to stand with him, and helpe to reduce such a stubborne and disloiall soune vnto the obedience of his father king Charles, that he might shew himselfe conformable vnto such orders and decrees, as they had taken, appointed, and agreed vpon: and for his part, he promised to loyship, loue, and honor his father in law the said Charles, in place of his owne father, according to the true meaning of this concord and agrément, trusting the same to be a peace finall.

And to conclude, he promised, that if they shewed themselves true and loiall to him, according to the same agrément, the Ocean sea should sooner cease to flow, and the bright sunne lose his light, than he would desist from doing that which became a prince to do to his subiect, or a father to his naturall child. When he had thus perswaded the nobilitie, and dispatched his businesse at Troies, he with all his armie, hauing with him the French king, and the duke of Burgognie, departed from thence the fourth of June; and vpon the seauenth daie of the same moneth came before the towne of Sens in Burgognie, which held on the Dolphins part: but after foure daies siege, it was yielded vnto the king, and there he made capteine, the lord Genuille. From thence, he remoued to Pontfreaux ou fault Bonne, which towne was taken on the thre and twentieth daie of June, by assault, so that manie of the Dolphins part were apprehended, before they could get to the castell.

Whiles the siege laie there, and before the towne was entred, the duke of Bedford came thither vnto the king, bringing with him a faire retinue of soldiers out of England. After the getting of the towne, the castell being well vittelled and manned, denied to render, and therefore was it entranced with a strong siege. During the which, the duke of Burgognie was informed, in what place of the towne the duke his father was buried, who was slaine there (as before you haue heard) and now his corps was taken by againe by his sones appointment, and seared, and so conuected vnto Wigcon in high Burgognie, and there buried by his father Philip; to the end that the remembrance of him should remaine to posterities, by the reseruatioun of some monument abiding in

the place of his interment, after that his bodie was consumed, and his naturall countenance forgotten. Which is the last point of reuerend dutie (as we may well thinke) which pietie of children towards their parents doth require; namely, that they be decentlie buried when they be departed, and that their graues or some stones may put vs that are alieue in mind of going the same waie, and to let no more by this sitting life, than standeth with the vncertainie and shortnesse of the same; as one right well saith:

*Cum tumulum cernis, cur non mortali spernis?
Esse memor mortis, quo vixis tempore fortis.*

Because they within the castell of Pontfreaux, gaue opprobrious words vnto the kings herald that was sent to them, the king caused a gibet to be set up before the castle, on the which were hanged twelue of those spitefull offenders, all gentlemen & friends to the capteine named monsieur de Entrie, who at length, perceiuing that by no means he could be succoured; and fearing to be taken by force, began to treat with the king of England, who for the space of eight daies would hearken to none of his offers; but in conclusion, he and his rendred themselves simple, their liues onelie saued, six weekes after they had bene besieged. The earle of Warwicke was made capteine, both of the towne and castell, who fortified it with men, munition, and vittels.

About this time Robert the gouernour of Scotland, the fiftenth yeere after his brothers reigne, and in the thirtieth yeare of his owne regiment deceased, in whose stead and office his sonne Moris duke of Albanie was by and by chosen, who had sones thre, Walter, Alexander, and James, whereof the two eldest beginning betimes to be obstinate, grew lone after verie graceles and wicked: that in one flagitious feat among the rest by this Walter verie impoultie against his parents was uttered. The gouernour had a faire, a gentle, and well sieng falcon, whereby he set great store. The sonne verie desirous of the same, made manie meanes and motions to haue hir, not without note of malapert importunitie and lacke of reuerence toward his parents pleasure, which the father dissembling to see, would not yet in anie wise forgo his hawk. Whereat this child reiecting regard of dutie, and receiuing an vnaturall hate and heat by broth of iniquitie let a boiling in his brest, came in on a time, where standing a while at a sudden bzaid, pluckt awaie the bird from his fathers fist, and straight before his face wyang of his necke. The gouernour hereat sore astonished, for verie graue gaue a great grone; Well sonne (quod he) since ye cannot abide your brunts for dutie and reuerence toward me your parent and soveraigne, I will bring in one that shall abide vs both. Where vpon some after, he with one Calen Campbell, a noble man & of much authoritie (vnto whome this Walter had done a great despight) and with other of the nobilitie fell straight in consultation about the calling home of their king. Which all with one assent they did right well allow, whereby some after (as is touched afore, and followeth more at large) he was by them in his kingdome right rofallie placed. But this came of it. These mischaeuous children Walter and Alexander, the verie cause of their fathers confusion and their owne, within few yeares after condemned by law, vpon a hill by Sterling castell, had their heads chopt off at once. Walters wife with hir two sones, Andrew and Alexander, ran for refuge awaie into Ireland, thus for their long iniquities their hires iustlie paid all in a daie.]

How to proceed in our proceesse of France. After the thus winning of the towne and castell of Pontfreaux; the king departing from thence, came to Melun vpon Seine, the thirtieth daie of Julie, and

The effect of
king Henries
oration to the
French king.

It was rendered by the
tenth of June
Thus Linius.
Sens & Pontfreaux besieged and taken.
The siege was laid the
26. of June.

It hath not
out so long
should appeare
by the last
who hath
it was not
died of hunger
of June.

W. P.
Buchan.

Eden
ged by
Henrie.

The army of
France in
the year 1418The king
of France
in the year
1418The king
of France
in the year
1418The king
of France
in the year
1418The king
of France
in the year
1418The king
of France
in the year
1418The king
of France
in the year
1418

besieged it round about, having then in companie with him the French king, and the young king of Scots, the dukes of Burgognie, Clarence, Bedford, Gloucester, and War, the prince of Dainger, and one and thwentic earles, besides lords, barons, & knights, equall to lords in degree, to the number of seauen and fiftie, what of England and France; and beside also fiftene maiſter ſoldiers. This ſiege continued the ſpace almoſt of ſeuen moneths, or (as Thomas Walsingham ſaith) foureteene weekes, and foure daies, with ſhirming, ſcaling, aſſaulting, and defending, to the loſſe (no doubt) of both parts. Capteine of this towne was one monsieur de Barbaſon, a ſcalcoune of ſuch experience and approued valiance in wars, that his renowne and fame was ſpied through the world.

At the firſt laſing of the ſiege, he called all the ſoldiers there in gariſon, and likewiſe the towneſmen afore him, and warned them all on paine of death, that none of them ſhould be ſo hardie, as to treat, or once to motion anie word of ſurrendering the towne, or of coming to anie compoſition or agreement with the two kings; except they made him being their capteine priue thereto, before they attempted anie ſuch thing. ¶ In the meane ſeaſon, the French queene, the queene of England, and the duches of Burgognie, lying at Corbeill, came diuerſe times to viſit their husbands, and to ſee their friends; whome the king of England highlie ſeaſted, and louinglie intertained, that euerie creature repoſited great honour of him. This towne of Melun ſeemed verie ſtrong, both by reaſon of the river of Seine, which compaſſed part thereof, and alſo by ſtrong walles, turrets, ditches, and bulwarks made about it.

The king therfore, to take awaie all the iſſues and entres from them withiſn, made a bridge ouer the river, able to beare horſes and carriage: and againe, appointed diuerſe botes furniſhed with men of warre, to kepe the ſtreame; ſo that they withiſn ſhould haue no waie to come abroad, either by water or land: yet on a daie, the Frenchmen failed ſwiftly, and aſailed the English lodgings, where the earle of Marſhale was incamped on the eaſt ſide of the towne, not farre from the duke of Burgognie; but by the valiant prowelle and manlie courage of the Englishmen, the enimies were eaſilie beaten backe and conſtrained to retire into the towne againe, with their loſſe. Here is to be remembred, that during this ſiege before Melun, there came to the king the duke of Buriere, the kings brother in law (but the kings ſiſter that had bene married to him, was not then liuing) and brought with him ſeauen hundred well appointed horſemen, which were retained to ſerue the king, and right worthilie they bare themſelues, and therfore moſt liberallie recompensed at the kings hand, for the time they continued in his ſeruiſe.

The king enforced this ſiege by all waies and meanes poſſible, to bring the towne into ſubiection, as well by mines as otherwiſe, but they withiſn the towne ſo valiantlie behaved themſelues, as well by countermine (whereby at length they entered into the kings mines) as by other waies of reſiſtance, that by force of aſſaults it was not thought anie eaſie matter to win the ſame. ¶ It fortuned on a daie, that whilſt there roſe a contention betwixt two lords of the kings hoſt, who ſhould haue the honor to go firſt into the mine, to encounter with the Frenchmen, that now had brought their mine through into the English mines, and made barriers betwixt, that they might ſafelie come and fight with the Englishmen: the king (to auoid the ſtriſe) entered the mine himſelfe firſt of all other, and by chance came to fight hand to hand with the lord Barbaſon, who was

likewiſe entered the mine before all other of them withiſn the towne.

After they had fought a good ſeaſon together, at length they agreed to diſcouer either to other their names; ſo as the lord Barbaſon, firſt declaring what he was; the king likewiſe told him, that he was the king of England. Whereupon, Barbaſon perceiving with whome he had fought, cauſed the barriers ſwiftly to be cloſed, and withdrew into the citie, and the king returned backe to his campe. At length, bittels withiſn the towne began to faile, and the peſtilence began to war hot, ſo that the lord Barbaſon began to treat; and in concluſion, about the middeſt of Nouember (as Fabian ſaith) the towne was yielded vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that all that were conſenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, ſhould be deliuered to the king of England, of whome the lord Barbaſon was ſuſpected to be one. The king ſent them vnder the conduct of his brother the duke of Clarence, to the citie of Paris, whereof the French king made him capteine, and ſo at his coming thither, he took poſſeſſion of the Maſtill of S. Anthonie, the Loure, the houſe of Melle, and the place of Bois de Vincennes.

Monsieur de Barbaſon was accuſed by the duke of Burgognie, and his ſiſters as guiltie to their fathers death; but he in open court defended himſelfe as not guiltie of that crime, granting indeed and confeſſing, that he was one of the familiar ſeruants to the Dolphin, but that he was priue or conſenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, he utterly denied. Whereupon he was not condemned, neither yet acquitted, by reaſon of ſuch preſumptions and conjectures as were alledged and brought againſt him, ſo that he remained in priſon at Paris and elſe where, the ſpace of nine yeares, till at length, being brought vnto caſtell Galliard, it chanced that the ſame caſtell was toome by thoſe of the Dolphins part, and he being as then priſoner there, eſcaped out of danger, and ſo by that means was ſet at libertie, as after ſhall appeare.

Some write, that he had bene put to death, if he had not appealed from king Henriſ ſentence, vnto the iudgement of the officers at armes; alledging, that by the lawe of armes, no man hauing his brother in armes withiſn his danger, afterwards ought to put him to death for any cauſe or quarell. And that he was the kings brother in armes he proued it, for that he had fought with him hand to hand withiſn the mines (as before we haue heard) which combat was thought of equall force by the heralds, as if he had fought with the king bodie to bodie, withiſn ſolemne liſts. The credit of this matter we leaue to the conſideration of the readers. The earle of Huntington was made capteine of Melun. In deſenſe of this towne and caſtell, the French had gotten vnto them manie Scots. At the ſiege here the king kept with him young James of Scotland, who ſent to thoſe Scots, that they ſhould come out and yeld them vnto him, and not to ſtand in armes againſt their liege lord and king; but they gaue word backe againe, they could not take him for king, that was in the power of another, and ſo kept them in hold and in their armes till King Henrie vpon winning of theſe ſorts, for their rebellion againſt their prince, which they would haue to be counted conſtancie, and for their contemptuous answer vnto him, twentie of the proudeſt, in example of the reſt, cauſed he there to be hanged at once.

From thence the king departed with his armie vnto Corbeill, where the French king and the two queenes then ſoiourned; and after, both the kings, accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgognie, Glouceſter, and Exceſter, and the earls of Marſhale and

It was ſurrendered about
Michaelmas,
as Thom.
Wal. noteth.
Melun yielded
vnto king
Henrie.

Titus Livius.

Note this ap-
peale.

Note in law
of armes.

W. R.

King Henrie
is receiued in
at Paris.

The duches
of Burgognie
his appeale.

The oath of
the three esta-
tes of France.

King Henrie
taketh vpon
him the office
of regent of
France.
The come
salute.

and Salisburie, with a great number of noble men and knights, set forth towards Paris, whome the citizens in good order met without the gates, and the cleargie also with solemne procession. All the streets were hanged with rich clothes, the two kings rode together (the king of England giuing the vpper hand to his father in lawe) through the great citie of Paris, to our ladie church, where after they had said their deuotions, they departed vnto their lodgings; the French king to the house of S. Paule, and the king of England to the castell of Louer.

The next daie, the two quenes made their entrie and were receiued with like solemnities, as their husbands were the day before. During all the season that these two kings late in Paris, there was a great assemblie called, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the nobles of the temporaltie, in the which, the kings sat as iudges, before whom the duches of Burgognie by hir proctor, appealed the Dolphin, and seauen other, for the murder of duke John hir husband. To the which appeale, the counsell of the other part made diuerse offers of amends, as well of foundations of chantries for prests, to pray for the soule, as recompense of monie to the widow and children: for the finall determination whereof, the kings, to take further aduise and counsell therein, appointed another daie.

At this same time, the three estates of the realme of France assembled at Paris, and there euerie person seuerallie sware vpon the holie euangelists, to keepe, support, mainteine and defend the treatie and finall accorde, which was concluded betwene the two kings, and thereto euerie noble man, spirituall gouernour and tempo:all ruler, set to their scales, which instruments were sent to the kings treasure of his eschequer at Westminister safelie to be kept, where they yet remaine. The French king at the same time being in good and perfect state of health, openlie there in parlement declared, that peace was concluded, accorded, and made by his free assent, and with the aduise of all the counsell of France, and that he would for his owne part, and that his successors ought for their parts, obserue and keepe the same, with all the articles therein contained. And likewise, that all his subiects were bound for euere, to obserue and keepe the same, without breaking or doing anie thing preiudiciall thereunto.

During the time that the two kings thus soloured in Paris, the French king kept a small court, vberie few, and those of the meaner sort resorting vnto his court: but the king of England kept such a solemne state, with so plentifull an house, and shewed himselfe so bountifull in gifts, and setting forth of warlike shewes and princelie pastimes, that all the noble men and other resort to his palace, to see his estate, and to do him hono: He took vpon him as regent of France, to redresse causes, remoue officers, reforme things that were amisse, and caused a new come to be made, called a salute, wherein were the armes of France, and the armes of England and France quarterlie stamped. Also, to set all things in quiet, he constituted sir Gilbert Umfrauille capteine of Melun, with a good number of valiant soldiers, to remaine there in garrison, and the earle of Huntingdon (cousin germane to the king) was deputed capteine at Blois de Vincennes: and the duke of Gloucester, with five hundred men of warre, was assigned to keepe Paris. Thus had king Henrie (when he was constituted gouernour of the land) the disposing of prouinces, townes, and castels at his pleasure; and the making of lawes and ordinances, standing with the drift of his policie to keepe both people in due obedience; as *Anglorum praelia breuiculis notet; saleng:*

Restorem patria postquam rex Gallis & omnes

*Unanimes proceres Henricum constituerunt;
Plantageneta dabat princeps iam iura duabus
Gentibus, effrares ductu cohibeat habens.*

The duke of Bauler about the same time, with the kings licence, departed into his countrie, both he and his retinue, receiuing large gifts of the kings great liberalitie, and amongst other things, the king gaue him a cup of gold, garnished and set with pretious stones of great price and value. Moreover, he had a pension giuen him of a thousand markes by yeare, vnder the kings letters patents, to be had and receiued of the kings free and liberrall grant, during the life of the said duke. A right tollall reward & worthy the maiestie of a king, bestowed vpon the said duke; and his retinue, partlie in respect of the alliance betwixt the king and him (for he had married the kings sister) but speciallie for the notable seruice which they did him at the siege before Melun. So that hereby is commended vnto vs an example of gratitude and beneficence; teaching vs, that to such as haue bene good and gracious vnto vs, we should be alwaies forward with a right hand and readie mind to make amends in some proportion and measure.

When the king had thus ordered his businesse, he with the quene his wife, the princes, & nobles of the realme departed from Paris, the first of Januarie, and came to Rone, but first before his departing, he caused processe to be made and awarded forth against Charles the Dolphin, commanding him to appere at the marble table at Paris; where for lacke of appearance, he was with all solemnitie in such case requisite, denounced guiltie of the murder and homicide of John duke of Burgognie, and by the sentence of parlement banished the realme: but the Dolphin withdrew into Languebec, and after to Poitiers, getting to him such friends as he could; and namelie, he found the earle of Arminacke verie faithfull to him, not onelie aiding him with men, but also with his owne person he continuallie serued him against all his aduersaries.

The king of England comming to Rone, soloured there a certeine time, and receiued the homage of all the nobles of Normandie, amongst whom, the earle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Berch, and Arthur of Britaine likewise for the countie of Purie. He also ordeined his lieutenant general, both of France and Normandie, his brother Thomas duke of Clarence; and his depute in Normandie was the earle of Salisburie. When the feast of Christmasse was passed, he departed from Rone, with the quene his wife, and by Amiens came to Calis, where he took ship the morow after Candlemasse daie, and landed at Douer, and came to Canturburie, and from thence to Eltham, and so through London to Westminister. I passe ouer to write what joy and triumph was shewed by the citizens of London, and of all other his subiects in euerie place where he came.

The king himselfe, to render vnto God his most humble & hartie thanks, caused solemne processions to be obserued and kept five daies together in euerie citie and towne. After that done, he made great purtuance for the coronation of his quene & spouse, the late ladie Katharine; which was done the daie of S. Spathew, being the twentieth fourth of Februarie, with all such ceremonies and princelie solemnities as appertained. Which because it was full of roialtie and honour (the qualitie of the principall personages requiring no lesse) and recorded by writers of former ages, it seemeth necessarie and convenient in this place to report it, in such sort as it is found at large in some, though others glancingly passe by it, as a matter of no great obseruation. But it is worth the noting, to consider and take a view of the goodly order

The duke
of Bauler
troupe
the king's
was depa-
rted

1421

Sentence
gaunt the
Dolphin

These
comes
the
king's
gift

The
landed
at
Douer
by
Candlemasse
the
morow
after
the
feast
of
Wallington

King
Henrie
returneth
England
with
his
wife
Thomas
duke
of
Clarence
was
deputed
capteine
at
Blois
de
Vincennes
the
duke
of
Gloucester
with
five
hundred
men
of
warre
was
assigned
to
keepe
Paris

order and reuerend dutifullnesse exhibited on all sides
to the new queene; of whome *Anglorum praelia fatis,*

More coronatur maiorum regia coniux,
Ingenitani rex d'vitat, reginaque vulgus,
Antonius suprema ferit clamoribus astra.

¶ After the great solemnization at the foresaid
coronation in the church of saint Peters at West-
minster was ended, the queene was conueied into
the great hall of Westminster, and there set to din-
ner. Upon whose right hand sat at the end of the
table the archbishop of Cantuarburie, & Henrie sur-
named the Rich cardinal of Winchester. Upon the
left hand of the queene sat the king of Scots in his e-
state, who was serued with covered messe, as were
the forenamed bishops; but yet after them. Upon
the same hand and side, nere the words end, sat the
duchesse of Boke and the countesse of Huntington.
The earle of March, holding a scepter in his hand,
kneled upon the right side: the earle marshall in
like manner on the left of the queene. The countesse
of Bent sat vnder the table at the right foot, and the
countesse marshall at the left. The duke of Gloucester
sir Humfre was that daie ouerser, and stood before
the queene bareheaded. Sir Richard Peuil was
that daie caruer to the queene, the earles brother of
Suffolke cupbearer, sir John Steward sewar, the
lord Clifford pantler in the earle of Warwikes
stead, the lord Willoughbie butler in stead of the erle
of Arundell, the lord Graie Ruthin or Kiffinape-
rer, the lord Aubie almoner in stead of the earle of
Cambridge, the earle of Worcester was that daie
earle marshall in the earle marshalls absence; who
rode about the hall vpon a great courser with a mul-
titude of tipped haues about him, to make and keepe
roume in the said hall. Of the which hall the barons
of the cinque ports began the table vpon the right
hand, toward saint Stephens chappell; and beneath
them at the table sat the boldchers of the chancerie.
Upon the left hand next to the cupbord sat the ma-
ior and his brethren the aldermen of London. The
bishops began the table against the barons of the
cinque ports; and the ladies against the maior. Of
which two tables, for the bishops, began the bishop of
London and the bishop of Durham; and for the la-
dies, the countesse of Stafford, and the countesse of
March.

The feast was all of fish: for the ordering of the
seruice whereof were diuerse lords appointed head of-
ficers, as steward, controller, suruoyer, and other ho-
nourable officers. For the which were appointed the
earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the
lord Fitz Hugh, the lord Furneuall, the lord Graie
of Wilton, the lord Ferrers of Grobie, the lord Poi-
nings, the lord Harrington, the lord Darcie, the
lord Darcres, and the lord de la Ware. These with o-
thers ordered the seruice of the feast as folloiweth; and
thus for the first course. Brawn and mustard, eeles
in burneur, frument with batten, pike in herbage,
lampre powdered, trotot, codling, plaice fried, mat-
tine fried, crabs, lech lumbard flourished, tartes;
and a deuise called a pellican, sitting on his nest with
his birds, and an image of saint Katharine holding a
book, and disputing with doctors, holding this poe-
sie in his right hand, written in false and legible let-
ters, *Madame le Roine;* and the pellican answering,
C'est la signe d'un roy, pour tenir loy,
Era tout ja gent, elle mette sa entent.

The second course was: gellie coloured with co-
lumbine flowers, white potage or cream of al-
monds, bream of the sea, conger, soles, cheuen, bay-
bill and roch, fresh salmon, halibut, gurnard, rochet
baked, fincks fried, creus or lobster, lech damastie,
with the kings poeie flourished therevpon, *Princes*
plus; lampre fresh baked, sampeine flourished with

a scutcheon rosall, and therein thre crownes of gold
planted with flourdeluces and flour of carnionill
brought of confections: with a deuise of a panther,
and an image of saint Katharine with a whele in
one hand, & a scroll with a poeie in the other, to wit,

Laroyne masle, in cestale,
Per bon resoun, aues renoun.

The third course was, dates in compost, creame
motle, carpe deore, turbut, tench, pearch with goison, The third
fresh sturgeon with welks, popperous costed, munnies
fried, creuisse de can dore, pzanis, eeles roasted with
lampre, a lech called the white lech flourished with
hathorne leaues & red hatres; a marchpane garni-
shed with diuerse figures of angels, among which
was set an image of S. Katharine, holding this poeie,

Il est esuit, pur voir & est,
Per mariage pure, cest guerre ne dure.

And lastly a deuise of a tiger looking in a mirror,
and a man sitting on horse-bake all armed, holding
in his armes a tigers whetpe with this poeie, *Per force*
sans resounie ay prise ceste best: and with his owne hand
making a countenance of thyowing of mirrors at
the great tiger, which held this poeie; *Gile che mirour*
ma feste d'flour. Thus with all honour was finished the
solemne coronation, after which the queene sojour-
ned in the palace of Westminster till Palmesun-
daie folloiwng; and on the morow the toke hir jour-
nie towards Windsor; where the king and she held
their Easter.

¶ After the solempne feast of the coronation was en-
ded, the king as well to visit certeyne places for de-
uotion by waie of pilgrimage, as also to see in what
state and order diuerse parts of his realme stood, de-
parted from the queene, appointing daie and place
where she should met him; and so iourned forth
from place to place, thorough sundrie countreies, as
well of Wales as England, and in euerie quarter
where he came, he heard with diligent eare the com-
plaints of litours, and toke order for the administra-
tion of iustice both to high and low, causing manie
misdemeanours to be reformed. At length he came
to the towne of Leicester, where he found the queene
according to the appointment before taken. Here at
Leicester, he held the feast of Easter. ¶ How then
standeth this with the report of Fabian, who saith, that
the king and queene kept their Easter at Windsor;
and that when the said festiual time was expired, the
king made prouision for his warres in France, dur-
ing the tearme of Richard Whittinghams meraltie
of London, which was in the right peare of this king
Henries reigne: Surely there must needs be an
errour, either in mistaking the yeare or the place: bu-
lesse we will grant the king and queene (with their
court of attendants) to haue bene *Eie ibi simul*, which
privilege is granted to none but Ubiquitaries.

But while these things were thus adowing in Eng-
land, the duke of Clarence, the kings lieutenant in
France and Normandy, assembled together all the
garrisons of Normandy, at the towne of Bernaic,
and from thence departed to the countrie of Haine,
and at Pont le Gene he passed the river of Nonne,
and rode through all the countrie to Lucie, where he
passed the river of Loire, and entered into Anjou, and
came before the citie of Angiers, where he made ma-
nie knights, that is to saie, sir William Boas, sir
Henrie Goddard, sir Rowland Alder, sir Thomas
Beaufort, called the bassard of Clarence, and diuerse
other; and after that he had forayed, burnt, and spoiled
the countrie, he returned with preie and pillage to
the towne of Beaufort in the ballie, where he was
aduertised, that a great number of his enemies,
Frenchmen, Scots, Spaniards, and other were as-
sembled together, at a place called Wick Waigie, that
is, Old Waigie, with the duke of Alancon, calling
himselfe

Justice mini-
stred by king
Henrie in pro-
gresse.

Abbr. Fl.

Anno Reg. 9.

The duke of
Clarence made
a rode into
Anjou.

Wick Waigie
or Waigie.

Forzula, a
Lombard be-
trayth the
duke of Cla-
rence.

himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin.

The duke of Clarence had a Lombard resorting unto him, retrained with the part aduerser (his name was Andrieu Forzula) of whom the duke inquired the number of his enemies, to whom he reported, that their number was but small, & not of puissance to match with halfe the power of his strong armie, intising him with assurance of victorie, to set on the Frenchmen. The duke like a couragious prince, assembled together all the horsemen of the armie, and left the archers vnder the guiding of the bastard of Clarence, and two Portingales, captains of Fresnie le vicount, saing, that he onlie and the nobles would haue the hono^r of that tourney. When the duke was passed a certein freit and narrow passage, he espied his enemies ranged in good order of battell, by the monition of the Lombard, which had sold him to his enemies, & his aduersaries had laid such ambushments at the stricts, that the duke by no waie with out battell could either retire or flee.

The English
men discom-
ted.

The duke of
Clarence and
diuerse nobles
of England
slaine.

The Englishmen seeing this, ballantlie set on their enemies, who were seare to one, by reason whereof at length the Englishmen were oppressed with multitude, and brought to confusion. There were slaine, the duke of Clarence, the earle of Tankerville, the lord Ros, sir Gilbert Umfreville earle of Angus, and sir John Lomlie, sir Robert Terend, and almost two thousand Englishmen: & the earles of Summerfet, Suffolke, and Berch, the lord Fitz Water, sir John Berkelie, sir Rafe Heulle, sir Henrie Inglis, sir William Bowes, sir William Longton, sir Thomas Wrough, and diuerse other taken prisoners. And of the Frenchmen were slaine above twelue hundred of the best men of warre they had, so that they gained not much.

The bastard of Clarence which tarried at Beaufort, being informed of the great number of the Frenchmen, made forward with all the archers, to come to the succo^r of the duke, but they came too late. For the Frenchmen hearing of the approaching of the archers, fled with their prisoners, and left the bodie of the duke, and other the dead carcasses behind them. The archers buried them all sauing the dukes corpse, which with great solemnitie was sent to England, and buried at Canturburie beside his father. After this the Englishmen burnt and spoiled the countrie of Paine, and so returned to Alanfon, and after departed euerie man to his garrison. This battell was fought on Easter euen, in the yeare 1421. But now to returne to the king.

The earle of
Poirtaigne
made lieuten-
ant of Po-
mandie.

A parliament.

After he had kept his Casser at Leicester, he with the queene removed and went northward, till they came to Yorke, where they were receiued with great toy of the citizens, and other the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie. The king went unto Beuerlie, to visit the shrine of saint John, and immediatlie by on his departure from thence, the sorrowfull newes of his brother the duke of Clarences death, came to him, for which he was right peniuse. But sith mourning would not auaille, he called to remembrance what he had to doe, and thereupon without delai, sent Edmund earle of Poirtaigne, brother to the earle of Summerfet into Poimandie, giuing to him like authoritie and preheminiene, as his brother the late deceased duke of Clarence had before entioied.

After this, he called his high court of parlement, in the which he declared with such great wisdom & grauitie, the acts which had bene done in France, the state of the time present, and what was necessarie to be provided for the time to come (if they would loke to haue that icwell and high kingdome, for the which they had so long laboured and fought) that the communalitie gladlie granted a fifteenth, & the clergie beneuolentlie offered a double disme. And because

no delai should be in the kings affaires for lacke of payment, the bishop of Winchester the kings vncle lent unto him twentie thousand pounds, to be paid him againe of the same dismes. When all things were necessarie for this tourney were readie and prepared, he sent his brother the duke of Bedford before him to Calis with all his armie, being (as some write) foure thousand men of armes, and twentie thousand archers and others; though some haue written, that the whole armie passed not twelue thousand of one and other.

The king himselfe shortly after, about the middle of Maie, passed the seas to Calis, and so from thence he marched through the countrie vnto Boies de Vincennes, where the French king and the queene as then sojourned. The duke of Burgognie also that had receiued him at Monsiruell, attended him to Douai in Ponthieu, and there hauing taken leaue of him for six daies, returned now againe to him, according to his promise. Then did they consult together about their affaires, and appointed in all hast to fight with the Dolphin, and to raise the siege of Chartres which he had there planted. Hereupon, the king of England with all his puissance, came to the towne of Pante, and thither repaired the duke of Burgognie; but yer they departed from thence, they had knowledge, that the Dolphin hearing of the puissant armie of the king of England approaching towards him, was recoiled with his people towards Towers in Touraine.

Hereupon the king of England incontinentlie, did not onlie send backe the duke of Burgognie into Picardie, to resist the attempts of sir Jaques de Harecourt, which made war in that countrie for the Dolphin; but also appointed the king of Scots, with the duke of Gloucester, to besiege the towne of Dzeur. They comming thither about the eighteenth of Iulie, planted siege on euerie side, both of the towne and castell; and with power of battrie, and other forcible meanes, so constrained them within, that on the eight daie of August they compounded, that if no sufficient rescue came to raise the siege, before the end of twelue daies next ensuing, both the towne and castell should be deliuered to the king of England, so as the soldiers might depart with their goods whither they would, except one Englishman, which was knownen to be amongst them, being fled for treason out of the kings dominions.

On the twentieth daie of August, which was the day of the appointment, the king of Scots receiued the towne and castell to the behoofe of his soueraigne lord the king of England, who (during all the time of the siege) laie at Monzmaill. The townemen that would remaine still in their houses, were sworne to be true subiects to the king; and the other which refused, departed with the souldiers. The Englishman that was excepted, was deliuered according to the covenants; and after executed, as he had deserved. The earle of Worcester was made captaine of Dzeur, and sir Henrie Portimer balliffe there. This done, the king hearing that the Dolphin should be at Baugencie, assembling his power, hastened thitherwards: but at his comming into those parties, he found no appearance of enemies in the field, and so he remained there fiftene daies.

In which meane while, the earle of Suffolke was sent forth to discover the countrie, and the king went by assault the towne of Baugencie, and after when vittels began to faile, he marched forward, meaning to pursue the Dolphin. But the Dolphin doubting the English puissance, conueied all the vittels forth of those quarters, and retired himselfe to Burges in Berrie, choosing that place as his first refuge, & there fore determined there to remaine, till fortune turning

An. Reg. 9, 10.

The Duke of Burgundy called the king of Berrie.

Titus Livius.

Laborious to dare of Normandie. An. Fl.

The strong town of Cherbourg being by the Englishmen.

A parliament called by the duke of Bedford, the king being in France.

Windsore. The birth of King Henrie the first.

ning his wife, shuld loke on them with a more fauorable countenance, hereof in scoone was he com-
monlie called king of Berrie. The king of Eng-
land followed, till bittels and forage began sore to
faile on all sides, and then returning, passed towards
Dylance, taking the castell of Rouge Pont by as-
sault.

He staied three daies before Dylance, and from
thence, for want of bittels, marched through Casti-
nois, till he came to Aignie sur Honne, where he re-
mained for a season, to refresh his people that were
sore trauelled, in that painefull passed iourne: in
which the king lost not onelie manie of his men for
lacke of bittels, but also a great number of hoyses
and carriages. Some haue written, that about the
same time, he should win the citie of Sens, other-
wise called the kings new towne by surrender; but
after he had remained for a time at Aignie, we find
that he remoued to Paris, where he was honorablie
receiued. For he came among them as one hauing
empire and dominion in his hand, so that to him they
were no lesse forward in submission for feare of his
indignation, than ready to giue him all the inter-
tainment that they could deuise for the keeping of
his fauour: the lacke whereof they knew stood with
the hazard of their safetie, as the contrarie tended to
their welfare.

Shortlie after, considering with himselfe that the
towne of Meaux in Brie, being replenished with e-
nimies, was not to be suffered to remaine in that
state, in the middes of his new gotten subiects, he de-
termined to take awaie the open scruple that might
poison and infect the members, dwelling hard by:
wherefore with a great number of earles and barons
in his companie, he came to besiege it. This towne
was no lesse well bittelled than manned, and no bet-
ter manned than fortified; so that the king could nei-
ther haue it to him deliuered at his pleasure, nor
gaine it by assault, without the great losse of his peo-
ple: yet neuertheless, he determined not to depart,
till he had got it by one meane or other. The riuer of
Spaine diuided this towne into two parts, so that
there was no enterie from the one into the other, but
by a brydge, raised vp, and made ouer the riuer, suffe-
red with manie arches. The one part is called the ci-
tie, and the other la March, being the strongest and
best fortified. The king first lodged a mile off in a ca-
stell, and sent the duke of Excester to begin the siege,
which he did, according to his instructions, vpon the
first of October.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe came, and lodged
in the abbey of Maron, the duke of Excester in the
abbey de Chage, the earle of March at the greie fri-
ers, and the earle of Marwick directedlie against that
part that is called la March. They within defended
themselves right balliantlie, so that the Englishmen
were not all at their ease, but specialie through lacke
of bittels manie died, and manie fell sicke, by reason
whereof, no small number returned home into Eng-
land; where in the meane time, on the first of Decem-
ber, a parliament was called and holden at West-
minster, by the duke of Bedford, gouernour of the
realme in the kings absence. In this parliament, a
fiftieth was granted to the king towards the main-
tenance of the warres, the one moiety to be paid at
Candlemasse, and the other at Martinmasse, of such
monie as at the time of the grant was currant.

This yeare at Windsore on the daie of saint Pe-
tholas in December, the queene was deliuered of a
sonne named Henrie, whose godfathers were John
duke of Bedford, and Henrie bishop of Winchester,
and Jaquet, or (as the Frenchmen called him) Jaque-
line of Bauiar, countesse of Holland was his god-
mother. The king being certified hereof, as he laie at

siege before Meaux, gaue God thanks, in that it had
pleased his diuine prouidence to send him a sonne,
which might succed in his crowne and scepter. But
when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie;
where it that he warned by some prophesie, or had some
foreknowledge, or else iudged himselfe of his sonnes
fortune, he said vnto the lord Fitz Hugh his trustie
chamberleine these wordes: My lord, I Henrie bozne
at Spornmouth, shall small time reigne, & much get;
and Henrie bozne at Windsore, shall long reigne,
and all lose: but as God will, so be it.

King Henrie prophesied of his sonne.

The king held his Christmasse at the siege before
Meaux, for he would not giue ouer that siege, al-
though his armie was greatlie diminished, by reason
of lacke of bittels, extreame cold, soule weather, and
other discommodities that bred great sore of disca-
ses and sickenesse among his people; notwithstanding
all the helps and means that might be, he deu-
sed to remedie the same: so that beside such as died,
as well of sickenesse as by the enimies hand, manie
returned home into their countries. But yet he ceas-
ed not to continue the siege, beating the walles with
his ordnance, and casting downe bulwokes and
rampiers on eche side the towne, made approches as
well by water as land, with mightie engines deu-
sed of boyds to defend the Englishmen, as they ap-
proched the walles, and gaue assaults. The walles al-
so were in diuerse places undermined.

Titus Livius.

1423

After this, the Englishmen found meanes, by
brydges made of boats, to passe the riuer; but yet the
souldiers and other within defended their rampiers
and breaches most stoutlie, and with guns and quar-
rels kill shot at the Englishmen, of whome they slue
manie, and among other the earle of Worcester was
slaine, with a bullet of the great artillerie, & the lord
Clifford with a quarrell of a crossebow; yet the Eng-
lishmen still wan ground, and got naxer and naxer
to the walles. They also toone the chieffest part of a
brydge from the enimies, and kept watch and ward
vpon and about the same. The earle of Marwick
had also taken a tawmure from them of the market
place, built on the southside thereof, able to receiue
and lodge a good number of men, which seruing to
good purpose, for the better brydeling of them within,
he caused to be kept, and thus were they within Me-
aux sore oppressed on euerie side.

Herevpon in Februarie, the capitaine doubting
least the citie could not be defended long, caused all
the bittels and goods to be conueted into the market
place, and retired all the men of warre into the same,
leauing none in the other part of the citie, but the
commons, and such as were not able to do any a-
uailable seruice in the warre. The king aduertised
hereof, commanded in all hast to assault the citie,
which was quicklie done; so that the citie by fine
force was within three houres taken and spoiled; and
the same daie the market place besieged round a-
bout, and a mill toone adioining vnto the same. In
Aprill, the queene passed ouer into France, with a
saire retinue of men, vnder the conduct of the duke
of Bedford, the duke of Glocester remaining lord
gouernour of the realme in his place. At his com-
ming thither, he was so welcommed and honorablie
receiued, first of his husband, and after of his father
and mother, that he appeared to be no lesse loued of
his noble husband, than of his deere and naturall pa-
rents.

Meaux taken by assault.

Anno Reg. 10. Queene Katharine sailleth into France.

Windsore. Oliver Henrie.

Whilste the siege still continued before Meaux, Oli-
uer Hannie a valiant man of warre of the Dol-
phins part (which before was capitaine of Falaise, and
pelding it, swore neuer to beare armour against the
king of England) assembled a great number of men
of warre, as well Brittaines as Frenchmen, that is
to saie, the lord Pontbozier, the lord of Coinon, the
lord

Book 1.

lord of Chatelgiron, the lord Tintignace, the lord de la Houslaie, and diuerse other, which entered into the countie of Constantine in Normandie, and robbed and killed the Englishmen, where they might either espie or take them at their due aduantage. But the earle of Suffolke keeper of the marches, hearing of their doings, sent for the lord Seales, sir John Aston bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Hall, sir John Banaster, and many other, out of the garrisons within that territorie, the which incountried with their enemies at a place called *Le parkelousque*, in English, The bishops parke.

A foze coñflict.

There was a foze fight and a long betwixt them, but finally, the Frenchmen were put to flight, so that in the conflict and chase were slaine, the lord of Coimon, the lord of Chatelgiron, and thre hundred other: and there were taken prisoners, the lord de la Houslaie, and sir Oliver Hannie, with threescore others. The king pardoned sir Oliver Hannie his life, though he ill deserued so great a benefit, for that he had broken his oth and promise, but he was sent into England, there to learne to speake English, and so being brought to London, shortly after died, being as then a verie aged man, & was buried in the white friers. ¶ But here note (by the waie) the roiall hart of this king, who as he tempered all his actions with singular circumspection; so with a pitifull mind he pondered the miserie of his enemies; so that when he might (*iure belli*, by the law of armes) haue spoiled them of goods and life, he diuerse times spared both; with clemencie comonlie making conquest of them, who seemed by open hostilitie scarce conquerable.

Abr. Fl.

The king being still before the market place at Meaux in Brie (as ye haue heard) sore beat the walls with his ordinance, and cast downe bulwokes and rampiers on euery side the towne, so that he had made an open breach for his people to enter. Whereof the lord of Offemont being aduertised, with a companie of cholen persons sent by the Dolphin, assailed in the night season to enter the towne, to the succours of them within. But though diuerse of his people got ouer the walles, by helpe of ladders which they had set vp; yet such was his chance, that as he passed a plankie, to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe ditch; and in the meane time, the Englishmen perceiuing by the noyse what the matter meant, came running to the ditch, took the lord of Offemont, and slue diuerse of his companie that stood in defence.

Continuation de la chronicles de Flanders.

The captiues within, perceiuing in what case they stood, by reason their succours were thus intercepted, and doubting to be taken by assault, for that they wanted munition and weapon, began to treat with the king of England, who appointed the earle of Warwick, and the lord Hungerford, to commune with them; and in conclusion an accord was taken, and so the towne and market place with all the goods were deliuered into the king of Englands hands, the tenth daie of Maie, in the yeare 1422. The appointment taken with them of this towne was this, that they should yeld themselves simple vnto the kings pleasure, their liues onlie saued: and hereupon manie of them were sent ouer into England, amongst whome was the bishop of that towne, which shortly after his arrivall here fell sicke and died.

Treas. Livins. The conditions of the surrender of Meaux into the kings hands.

There were also foure persons excepted, against whome the king might by order of law and iustice proceed as he saw cause, for their faults and trespasses committed. As first, the captiue of the towne, named the bassard of Claurui, the which had done manie gracious oppressions to the people of the countie thereabouts, in spoiling them of their goods and ransoming them at his pleasure. He had also put diuerse to death most cruellie, when they were not able to paye such finance and ransomes as he deman-

ded. Whereupon, being now put to death himselfe, his bodie was hanged vpon a tree that stood on an hill without the towne, on the which he had caused both husbandmen and townesmen, with other prisoners, to be hanged before time. His standard also, which was wont to be borne before him in battell, was set vp in the same tree. The bailiffe also of the towne, and two of the chiefe burgesses that had bene of counsell with him in his vnlawfull doings, were likewise executed. Also beside these, there were found in this towne diuerse that were accused to be guiltie of the duke of Burgognies death, wherefore they were put to their triall, in the parlement at Paris, and some of them being found guiltie, were executed.

When the deliuerie of the strong towne of Meaux was published thorough out the countie, all the townes and fortresses in the Ile of France, in Lannois, in Brie, & in Champagne, yelded themselves to the king of England, which appointed in the same valiant captiues, and hardie soldiers. After that he had thus got possession of Meaux, and the other fortresses, he returned againe to Bois de Vincennes, and being there receiued of the king and queene of France, and of the queene his wife the thirtieth daie of Maie, being Whitsun euen, they remoued all together vnto Paris, where the king of England lodged in the castell of Loure, and the French king in the house of saint Paule. These two kings kept great estate with their queenes, at this high feast of Pentecost, but the king of Englands court greatly increased, so that all the resort was thither. The Parisiens that beheld his princelie port & high magnificence, iudged him rather an emperour than a king, and their owne king to be in respect of him like a duke or marquisse.

The reuel post of the 6 of England

The Dolphin having knowledge by espials where the king of England and his power laie, came with all his puissance ouer the riuer of Loire, and besieged Colneie, a towne situate vpon that riuer, a six score miles distant from Paris, and appointed part of his armie to waste and destroye the confines of the duchie of Burgognie, to the intent to diuide the power of the king of England, from the strength of the duke of Burgognie, supposing (as it came to passe indeed) that the duke would make hast towards Burgognie, to defend his owne lands. In the meane time, they within Colneie were so hard handled, that they promised to render their towne to the Dolphin, if they were not rescued by the king of England within ten daies. King Henrie hearing these newes would not send anie one creature, but determined to go himselfe to the raising of that siege, and so with all diligence came to the towne of Corbeil, and so to Senlis, where (whether it were with heat of the aire, or that he with his daillie labour were feebled or weakened) he began to war sicke, yea and so sicke, that he was constrained to tarrie, and send his brother the duke of Bedford to rescue them of Colneie, which he did to his high honour. For the Dolphin hearing that the duke of Bedford was comming to raise his siege departed thence into Berrie, to his great dishonour, and lesse gaine.

Colneie besieged by the Dolphin

The king's sickness

Colneie rescued by the duke of Bedford

About the same time, the duke of Britaine sent his chancelor the bishop of Gaunts, with the bishop ofannes, and others of his counsell, as ambassadors from him vnto king Henrie, with full commission, to ratifie and allow for him and his people the peace concluded at Troies: but by reason of the kings grauous sicknesse, nothing was then done in that matter. Neuertheless, the duke himselfe in person came afterwards to Amiens, and there performed that which he had appointed his ambassadors at this time, in his name, to haue done and accomplished.

Treas. Livins. The duke of Britaine's ambassadors to king Henrie

An. Reg. 10.

The king of
England is
brought sick
to Bois de
Wincesnes.His countie
from his
bedchamber.

Thus Lincolne.

Charles Ch.
the archb.
of Cantuar. for
bidding & bull
against the
George, as
appears
before, pag.
145, 146.He departed
this life the
last of August
1547.The com-
mon of King
Henrie the fift
is reported
by Hall.

in the meane season, king Henrie waxed sicker
and sicker, and so in an horrible manner was conueied to
Bois de Wincesnes, to whome shortly after repa-
red the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, & the earles
of Salisburie and Warwicke, whome the king lo-
uingly welcomed, and seemed glad of their presence.

Now, when he saw them penitise for his sickness,
and great danger of life wherein he presentlie laie,
he with manie graue, courteous, and pitie words,
recomforted them the best he could, and therewith ex-
horted them to be trustie and faithfull vnto his sonne,
and to see that he might be well and vertuouly
brought vp. And as concerning the rule and gouer-
nance of his realms, during the minoritye and yong
yeares of his said sonne, he willed them to ioine to-
gether in friendlie loue and concord, keeping conti-
nuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgognie,
and neuer to make treatie with Charles that called
himselfe Dolphin of France, by the which any part
either of the crowne of France, or of the duchies of
Bourbonie and Guien may be lessened or dimini-
shed; and further, that the duke of Cleuance, and the
other princes should still remaine prisoners, till his
sonne came to lawfull age, least returning home a-
gaine, they might kindle more fire in one daie than
might be quenched in thre.

He further aduised them, that if they thought it
necessarie, that it should be good to haue his brother
Dumfreie duke of Gloucester to be protector of Eng-
land, during the nonage of his sonne, and his brother
the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of
Burgognie to rule and to be regent of France, com-
manding him with fire and sword to persecute the
Dolphin, till he had either brought him to reason and
obedience, or else to drive and expell him out of the
realme of France. And herewith he protested vnto
them, that neither the ambitious desire to enlarge
his dominions, neither to purchase vaine renowne
and worldly fame, nor any other consideration had
moued him to take the warres in hand; but onelie
that in prosecuting his iust title, he might in the end
attaine to a perfect peace, and come to enioie those
pieces of his inheritance, which to him of right be-
longed: and that before the beginning of the same
warres, he was fullie perswaded by men both wise
and of great holinesse of life, that vpon such intent
he might and ought both begin the same warres, and
follow them, till he had brought them to an end iust-
lie and rightlie, and that without all danger of Gods
displeasure or perill of soule.

The noble men present, promised to obserue his
precepts, and to performe his desires; but their hearts
were so penitise, and replenished with sorow, that
one could not for weeping behold an other. Then he
said the seauen psalmes, and receiued the sacrament,
and in saying the psalmes of the passion ended his
daies here in this world, at Bois saint Vincent, the
last of August, in the yeare a thousand foure hundred
twentie and two. This Henrie was a king, of life
without spot, a prince whome all men loued, and of
none disdained, a captaine against whome fortune
neuer frowned, nor mischance once spurned, whose
people him so seuerely iusticer both loued and obedi-
ed (and so humane withall) that he left no offense un-
punished, nor friendship unrewarded; a ferour to
rebels, and suppressour of sedition, his vertues nota-
ble, his qualities most praise-worthy.

In strength and nimblenesse of bodie from his
youth set to him comparable, for in wrestling, lea-
ping, and running, no man well able to compare. In
casting of great iron barres and heauie stones he ex-
celled commonlie all men, neuer shrinking at cold,
nor dothfull for heat; and when he most laboured,
his head commonlie conquered; no more wearie of

harnesse than a light cloake, he was valiantlie abiding
at needs both hunger and thirst; so manfull of mind
as neuer sene to quinch at a wound, or to smart at
the paine; not to turne his nose from euill fauour,
nor close his eyes from smoke or dust; no man more
moderate in eating and drinking, with diet not de-
licate, but rather more meat for men of warre, than
for princes or tender stomachs. Curie honest person
was permitted to come to him, sitting at meale,
where either secretlie or openlie to declare his mind.
High and weightie causes as well betwene men of
warre and other he would gladielie heare, and either
determined them himselfe, or else for end committed
them to others. He slept verie little, but that verie
soundlie, in so much that when his soldiers song at
nights, or minstrels plaied, he then slept fastest; of
courage inuincible, of purpose immutable, so wise-
hardie alwaies, as feare was banisht from him; at
euerie alarm he first in armor, and for most in orde-
ring. In time of warre such was his providence,
bountie and hap, as he had true intelligence, not one-
lie what his enemies did, but what they said and inten-
ded: of his deuises and purposes few, before the thing
was at the point to be done, should be made puiue.

He had such knowledge in ordering and guiding
an armie, with such a gift to encourage his people,
that the Frenchmen had constant opinion he could
neuer be vanquished in battell. Such wit, such pro-
vidence, and such policie withall, that he neuer enter-
prised any thing, before he had fullie debated and fore-
cast all the maine chances that might happen, which
done with all diligence and courage he set his pur-
pose forward. What policie he had in finding present
remedies for sudden mischeues, and what engines in
sauiug himselfe and his people in sharpe distresses:
were it not that by his acts they did plainlie appeare,
hard were it by words to make them credibie. What an-
tonnesse of life and thirst in auarice had he quite
quenched in him; vertues in deed in such an estate
of soueraintie, youth, and power, as verie rare, so
right commendable in the highest degree. So staied
of mind and countenance beside, that neuer iolie or
triumphant for victorie, nor sad or damped for losse or
misfortune. For bountifullnesse and liberalitie, no
man more free, gentle, and franke, in bestowing re-
wards to all persons, according to their deserts: for
his saieing was, that he neuer desired monie to keepe,
but to giue and spend.

Although that some properlie serues not for theme
of praise or dispraise, yet what in breuitie may well be
remembred, in truth would not be forgotten by doct,
were it but onlie to remaine as a spectacle for mag-
nanimitie to haue alwaies in eie, and for encourage-
ment to nobles in honourable enterprises. Knownen
be it therefore, of person and forme was this prince
rightlie representing his herocall affects, of stature
and proportion tall and manlie, rather leane than
grosse, somewhat long necked and blacke haired, of
countenance amiable, eloquent and graue was his
speech, and of great grace and power to perswade: for
conclusion, a matelie was he that both liued & died
a paterne in princehood, a lode-starre in honour, and
mirour of magnificence: the more highlie exalted
in his life, the more deepe lie lamented at his death,
and famous to the world alwaie. Peter Bassett (a
chefe man in his chamber) affirmed that he deceased
of a pleurisie, though the Scots and French set it
downe to be of saint Feacres disease, that they saie
was a palse with a crampe, which Enguerant reports
to be saint Anthonies fire, but neither of them trulie.

Anglorum prelia saith, that it was a sharpe feuer,
which happening vnto him (weariet with the boiles
of warre) in a verie vnseasonable time of the yeare,
namelie the dogdaies, tormented him the longer, and

Abt. Fl. out of
Angl. prel.
sub Hen. 5.

h k k y. greiv

grein to be not onelic dangerous, but also desperat ;
fo: it left him not till life was ertinguisht: the poets
report is, as followeth :

*Interca fructibus, astu nimioq; labore
Corripit Henricum languentem febri acuta,
Celi intemperies, fextili sirum ardens
Virus "pestiferi fecit ingrandescere" morbi.*

A pestilent
fever.

His bodie imbalmed and closed in lead, was laid
in a chariot roiall, richlie apparelled with cloth of gold.
Upon his coffin was laid a representation of his
person, adorned with robes, diadem, scepter, & ball,
like a king; the which chariot, sir horses drew richlie
trapped, with severall appointments; the first with
the armes of S. George, the second with the armes
of Normandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth
of saint Edward, the fift of France, and the sixt
with the armes of England and France. On this
same chariot gaue attendance James B. of Scots,
the principall mourner, king Henries uncle Tho-
mas duke of Gloucester, Richard earle of Marlowe,
the earle of March Edmund, the earle of Stafford
Humfrie, the earle of Portaigne Edmund Beau-
fort, the lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the lord Hunger-
ford Walter, sir Robert Robert lord Bourchier, sir
John Cornwall lord Fanhope, and the lord Crum-
well were the other mourners. The lord Louell, the
lord Audelcie, the lord Pooleie, the lord Soluch bare
the baners of saints and anoures, as then they were
called; the baron of Dupleie bare the standard,
and the earle of Longuile the baner. The hachments
were caried onelic by capteins to the number of
twelve; and round about the chariot rode fure hun-
dred men of armes all in blacke armour, their hors-
es barbed blacke, and they with the but ends of their
speares upwards.

Lord Crum-
well.

The conduct of this dolorous funerall was com-
mitted to sir William Philip, treasuro: of the kings
household, and to sir William Porter, his cheefe car-
uer, and others. Beside this, on euerie side of the cha-
riot went three hundred persons, holding long top-
ches, & lords bearing baners, bannerols, and penons.
With this funerall appointment was he conueied
from Bois de Vincennes, to Paris, and so to Rome,
to Abailie, to Calis, to Dover, from thence thorough
London to Westminster, where he was interred
with such solemne ceremonies, mourning of lords,
prayer of priests, and such lamenting of commonis,
as neuer before then the like was seene in England.
Shortlie after this solemne burfall, his sorrowfull
quene returned into England, and kept hir estate
with the young king hir sonne.

Thus ended this puissant prince his most noble and
fortunate reigne, whose life (saith Hall) though cruel
Atropos abbreviated; yet neither fire, malice, nor
stetting time shall appall his honour, nor blot out the
gloxie of him that in so small time had done so ma-
nie and roiall acts. [In this yeare, the one and twen-
tith of October deceased the gentle and welbeloued
Charles French king the first of that name, who was
baried at S. Denis.] So that betwene the death
of these two kings, namelie the one of England, the
other of France, there was no great space of time;
sith Charles departed in October, and Henrie in Au-
gust: by the mutation of whose lines, which of the two
reabines seemes the greater losse, it is a question
not to be discussed. Certaine it is that they were both
soveraigns tenderlie loved of their subiects, as they
were princes greatlie favouring their people. Fi-
nallie, in memorie of this Henrie the fift, a king of
a roiall hart, and euerie waie indured with imperiall
vertues, I find to fit a report concerning in truth both
his properties and disposition; that I thinke it verte
convenient here to be inserted in place of an epitaph;

Henrici illustris prosperans mors occupat actus;

*Ille sua patria decus immortale per aenum
Perennium, virtutis & indelebile lumen,
Celfo animo profusus, leni quoque pectore cines
Non solum, at iustos hostes fideique probata
Dilexit, nunc raro tractantur ore.*

Of learned men and writers, these I find remem-
bered by Bale and others, to have lived in the daies of
this noble and valiant king Henrie the fift. First,
Alaine de Lin, bozne in Lin, and professed a Car-
melite frier in that towne, he at length became prior
of that convent, proceeded docto: of divinitie in Cam-
bridge, and wrote manie treatises; Thomas Otter-
bozne that wrote an historie of England, is thought
to live about this season, he was a Franciscan or-
grate frier, as they called them, a great student both
in divinitie and philosophie; John Seguard an excel-
lent poet, and a rhetorician, kept a schoule, and read
to his scholers in Norwich, as is supposed, writing
sundrie treatises, repprouing as well the profaning
of the christian religion in monks and priests, as the
abuse of poetrie in those that took upon them to
write filthie verses and rimes; Robert Rose a frier
of the Carmelites order in Norwich commonlie cal-
led the white friers, both an excellent philosopher, and
divine, proceeded docto: at Drenford, promoted to be
prior of his house, and writing diverse treatises; a-
mongst all the sophists of his time (as saith Bale) he
offended none of the Wickhevisss, who in that season
set forth purelie the word of God, as maie appeare by
his woorkes.

Moreover, John Lucke, a docto: of divinitie in
Drenford, a lye enimie to the Wickhevisss; Richard
Cassier bozne in Norfolk, vicar of saint Stephens
in Norwich, a man of great holinesse and puritie in
life, favouring (though secretlie) the doctrine of the
Wickhevisss, and repprouing in his sermons, the un-
chast manners and filthie example that appeared in
the cleargie. Of sir John Wiccasell lord Cobham ye
have heard before; William Walleis a blacke frier
in Lin, and provinciall of his order here in Eng-
land, made a booke of moralizations upon Ouids Me-
tamorphoseis, comparable to possills upon Aesops
Fables; Richard Smettham, a student in Drenford,
where he professed to greatlie in learning and wis-
dome, that he was accounted the cheefest in all that
universtie, in respect whereof he was made chancel-
lor of the same, chosen also to be one of the twelve to
examine and iudge upon Wickhevisss doctrine by the
archbishop of Cantuarburie; John Langdene a
monke of Chiffes church in Cantuarburie, an other
of those twelve; William Tallo: a priest, and a ma-
ster of art in Drenford, a stedfast follower of Wic-
khevisss doctrine, & burnt for the same in Smithfield at
London, the second day of March, in the yeare of our
Lord 1422, & last of king Henrie the fift his reigne.

Furthermore, Richard Cradale student in Dren-
ford, one of those twelve also; William Lindwood a
labourer excellentlie learned, as well in the civil as
canon lawes, advanced to the service of this king,
and made by him keeper of the privie seale, sent in
ambassage both to the kings of Spaine and Por-
tingale, about businesse of most weightie impor-
tance. It is said that he was promoted to the bishop-
rike of saint David; Bartholomew Flozarius, sup-
posed (as Bale saith) by Nicholas Biggiam, to be an
Englishman, wrote a treatise called Florarium,
whereof he took his surname; and also an other trea-
tise of abstinence, in which he repproueth certaine cor-
rupt manners in the cleargie, and the profession of
friers mendicants; Adam Heimmelington, a Car-
melite frier, studied both in Drenford and Paris;
William Batecombe is placed by Bale about the
time, he was an excellent mathematician, as by the

Abr. Fl. out of
Angl. priet.

W.P.

W.S.

the title of his works which he wrote it should appear.

Titus Livius de Foro Luuifis lived also in these daies, an Italian borne: but sith he was both resiant here, and wrote the life of this king, I haue thought good to place him among other of our English writers. One there was that translated the said historie into English, adding (as it were by waie of notes in manie places of that booke) sundrie things for the more large understanding of the historie: a copie 10 whercof I haue sene belonging to Iohn Stow citi-

zen of London. There was also about the same time an other writer, who (as I remember) hath followed the said Livius in the order of his booke, as it were chapter for chapter, onelie changing a god, familiar and easie stile, which the said Livius vsed, into a certaine poeticall kind of writing: a copie whercof I haue sene (& in the life of this king partlie followed) belonging to master Iohn Twine of Kent, who (as I was informed) meant to leaue to posteritie some fruits of his labours for the due understanding thereof.

*Thus farre Henrie the fift sonne and successor
to Henrie the fourth.*



Henrie the sixt, sonne and heire to Henrie the fift.

1422
Anno Regi, 1.



After that death had be-
rest the world of that no-
ble prince king Henrie
the fift, his onelie sonne
prince Henrie, being of
the age of nine moneths,
or thereabouts, with the
sound of trumpets was
openlie proclaimed king
of England and France 20

the thirtieth daie of August, by the name of Henrie the
fift; in the yeare of the world five thousand, three
hundred, eightie and nine, after the birth of our Sa-
uour 1422, about the twelfth yeare of the emperour
Frederike the third, the fortieth and two and last of
Charles the first, and the third yeare of Spodaks regi-
ment (after his father Robert) gouernour of Scot-
land. The custodie of this yong prince was appointed
to Thomas duke of Cresser, & to Henrie Beauford
bishop of Winchester. The duke of Bedford was
deputed regent of France, and the duke of Gloucester
was ordeined protectour of England; who taking
vpon him that office, called to him wise and graue
counsellors, by whose aduise he provided and toke
order as well for the good gouernment of the realme
& subiects of the same at home, as also for the main-
tenance of the warres abroad, and further conque-
st to be made in France, appointing valiant and ex-
pert captains, which should be readie, when need re-
quired. Besides this, he gathered great summes of
monie to mainteine men of warre, and lest nothing
for gotten that might aduance the good estate of the
realme.

While these things were a doing in England, the
duke of Bedford regent of France studied most car-
nestlie, not onelie to keepe and well order the coun-
tries by king Henrie late conquered; but also deter-
mined not to leaue off warre & trauell, till Charles
the Dolphin (which was now adide, because king

Charles his father in the moneth of October in this
present yeare was departed to God) should either be
subdued, or brought to obissance. And suerlie the
death of this king Charles caused alterations in
France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, which be-
fore, either for feare of the English puissance, or for
the loue of this king Charles (whose authoritie they
followed) held on the English part, did now reuolt to
the Dolphin, with all indevour to vtur the English
nation out of the French territories. Whereunto they
were the more earnestlie bent, and thought it a thing
of greater facilitie, because of king Hentles yong
yeares; whome (because he was a child) they esteemed
not, but with one consent reuolted from their sworne
fealtie: as the recorder of the Englishmens battels
with forren nations verie aptlie doth note, saieing:

*Hic Franci puerum regem neglectum habentes
Desisunt, violatque fidem geni perfida sacro
Consilio ante datum.*

30 The duke of Bedford being greatlie moued with
these sudden changes, fortified his towncs both with
garrisons of men, munition, and vittels, assembled
also a great armie of Englishmen and Normans,
and so effectuoulie exhorted them to continue faith-
full to their liege and lawfull lord yong king Hen-
rie, that manie of the French captains willinglie
swore to king Henrie fealtie and obissance, by whose
example the communalitie did the same. Thus the
people quieted, and the countrie established in order,
nothing was minded but warre, and nothing spoken
of but conquest.

The Dolphin which lay the same time in the citie of
Poitiers, after his fathers deceasse, caused himselfe
to be proclaimed king of France, by the name of
Charles the seventh; and in good hope to recover his
patrimoine, with an haughty courage preparing war,
assembled a great armie; and first the warre began
by light skirmishes, but after it grew into maine
battels. The Dolphin thinking not to lose any occa-
sion

Pont Meulan surprised
by the French.
1 4 2 3
Languerant.

sions of well doing, sent the lord Graule to the towne of Pont Meulan, standing on the riuier of Seine, who comming to the same vpon the sudden, the fourteenth of Januarie, toke it, and slew a great number of English souldiours, which he found within it.

Lord Graule
falsified his
oth.

When the duke of Bedford the regent, aduertised of this sudden surprise, appointed the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie (a man both for policie and courage, liker to the old Romans than to men of his daies) accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, the lord Seales, the young lord Poinings, sir John Fastolfe maister of the household, with himselfe, and diuerse others, to besiege the said towne of Pont Meulan, which after two moneths siege was rendred to the said earle, and the lord Graule swore to be true to the king of England euer after that day: but shortly after, forgetting his oth, he turned French againe.

The earle of Salisburie appointed sir Henrie Portimer, and sir Richard Vernon, capteins of the towne, and from thence went into Champaigne, and there besieged the towne of Sens, toke it, and sir William Mar in the capteine within it, and slew all the souldiours that kept it, made capteins there sir Hugh Coddington, and sir Richard Aubemond. ¶ In this season, Henrie duke of Glocester, either striken in loue, or vpon some other occasion, married the ladie Jaquet or Jaquelin, daughter and sole heire to William of Barier duke of Holland, which was lawfull wife to John duke of Brabant then liuing, who afterwards (as after ye shall heare) recovered hir out of the dukes hands.

Affinitie an
interreiner of
friendship.

The chances thus happening (as you before haue heard) John duke of Bedford, Phillip duke of Burgonie, and John duke of Britaine made a frendlie meeting in the citie of Amiens, where they renewed the old league and ancient amitie made betwene the noble prince king Henrie the sixt and them, adding thereto these conditions and agreements, ech of them to be to the other friend and aider; and the enemie of the one to be enemie to the other; and all they to be friends and aiders to the king of England, welwiller to his welwillers, and aduersarie to his aduersaries. And (because that affinitie is commonlie the bond of amitie) there was concluded a marriage betwene the duke of Bedford, and the ladie Anne sister to the duke of Burgonie, which was after solemnized at Trois in Champaigne, in the presence of the duke of Burgonie brother to the bride, and of his uncle the duke of Brabant, the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, and of nine hundred lords, knights, and esquiers, with such feast and triumph, as before that time had not bene seene of the Burgognions.

Whilist these matters were in hand, the Parisiens, thinking to blind the eyes of the duke of Bedford, wrote to him how diuerse castles and fortresses lieng about their territories, were replenished with their enemies, dalleie stopping their passages, and robbing their merchants, to their vtter vndowing, if they by his helpe were not relieved. But this was but a glose of the Parisiens, meaning to cause him to go about the winning of some strong hold, whilist they in his absence might bring into the citie Charles the Dolphin, that then called himselfe French king; for so had they appointed, assigning to him the date of his comming and the poise of his entrie. But their practice being discouered to the duke of Bedford, he with a great power entered into Paris, one daie before the faine was appointed, and two nights before he was looked for, of his enemies being vnprovided, and suddenly caused the conspirators within the citie to be apprehended, and openlie to be put to execution.

This done, putting a mistrust in the Parisiens, he

caused the castles and fortresses nere and adioining to the citie, to be furnished with Englishmen. And to auoid all night-watchers about Paris, and the confines thereof, he first toke into his possession either by assault or corripotion, the towne of Trainelle and Bzaie vpon Seine. And because two castles, the one called Bacie, and the other Courlaie were also euill neighbors to the Parisiens, he sent sir John Fastolfe great maister of his household with a notable armie to win the same castles; which he did, and with prete and prisoners returned backe againe to his maister the regent.

In this verie season, the Dolphin sent the lord William Steward earle of Buchquane that was constable of France, and the earle of Ventadour in Auvergne, and manie other noble men of his part, to laie siege to the towne of Crauant in the countie of Auvergne, within the parts of Burgonie. Wherof hearing the lord regent, and the duke of Burgonie they assembled a great armie, and appointed the earle of Salisburie to haue the guiding thereof; who with his capteins and men of warre, English and Burgognions, came in good arraie to giue battell to the besiegers. And because the riuier of Ponne, which runneth by the said towne, was betwene the English armie, and their aduersaries, they could not well assaile their enemies, which defended the bankes and passages verie stronglie: yet notwithstanding, both hoilmen and footmen of the English part courageously put themselves into the riuier, and with fine force recovered the banke, whome the Burgognions incontinentlie followed.

The English
armie carried
the riuier and
surrounded the
banke.

When they were all gotten into the plaine, the archers shot, the bill men strake, and long was the fight in doubtfull balance. But in conclusion the French men not able to resist the force of the English nation, were discomfited, slaine, and chased, leauing a glorious victorie to the Englishmen and Burgognions. There were slaine of the Frenchmen an eightiaine hundred knights and esquiers, beside commons: of Scots were hand three thousand. Amongest the Frenchmen these were chiefest that were slaine: the earle of Lestrake, the earle of Comigens, the earle of Connoire, the lord Coquart de Comeron, the barbard of Arminake, the vicount of Touraine, the barbard of Fozrestes, the lord de Port, and the lord Spemozancie.

Of Scots the lord of saint Johns towne, sir John of Balgarte, sir John Turnbull, sir John Holburton, sir Robert Little, sir William Coningham, sir William Douglas, sir Alexander Hume, sir William Little, sir John Kotherford, sir William Craiford, sir Thomas Seton, sir William Hamilton, and his sonne, John Pillot. There were taken the earle of Buchquane constable of France, which lost his eye, the earle of Ventadour, sir Alexander Meldoyne, sir Letwes Ferginie, and two and twentie hundred gentlemen of the French part. Of Englishmen there were slaine sir John Greie, sir William Hall, sir Gilbert Hallall one of the marshals of the field, Richard ap Ithadocke, and one and twentie hundred footmen and men of warre.

After this fortunate victorie was the earle of Salisburie made (by the lord regent) lieutenant and vicegerent for the king and the said lord regent in the countie of France, Brie, and Champaigne; and sir John Fastolfe was substituted deputie vnder the lord regent within the duchie of Normandie on this side the riuier of Seine; and withall he was also made gouernour of the countie of Anjou and spaine. The earle of Salisburie after five moneths siege, won by surrender the towne and castell of Montaguillon in Brie; the capteins whereof, the one named Regent of Cotinie, and Guille Bourgois Britons, were ne-
act

The Parisiens
presented
of their practices.

Anno Regi

ner to beare armour against the Englishmen on this side the river of Loire. In the meane time of that siege, the earle of Suffolke took by force the castell of Coucie, and the strong castell of la Roch in Gasconnois he got by appointment.

In this second yeare of king Henrie the first, James (the first of that name & the hundred & second k. of Scotland, toke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to John earle of Summerfet deceased, and sister to John then duke of Summerfet, and also coline germane remoued to king Henrie, and nexte to the duke of Winchester, and to the duke of Excester) was set at libertie, couenancing to paie a small portion of monie more than was allowed to him for his wiues marriage monie, and lest hostages for the same. But before his departure out of the realme, he did his homage vnto the young king of England Henrie the first at the castell of Windsor, before three dukes, two archbishops, twelue earles, ten bishops, twentie barons, and two hundred knights and esquires, beside others, in order of wordes according to the tenour hereafter following.

The formall recognisance or
acknowledgement of the
said homage.

I James Steward, k. of Scots, shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England & France, the noble and superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland; and to you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime of you; and I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldie honour against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowledg and shall do you seruice due for the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid. So God helpe me, and these holie euangelists.

But notwithstanding this his oath, and the great bounteous liberalitie of the mother & vnckles of his wife, in bestowing on him abundance of plate & treasure, with rich clothes of arras; he had not bene long at home, but that sone out of France into Scotland ouer came there James Steward, who (after manie of the Scottish nobilitie by diuerse occasions in France confamed) grew to be capteine of the horsemen there. With him came the archbishop of Remes with power and commission for concluding a league betwene France and Scotland, and also of a marriage betwene Lewis the Dolphin sonne and Margaret Jameses daughter, though both verie yong. Which matters accordinglie accomplished, to France againe they got them. So James became as firme French as any of his predecessours.

But now to leaue the Scottish king amongst his countreimen in Scotland, and returne to the doings of England. I find that the duke of Glocester, being protector and gouernour of the realme, prepared an armie of ten thousand men, and sent them ouer to his brother the regent into France; who comming into the territorie of Paris, were tofallie of him rescued. About the same time the Frenchmen got by stealth diuerse townes out of the Englishmens hands, and amongst other the faire towne of Compiene was one, and the pretie towne of Crotoie another. When the duke of Bedford was aduertised hereof, he determined not to let the matter passe in such sort, but with all conuenient speed sent forth a force to recover those townes againe. And first the

earle of Suffolke with the earle of Lignie, and diuerse other capteins of the Englishmen went to besiege Compiene, and lodged on the one side of the river of Sozme, as the lord Lille Abham, sir Thomas Kimpston, and the prouost of Paris laie on the other side. The Frenchmen within the towne well furnished with good souldiers, munition, and vittels, couragiously defended themselves.

The Englishmen remembryng that Guiliam Remond, otherwise called Mariolaine had been the leader of the souldiers within the towne (which Mariolaine before a while was taken prisoner by sir John Falstolfe) caused him to be brought from Paris vnto the campe, and set him in a chariot with an halter about his necke, and conueied him to the gibbet without the towne, sending word to them within, that if they would not without delate render the towne, their capteine should incontinentlie be strangled afore their faces. Which moued the souldiers so much, by reason of the loue they bare to their old capteine and gouernour, that for the deliuerance of him and partlie of themselves they yelded the towne, so that both he and they might depart with hoisse and harnesse onelie in sure conduct and safetie. Yet ver this towne of Compiene was deliuered, sir Philip Hall, which was sent to Crotoie by the lord regent with eight hundred men to besiege it, got it suddenly by assault, & the Frenchmen had either disposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgings.

About the same time sir John de la Pole brother to the duke of Suffolke, being capteine of Auranches in Normandie, assembled all the garrisons of the base marches of the countrie of Anion, and came before the citie of Angiers, burnt the suburbs, spoiled and destroyed the whole countrie; and hauing as manie prisoners as his men might go awaite with, he was encountered by the earle of Aumark, the viscount of Parbonne, and sir Houlard Frenchmen; which finding the Englishmen out of araie, incumbered with carriage of their great spoile, suddenly set on them, gaue them the ouerthrow, slue three hundred and toke manie prisoners; as the said sir John de la Pole, sir John Bassett, John Aulfort lieutenant of Saleise, John Clifton, Henrie Foxtimer, and other to the number of six hundred.

But though the Frenchmen got here in this place, they went not awaite with like gaine in another: for the bassard de la Baulme, and the lord Craignar capteins of Courallou, with a great band made rode into Gasconnois, whom by chance Mattheu Cough and other Englishmen, which were also abroad in the countrie, met and encountered. There was a sore fight betwene the parties, being of courage and number in maner equall. But after long confid, the Frenchmen almost all were slaine and taken, and the bassard being well horsed, fled; after whome followed vpon the spurres, Mattheu Cough chasing him euen to his castell gate, and there toke him: for the which act he was much praised of the erle of Salisburie (to whom he presented the said bassard) and had not onelie the rights giuen him that belonged to the prisoner, but also was rewarded with a goodlie courser at the earles hands.

About this season, Arthur brother to John duke of Britaine, commonlie called the earle of Richmond, hauing neither profit of the name, nor of the countrie, notwithstanding that king Henrie the first had created him earle of Paris in Normandie, and gaue him not onelie a great penson, but also the whole profits of the same towne of Paris; yet now, because that the duke his brother was returned to the part of the Dolphin, he likewise, revolting from the English obediace, came to the Dolphin to Poitiers, and there offered himselfe to serue him, whom the

Compiene & Crotoie recovered from the French.

Or rather Cough.

Cough.

1424
Ann. 1423, per
B. C. C. C.

Homage done
by the king of
Scotland to
king Henrie
the first.

Richard lib. 10.
An. 1425.
W. P.

Compiene
recovered to
the English
by Salisburie.

the Dolphin gladly accepted, retolling more thereof, than if he had gained an hundred thousand crownes: for the Britons within the towne of Purie, hearing that their master was joined with the Dolphin, kept both the towne and castell against the duke of Bedford, furnishing it daily with new men and munition.

The lord regent advertised hereof, raised an armie of Englishmen and Normans, to the number of eightene hundred men of armes, and eight thousand archers and other. He had in his companie the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, the lords Seales, Willoughbie, and Joinings, sir Reginald Craie, sir John Fastolfe, sir John Saluaine, sir Lancelot Lisle, sir Philip Hall, sir John Baskleie, sir John Creie, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harling, sir William Oldhall, and manie other, both knights and esquiers, with whom he came before the towne of Purie, which was well defended, till they within perceived themselves in danger, by reason of a mine which the Englishmen made, whereupon they yielded the towne. But the captaine of the castell would not presentlie render the place, howbeit they promised to deliuer it, if the same were not rescued at a day assigned by the Dolphin or his power.

Upon this promise, hostages were deliuered into the possession of the lord regent, by whose licence an herald was sent to the Dolphin, to aduertise him of the time determined; who understanding the distresse of his friends, incontinentlie sent John duke of Alanson, as his lieutenant general, the erle Douglas, whom at their setting forth he made duke of Touraine, and the earle Buchquhane as then constable of France, the erls of Aumarle, Montadoure, Connerre, Paillieurier, and Fozefts, the vicounts of Parbonne and Tonars, the lords of Craulle, Gawles, Palicoyne, Pannie, Ballaie, Fountains, Pontfort, and manie other noble knights and esquiers, to the number of sixtene thousand Frenchmen & Britons, besides five thousand Scots, whom the earle Douglas had but latelie transported out of Scotland.

This roiall armie approached within two miles of Purie. But when the duke of Alanson understood by such as he had sent to view the conduit of the Englishmen, that he could not get anye aduantage by assailing them (although the Dolphin had giuen him strict commandement to fight with the regent) he retired backe with his whole armie to the towne of Clerneuill in Perch, that belonged to the king of England; sending word to the garrison, that he had discomfited the English armie, and that the regent with a small number with him by swiftnesse of horse had feared himselfe. The inhabitants of Clerneuill, giuing to light credit hereunto received the duke of Alanson with all his armie into the towne.

In the meane time came the date of the rescues of Purie, which for want thereof was deliuered to the duke of Bedford by the captaine called Gerard de la Hallier, who presenting unto the duke of Bedford the keys of the castell, shewed him a letter also signed and sealed with the hands and seales of eightene great lords, who the date before promised by the tenour of the same letter to giue the duke battell, and to raise the siege. Well (said the duke) if their hearts would haue serued, their puissance was sufficient once to haue proffered, or to haue performed this faithfull promise: but sith they disdain to seke me, God and Saint George willing, I shall not desist to follow the tract of their hostes till one part of us be by battell ouerthrowne. And herewith he sent forth the earle of Suffolke with six hundred horsemen, to espie the doings of the Frenchmen, and where they were lodged. The earle riding forth, passed

by Dampville, and came to Bictuell, where he heard certeine newes where the Frenchmen had gotten Clerneuill, and remained there still.

These newes he sent by post unto the duke of Bedford, the which incontinentlie upon that aduertisement set forthward in great hast towards his enemies. The Frenchmen hearing of his comming, set their people in arraie, and made all one maine battell without fore ward or reer ward; and appointed foure hundred horsemen, Lombards and others to breake the arraie of the Englishmen, either behind, or at the sides, of the which was captaine sir Stephan de Minolles, called the Hire. The duke of Bedford likewise made one entier battell, and suffered no man to be on horsebacke, and set the archers (euerie one having a sharpe stake) both on the front of the battell, and also on the sides, like wings. And behind were all their hostes tied together, either by the reins or by the talles, with the carts and carriages, to the defense whereof were two thousand archers appointed.

Herewith either part being come almost to the joining, the duke of Alanson, on the one side, exhorted his people to plate the men, declaring unto them, that the conclusion of this battell should either deliuer them out of vile seruitude, or place them in the hale of bondage. On the other side, the duke of Bedford, to encourage his men, willed them to remember how oft they had subdued those their aduersaries in battell (with whom they should now cope) for the most part, euer being the lesse number against the greater. Againe, he declared how necessarie it was to tame the bold attempts of the presumptuous Dolphin now in the beginning, least if the fire were suffered further to burne, it must haue need of the more water to quench it.

Manie words he uttered, to put them in hope of good successe and victorie. But scarce had he ended his exhortation, when the Englishmen rushed forth, and boldly set on their enemies, crying; Saint George, a Bedford, a Bedford; and the Frenchmen likewise cried Pontop saint Denis. Then began the battell right fierce on both sides, continuing for the space of three houres in doubtfull balance, fortune the wing hir selfe so equall, that no eye could iudge to whether part she was more fauourable. But at length, after that those foure hundred horsemen, which were appointed, as we haue hard, to breake the arraie of the Englishmen, had passed thorough on the one side unto the place where the carriages and hostes stood, and could not passe further, by reason of the fierce shot of the English bowes, they falling to the spoile made a hand, and therewith departed. Those archers then that were appointed to keepe the carriages, being now at libertie, came forthward, and so fiercely shot at the thickest preale of their enemies fighting on foot, that in the end they were not able longer to indure, but were bozne downe by fine force, and so banquished.

This battell was fought the eight and twentieth of August, in the yeare of our Lord a thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, in the which battell were slaine of the Frenchmen the earles of Aumarle, Montadour, Fozeft, Parie, the lords Craulle, Gawles, Fountains, Ambois, Tonars, Pontenie, Connerre, Hunell, Cumble, and Poisse, beside three hundred knights. The vicount Parbonne was hanged on a gibbet, because he was one of the murderers of the duke of Burgognie. Of Scots also were slaine, Archembald earle Douglas, that was made (as before is mentioned) duke of Touraine, James Douglas sonne to the said Archembald earle of Widdor, John earle of Boughen newlie made constable of France, sir Alexander Speldin, sir Henrie Balglaue, sir John Sterling, William of Pomellson, sir James

Clerneuill gotten from the Englishmen by crediting a lie.

The opening of this battell.

The battell of Clerneuill, the 28 of August, 1422.

James Crate, sir Robert Handen, sir Alexander I. insaie, sir Robert Steynard, sir Robert Swinton, and seauen and twentie hundred Scots of name and armes, beside others.

So that in this battell were slaine by report of Montjoy king at armes in France, and the English haralos there present, of Frenchmen & Scots nine thousand and seauen hundred: and of Englishmen one and twentie hundred, but no man of name, savinge five young esquiers. And there were taken prisoners, John duke of Alanson, the bastard of Alanson, the lord of Faie, the lord of Hozmit, sir Piers Harrison, sir Lois de Gaucourt, sir Robert Brunet, sir John Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen, beside common soldiers. The Frenchmen within Vernouil, seeinge the Dolphins armie thus overthrowne, deliuered the towne to the regent, their lines saued. Then was sir Philip Hall appointed captaine there, and the lord regent returned, and came to Rone, and after to Paris.

The Dolphin that called himselfe king of France, was sore appalled with the overthrow of his armie: for he was driven out of all the countries in manner, that appertained to the crowne of France, & might resort to none except to Bourbonnois, Aluergne, Berry, Poitou, Touraine, a part of Anjou, and Langue doc: yet to shew himselfe as king, he erected his court of parlement, his chancerie, & all other courts in the cite of Poitiers, and there established his great seale, with all due circumstances thereto appertaining: where he continued fouretene yeares together, and then was removed to Paris, after he had got that cite, and expelled the Englishmen, as after shall appeare.

The duke of Bedford lieng at Paris, sent the lord Scales, sir John Montgomerie, sir John Fastolfe, with two thousand men to winne the countreies of Anjou, and Maine, unto whom were rendred without assault, the strong castles of Beaumont le Vicomte, Tenne, Billie, Mice, Courcieriers, Roussie, Clafle, Couetemenant, and twentie other, which I doe here passe over. Such was then the opinion conceived of the English puissance, so oft tried, proued, and preuailing, that the Frenchmen thought the Englishmen would haue all which they wished for, or wrought for.

The earle of Salisburie, with the said lord Scales, and the other captaine before named, were appointed with an armie of ten thousand men, to besiege the rich and strong cite of Mans, the chiefe cite of all the countreie of Maine; whither when they came, they made their approches, and planted their batterie to the walls, so that with the shot of their great peeces (which kind of engins before that time had not bene much seene nor heard of in France) the cite was within a few daies despoiled of all hit towers and outward defences. The citizens and soldiers, perceivinge in what danger they stood, & knowinge not how to remedie the matter, offered the towne vpon this condition, that all persons which would farrie within the towne, might abide; and all that would depart with horse and harness onelie, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendered, whereof the earle made captaine the earle of Suffolke, and his lieutenant sir John Fastolfe.

After this, the earle of Salisburie besieged the faire towne of Saint Susan, whereof was captaine one Ambrose de Lere, a right valiant chiefe. The earle caused the towne to be assaulted at his first comming to it: but he lost more than he gained, and therefore left off his assaults, and caused a trench to be cast about the towne, and so planted his batterie, by force thereof he overthrew the walles, in such sort that the captaine offered for himselfe and his soldi-

ers 2000000 crownes, so that they might depart in their doublets onelie, which summe (because winter approached) was accepted, and the towne yelded. Of this towne sir John Popham was made captaine. Then the erle went to Maine la Roche, which towne after five weekes siege was yelded, and appointed to the keepinge of sir John Montgomerie, knight.

After the feast of the purification of our ladie, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell de la Fert Barnard, during which siege a sale was made of the towne of Alanson being in the Englishmens possession, by a Gascoigne that was one of the garrison there. But this sale being opened to the erle of Salisburie by the same Gascoigne at the daie appointed, the lord Willoughbie and sir John Fastolfe, with two thousand men were sent to encounter with the buiers of that towne; so that when Charles de Villiers chiefe merchant of this ware, came earlie in a morning with two hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen, and approached the towne, abiding for the Gascoigne, yet he was aware, the Englishmen had compassed him and his companie round about, and setting vpon the Frenchmen, slue and toke all the whole number of them, saue Peter Danthenazie and five and twentie other, which by the swiftnesse of their horses saued themselves.

After this conflict, the lord Willoughbie returned to the earle of Salisburie, lieng still at siege before the towne de la Fert Barnard, which shortly after was rendered by into the erle of Salisburies hands, to whome the lord regent gaue it, to inioie to him and his heires for ever. Beside this, the said earle partlie by assalt, & partlie by composition toke diuers other, as saint Hales; where he made captaine Richard Gethin esquier; Thancraur Lermilage, where he made gouernour Matthew Cough; Querland, of the which he assigned ruler John Banaster; Apalcorne, whereof he made captaine William Glasdale esquier; Lille Soub; Boulton, whereof was made captaine sir Lancelot Lills knight; Lompelland, whereof was made captaine Henrie Branch; Pontseur, of the which was made captaine sir William Dohall knight; la Suze was assigned to the keepinge of John Suffolke, esquier. And besides this, aboute fortie castles and piles were overthrowne and destroyed. The newes hereof reported in England, caused great reioicing among the people, not onelie for the conquest of so manie townes & fortresses, but also for that it had pleased God to giue them victorie in a pitched field: whereof generall processions were appointed, to render vnto God humble thanks for his fauour so bestowed vpon them.

This yeare after Easter, the king called a parliament at Westminster, by aduise of the pères; and comming to the parlement house himselfe, he was conueied through the cite vpon a great courser, with great triumph, the people flocking into the streets to behold the child, whome they iudged to haue the liuelie image and countenance of his father, and like to succeed him, and be his heire in all princelie qualities, martiall policies, and morall vertues, as well as in his realmes, seignories and dominions. In this parlement was granted to the king a subside of twelue pence the pound, towards the maintenance of his warres, of all merchandize, comming in or going out of the realme, as well of Englishmen as strangers.

During which parlement, came to London Peter duke of Burmye, sonne to the king of Portugal, counsiller germane removed to the king; which of the duke of Excester and the bishop of Winchester his vnckles was highlye sealed, he was also elected into the order of the garter. During the same season, Edmund Spertimer, the last earle of March,

* Or rather
Goche.

Generall processions after
victorie.

Anno Reg 3.

A subside of
tunnage and
poundage.

The prince of
Portingale
commeth to
London.

of that name (which long time had bene restrained from his libertie, and finallye wearied lane) deceased without issue, whose inheritance descended to the lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, beheaded (as before ye haue heard) at the towne of Southampton. In the time of this parlement also was sir John Mortimer cousin to the same earle, either for desert or malice, atteinted of treason, and put to execution, of whose death no small slander arose amongst the common people.

After all these things done in England and in France, Humfreie duke of Gloucester, who had married the ladie Jaquet, or Jaqueline of Bauler, countesse of Heinaut, Holland, and Zeland (notwithstanding the was coupled in marriage afore to John duke of Brabant, as yet living, and had continued with him a long space) passed now the sea with the said ladie, and went to Mons or Bergen in Heinaut, where the more part of the people of that countrie came and submitted themselves unto him, as to their soueraine lord, in right of his said wife, the ladie Jaquet or Jaqueline: with which doing hir former husband was greatlie moued. And likewise the duke of Burgognie, being great friend to the same duke of Brabant, was much offended: who of old familiarity wrote louinglie to the duke of Gloucester, requiring him to resigne himselfe according to reason, and to forsake his vngodlie life, both in keeping of an other mans wife, and also in seeking to usurpe other mens rights and titles.

Hereupon went letters betwixt them for a time, but at length when the duke of Burgognie perceiued that the duke of Gloucester meant to mainteine his interest, & to make warre against the duke of Brabant; he took part with the duke of Brabant so earnestlie, that he consented to fight with the duke of Gloucester bodie to bodie within liks in defense of the duke of Brabants quarell, and further aided the duke of Brabant in his warres against the duke of Gloucester, with all his puissance, in somuch that in the end (after the duke of Gloucesters returne into England) the duke of Brabant recovered all the towne in Heinaut, with the ladie Jaquet or Jaqueline held against him. And further the same ladie was by composition deliuered by them of the towne of Mons vnto the duke of Burgognie; who caused hir to be conueied vnto Cant, from thence she made shift to escape into Holland, where she was obayed as countesse of the countrie.

Then made the warre in hir owne defense against the dukes of Burgognie and Brabant, who sought to spoile hir of all hir towne and lands: but they procured pope Martin the first (before whome the matter was) to giue sentence that the first matrimonie with the duke of Brabant was good, and the second with the duke of Gloucester to be vnlawfull. But in the meane time, the lord Fitz Walter was sent ouer to the aid of the ladie Jaquet or Jaquelin, with a power of Englishmen, landed in Zeland, nere vnto the towne of Zecire, against whome came the duke of Burgognie, and incountering with them and other such Hollanders and Zelanders, as were ioined with them, nere to a place called Brielwers haueu, there discomfited them; so that of English, Hollanders, and Zelanders, with the said lord Fitz Walter, were slaine seauen or eight hundred, and the residue chased to the water. At length, when the duke of Gloucester vnderstood the sentence pronounced against him by the pope, he began to warre wearie of his wife the said ladie Jaquet, by whome he neuer had profit, but losse, and took in a second marriage Cleane Cobham, daughter to the lord Cobham of Sterberow, which before (as the same went) was his soueraine para-

mour, to his slander and dishonour.

A little before this time, sir Thomas Rampton, sir Philip Branch, sir Nicholas Burdet, and other Englishmen, to the number of five hundred men of warre, repaired and fortified the towne of St. James de Beuron, situate on the frontiers of Normandie towards Britaine, within halfe a league of the duke of Britains ground, with whom as then they had open warre; and so began to do manie displeasures to his people. Whereupon Arthur earle of Richmond and Purie, brother to the said duke, and lately before created constable of France, assembled an huge power of men to the number of forty thousand (as some haue written) and with the same came before the said towne of St. James de Beuron, and planted his siege verie stronglie about it, enforcing with his great ordinance to ouerthrow the walls. And one day amongst other, he determined to giue the assault, and so did, the which continued a long space verie hot and earnest.

The Britons Britonants were come downe into a low bottom, where there was a little pond or fishpoule, and they must needs passe by a streit waie to come to the walles in great danger. On that side of the towne was a little bulwourke, which sir Nicholas Burdet kept, hauing with him a forty or eighty fighting men: and ouer against the faire bulwourke there was a gate well furnished also with English souldiers; so that the Britons which came downe vnto the ditches in great number to giue the assault, heard on either side them the Englishmen (within the said bulwourke and gate) make a great noise, in crieng Salisburie and Suffolke; with the which crie the Britons being maruelouslie affonied, began to recoil in great disorder. And therewith the said sir Nicholas Burdet issued forth vpon them, and pursuing them right baliantie, slue them downe, so that there died of them what by the sword, and what by drowning in the said poule, about seauen thousand or eight hundred, and to the number of fiftie were taken prisoners. And beside this, those Englishmen gained eigheteene standards and one baner.

Incontinentlie the newes hereof were reported to the constable of France, who was buie at the assault on the other side of the towne, whereof he was fore displeased, and no lesse amazed; so that he caused the retreat to be sounded, for all the siege on that side toward the poule was alreadye raised. After this, vpon counsell taken amongst the Frenchmen, it was determined that they should dislodge: and so about the middell of the next night, the constable and all the residue of his people departed toward foreigniers, leaving behind them great plentie of artillerie both great and small, with bicuals, and all their other provisions: as fourtene great guns and fortye barrells of powder, three hundred pipes of wine, two hundred pipes of biscet and flower, two hundred fralles of figs and resins, and five hundred barrells of herrings.

Somewhat before this season fell a great diuision in the realme of England, which of a sparkle was like to haue growen to a great flame. For whether the bishop of Winchester called Henrie Beaufort, sonne to John duke of Lancaster by his third wife, enuied the authoritie of Humfreie duke of Gloucester, protector of the realme; or whether the duke disdained at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop: sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their partakers: so that the citizens of London were faine to keepe daile and nightlie watches, and to shut vp their shops for feare of that which was doubted to haue ensued of their assembling of people about them. The archbishop of Cantuarbie and the duke of Aquitaine, called the prince of Portugaie,

Thus &c.

Twenty thousand
Nicholas
Giles
St. James
Beuron to
Laga,

Sir John
las Borne.

Enguerrand
Montfleur.

Distinction
between the
words of Gloucester and the
bishop of Winchester.

toe eight times in one daie betwene the two parties, and so the matter was staied for a time. But the bishop of Winchester, to cleere himselfe of blame so farre as he might, and to charge his nephew the lord protectour with all the fault, wrote a letter to the regent of France, the tenor whereof insueth.

The bishop of Winchesters letter
excusatorie.

Right high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, lieuest lord, I recommend me vnto you with all my hart. And as you desire the welfare of the king our soueraigne lord, and of his realmes of England and France, your owne health, and ours also: so haue you hither. For by my truth, if you tarie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field; such a brother you haue here, God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth, that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England, &c. Written in great hast on Alhallowen euen. By your true seruant to my liues end, Henrie Winchester.

The duke of Bedford being sore grieved and disquieted with these newes, constituted the earle of Marlowe, which was latelie come into France with six thousand men, his lieutenant in the French dominions, and in the duchie of Normandie; and so with a small companie, he with the duchesse his wife returned againe ouer the seas into England, and the tenth daie of Januarie he was with all solemnitie receiued into London, to whome the citizens gaue a paire of basins of silver and gilt, and a thousand markes in monie. Then from London he rode to Westminster, and was lodged in the kings palace. The five and twentieth daie of March after his comming to London, a parlement began at the towne of Leicester; where the duke of Bedford openly rebuked the lords in generall, because that they in the time of warre, thorough their priue malice and inward grudge, had almost moued the people to warre and commotion, in which time all men ought to should be of one mind, hart, and consent: requiring them to defend, serue, & dead their soueraigne lord king Henrie, in performing his conquest in France, which was in manner brought to conclusion. In this parlement the duke of Gloucester laide certeine articles to the bishop of Winchester his charge, the which with the answers hereafter do insue; as followeth.

The articles of accusation and accord
betwene the lord of Gloucester, and the lord of Winchester.

Articles set forth by the lord of Gloucester, against Henrie bishop of Winchester.

Here insueth the articles, as the kings counsell hath conceived, the which the right high and mightie prince my lord of Gloucester hath furnished vpon my lord of Winchester chancelor of England, with the answer to the same.

1 First, whereas he being protectour, and defendour of this land, desired the Towre to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein; Richard Woodville esquier (hauing at that time the charge of the keeping of the Towre) refused his desire, and kept the same Towre against him vndolie and against reason, by the commandement of my said lord of

Winchester; and afterward in apportioning of the said refusall, he receiued the said Woodville, and cherished him against the state and worthip of the king, and of my said lord of Gloucester.

2 Item, my said lord of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lord of Gloucester, or of the kings counsell, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kings person, and to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the intent to put him in gouernance as him list.

3 Item, that where my said lord of Gloucester (to whome of all persons that should be in the land, by the waie of nature and birth, it belongeth to see the gouernance of the kings person) informed of the said vndue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, declared in the article next abovesaid, and in letting thereof, determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king to haue provided as the cause required: my said lord of Winchester vnturle, and against the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my said lord of Gloucester going to the king, purposing his death, in case that he had gone that waie, set men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge next Southwerke: and in forbarring of the kings high waie, let brail the chaine of the stoupes there, and set vp pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of bulwarks: and set men in chambers, cellars, & windowes, with bolues and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring small destruction to my said lord of Gloucesters person, as well as of those that then should come with him.

4 Item, my said lord of Gloucester saith and affirmeth, that our soueraigne lord his brother that was king Henrie the sixt, told him on a time, when our soueraigne lord being prince was lodged in the palace of Westminster in the great chamber, by the noyse of a spaniell, there was on a night a man spied and taken behind a tapet of the said chamber, the which man was deliuered to the earle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his being there at that time; the which so examined, at that time confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said lord of Winchester, ordeined to haue slaine the said prince there in his bed: wherefore the said earle of Arundell let sacke him forthwith, and departed him in the Thames.

5 Item, our soueraigne lord that was king Henrie the sixt, said vnto my said lord of Gloucester, that his father king Henrie the fourth lining, and visited then greattie with sicknesse by the hand of God, my said lord of Winchester said vnto the king (Henrie the sixt then being prince) that the king his father so visited with sicknesse was not personable, & therfore not disposed to come in conuersation and gouernance of the people; and for so much, counselled him to take the gouernance and crowne of this land vpon him.

The answer of the bishop.

Here insue the answers to the accusations made by my lord of Winchester chancelour of England, vnto the causes and matters of heauinesse, declared in the articles against him by my lord of Gloucester.

1 First, as of the refusall made vnto my lord of Gloucester, of opening the Towre to him, of his lodging therein, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester; he answereth, that in the presence of my said lord of Gloucester before his comming out of his countrie of Heinault, for causes such as were thought resonable, it seemeth lawfull that the Towre should haue bene notable stored and kept with vit-

tels: howe: if it was not for this executed, and that in likelike after that my said lord of Glocester, was gone into his said countrie of Heinaut, for seditious and odious billes and languages, cast and vsed in the cite of London, founding of insurrection and rebellion against the kings peace, and destruction of well of diuerse estates of this land, as strangers being vnder the defense, in so much that in doubt thereof, strangers in great number fled the land. And for the more sure keeping of the said Tower, Richard Modulle esquier so trusted with our souereigne lord the king that dead is (as well ye know) & also chamberlaine and counsellor vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certeine number of defensible persons assigned vnto him, was made deputie there by the assent of the kings counsell, being that time at London, for to abide therein, for the safegard thereof; and straitlie charged by the said counsell, that during that time of his said charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger than himselfe, without spectall charge or commandement of the king by the aduise of his counsell.

2 Item, that some after (vpon the comming of my said lord of Glocester into this land from his countrie of Heinaut) the said lords of the kings counsell were informed, that my said lord of Glocester grudged with the said maner of enforcing the Tower, and let saie to them of London, that he had well vnderstand that they had bene heauilie threatened for the time of his absence, and other wise than they shuld haue bene, if he had bene in this land. Wherefore he was right euill contented, and especiallie of the said forcing of the Tower, set vpon them in manner of a chafed villain, considering the god equitie and truth that they had alwaies kept vnto the king, offering them there vpon remedie if they would.

3 Item, that after this, Richard Scot lieutenant of the Tower, by the commandement of my said lord of Glocester, brought vnto him frer Randolp, the which had long before confessed treason done by him against the kings person that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the said Tower, & straitlie commanded vnder great paine giuen vnto the said Scot, to keepe him straitlie & suerlie, & not to let him out of the said Tower without commandement of the king by aduise of his counsell. The which frer Randolp, my said lord of Glocester kept then with himselfe (not witting to the said Scot) as he declared to my said lord of Winchester, some after that he had brought the said frer Randolp to my lord of Glocester; saieing to my lord of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped him, & expressed, as for cause of the withholding of frer Randolp; and saieing moreover, that when he desired of my said lord of Glocester, the deliuerance of the said frer Randolp, to lead him againe vnto the Tower, or sufficient warrant for his discharge: my said lord of Glocester answered him, that his commandement was sufficient warrant and discharge for him. In the which thing abovesaid, it was thought to my lord of Winchester, that my said lord of Glocester toke vpon him further than his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused him to doubt and dread, least that he would haue proceeded further. And at such time as the said Modulle came vnto him, to aske his aduise and counsell, of lodging my said lord of Glocester in the Tower; he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my said lord of Glocester, or any person to lodge therein stronger than himselfe, he should procure him a sufficient warrant therof, of the king, by the aduise of his counsell.

4 Item, as to the said article of the foresaid causes of heauinesse, my said lord chancelor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hand on the kings per-

son, nor to remoue him, or that he should be removed, or put in any manner of governance, but by the aduise of the kings counsell. For he could not perceive any manner of godnesse or of auantage that might haue growne to him thereof, but rather great perill and charge; and hereof my said lord of Winchester is readie to make pfooe, in time and place conuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the foresaid causes and heauines, my said lord chancelor answereth, that he was oft and diuerse times warned, by diuerse credible persons, aswell at the time of the kings last parlement, holden at Westminster, as before and since, that my said lord of Glocester purposed him bodilie harme, & was warned therof, and counselled by the said persons, and that diuerse times, to abstaine him from comming to Westminster, as my said lord of Winchester declared vnto my said lord of Glocester.

6 Item, that in the time of the said parlement, diuerse persons of low estate of the cite of London, in great number assembled on a day vpon the wharfe, at the crane of the vinetree, and wished and desired that they had there the person of my lord of Winchester, saieing, that they would haue thowen him into the Thames, to haue taught him to swim with twings. Whereof billes and language of slander and threatnings were cast and spoken in the said cite by my said lord the chancelor, which caused him to suppose that they that so said and did, willed and desired his destruction, although they had no cause.

7 Item, that after the comming to London of sir Rafe Botiller, and maister Letwes, sent from my lord of Bedford, to the rest of the lords of the counsell, they being informed, that my said lord of Glocester did beare displeasure to my said lord of Winchester, they came to the said lord of Glocester to his In, the second sundaie next before All hallondate, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstanding of the said displeasure, praieing him to let them know if he bare such displeasure against my said lord of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the which time (as my said lord of Winchester was afterwards informed) my said lord of Glocester affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not without causes that peraduenture he would put in writing.

8 Item, that after the mondaie next before All hallondate last past in the night, the people of the said cite of London, by the commandement of my said lord of Glocester, as it was said (for what cause my lord the chancelor wist not) assembled in the cite, armed and arraid, and so continued all the night. Amongst diuerse of the which (the same night by what excitacion, my said lord the chancelor wist not) seditious and heauie language was vsed, and in especiall against the person of my lord the chancelor. And so the same mondaie at night, my said lord of Glocester sent vnto the In of court at London, charging them of the court dwelling in the same, to be with him vpon the moztow at eight of the clocke in their best arraie.

9 Item, that on the moztow being tuesday next following, my said lord of Glocester sent earlie vnto the maior and aldermen of the said cite of London, to ordaine him to the number of three hundred persons on horse backe, to accompanie him vnto such a place as he disposed him to ride, which (as it was said) was vnto the king, to the intent to haue his person, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kings counsell. The which thing was thought vnto my said lord the chancelor, that he ought in no wise to haue done, nor had not bene seene so before.

Frer Randolp.

Item, that my said lord the chancelor, considering the things above said, and doubting therefore of perils that might haue ensued thereof, intending to purueie there against, and namelie for his owne suretie and defense, according to the law of nature, ordeined to let, that no force of people should come on the brdge of London towards him, by the which he or his might haue bene endangered or noied, not intending in any wise bodilie harme vnto my said lord of Glocester, nor to any other person, but onelie his owne defense, in eschewing the perill abovesaid.

Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the said articles, my lord the chancelor answereth, that he was euer true to all those that were his soueraigne lords and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purposed treason or vnturth against any of their persons, and in expectall against the person of our said soueraigne lord Henrie the sixt. The which considering the great wisdom, truth, and manhood that all men knowe in him, he would not for the time that he was king, haue set on my said lord the chancelor so great trust as he did, if he had found or thought in him such vnturth. The which thing my said lord the chancelor offered to declare and shew, as it belongeth to a man of his estate to do, requiring therupon my lord of Bedford and all the lords spirituall and tempozall in this parlement, that it might be scene that there were iudges conuenient in this case, that they would do him right, or else that he might haue leave of the king by their aduise to go sue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

And as toward the letter sent by my lord of Winchester vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before rehearsed, of the which my lord of Glocester complained him of the malicious and vnture purpose of my said lord of Winchester, as toward the assembling of the people, and gathering of a field in the kings land, in troubling thereof, and against the kings peace: my said lord of Winchester answereth, that if his said letters duellie vnderstand, and in such wise as he vnderstood and meant in the writing of them, it maie not reasonable be gathered and taken, that my said lord of Winchester intended to gather any field, or assemble people in troubling of the kings land, and against the kings peace, but rather purposed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to keepe the rest and peace in the kings land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the beginning of the said letter, he calleth my said lord of Bedford his lieuel lord after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept, and will keepe.

Moreover, in the said letter he desireth the coming home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king and of his realmes of England and of France, which stand principallie in keeping of his rest and peace, and praieth my said lord of Bedford to speed his coming into England, in eschewing of temporarie of the land, and of a field, which he dread him might haue followed if he had long taried. As toward those words: If ye tarie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field, such a brother ye haue here, &c. My said lord of Winchester saith, the soth is: because he wrote the said letter, by the occasion of certaine ordinances made by the maior and aldermen of London against the excessive taking of masons, carpenters, tilers, plasterers, and other labourers for their daileie tourmes, and approued by the kings desire and counsell, there were cast manie heavinesses and seditious billes vnder the names of such labourers, the beating rising with manie thousands, and menacing of estates of the land, and likewise seditious and euill language spoken and so continued and libelle to haue ensued, of purpose and intent of dis-

obedience and rebellon. To the redressing of which, it seemed to my lord the chancelor, that my said lord of Glocester did not his indour nor diligence that he might haue shewed. For lacke of which diligence, they that were disposed to do disobedience were incouraged & emboloned, so that it was like, that they should haue made a gathering, and that the king and his true subiects should haue bene compelled to haue made a field to haue withstand them; the which field making, had bene aduenturing of this land, and in tokening that it was neuer my said lord chancelors intent, to gather no field, but as truth most stirred him against such as riotouslie would make such assembling against our soueraigne lord, and the weale of this land, he desired so hastilie the coming of my said lord of Bedford: the which he would in no wise haue so greatlie desired, if he would haue purposed him vnto any unlawfull making of a field; for he wist well, that my said lord of Bedford would most sharplie haue chastised and punished all those, that so would make any riotous assembling.

When this answer was made, the duke caused this writing following openlie to be proclaimed.

BE it knowne to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lords spirituall & tempozall, assembled in this present parlement, to acquite him and them, and to proceed truelie, iustlie, and indifferently, without any parcialitie in any manner of matter or quarrels, moued or to be moued betwene my lord of Glocester on that one partie, & my lord of Winchester chancelor of England on that other partie. And for suer keeping of the kings peace it is accorded by my said lord of Bedford, & by my said lords spirituall and tempozall, an oth to be made in forme as followeth, that is to saie.

The oth of the lords.

That my said lord of Bedford, and my said lords, spirituall and tempozall, and ech of them shall (as far forth as their cunninges and discretions suffice) truelie, iustlie, and indifferently counsell and aduise the king, and also proceed and acquit themselves in all the said matters, and quarrels, without that they or any of them shall prouilie and apertlie make or shew himselfe to be partie or parcial therein, not leauing or eschewing so to do for affection, loue, meed, doubt, or dread of any person or persons. And that they shall in all wise keepe secret all that shall be commoned by waie of counsell, in the matters and quarrels abovesaid, in the said parlement, without that they or any of them shall by word, writing of the king, or in any wise open or discover it to any of the said parties, or to any other person that is not of the said counsell: but if he haue a speciall commandement or leaue thereunto of the king or my said lord of Bedford. And that ech of them shall with all his might and power, assist by waie of counsell, or else shew it vnto the king, my lord of Bedford, and to the rest of my said lords to put the said parties to reason; and not to suffer that any of the said parties by them, or by their assistance, proceed or attempt by way of fight against the kings peace; nor helpe, assist, or comfort any of them thereto: but let them with all their might and power withstand them, and assist vnto the king, and my said lord of Bedford, in keeping of the

kings peace, and redressing all such manner of proceeding by waite of fight or force.

Dukes: the duke of Bedford, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Excester. Bishops: the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Carleill, the bishop of Bath, the bishop of Landaffe, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Worcester, the bishop of saint Dauids, the bishop of London, the bishop of Duresme. Carles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Stafford, the earle of Arford. Lords: the lord Hungerford, the lord Tiptoft, the lord Doinings, the lord Cromwell, the lord Borrough, the lord Louell, the lord Botreux, the lord Clinton, the lord Zouch, the lord Audelaide, the lord Ferreys of Groubie, the lord Talbot, the lord Kios, the lord Greie, the lord Greie of Kuthen, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Barkesleie. Abbats: the abbat of Waltham, the abbat of Claffenburie, the abbat of S. Augustines in Canturburie, the abbat of Westminster, the abbat of S. Paries in Poike, the abbat of S. Albons not sware because he was not present. Which oth in manner and forme above rehearsed, all the lords aowell spirituall as tempozall, being in this parlement at Leicester assembled, the fourth day of March, promised upon their faith, dutie, and allegiance, which they owe to the king their soueraine lord, true lie to obserue and keepe, according to the true meaning and purport of the same.

The arbitrement.

IN the name of God Amen. We Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, Thomas duke of Excester, John duke of Norfolk, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Bath, Humfrie earle of Stafford, William Alnwickie keeper of the kings priue seale, Kase lord Cromwell, arbitrators in all manner of causes, matters and quarrels of heavinesses & greivances, with all incidents, circumstances, dependents, or conneres being and hanging betwene the high & worthie prince Humfrie duke of Glocester on the one partie, and the worshipfull father in God Henrie bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England on the other partie, by either of them, for the peasing of the said quarrels and debates taken and chosen in manner and forme as it is contained more plainlie in a compromise made thereupon, of the which the tenor insueth in this forme.

1424
Anno Reg. 4.

Memorandum, the seauenth daie of March in the fourth yeare of our soueraine lord the king, Henrie the sixt, the high and mightie prince Humfrie duke of Glocester at the reuerence of God, and for the good of the king our soueraine lord in this land, & name lie at the reuerence, and especiallie at the request and praier of the mightie and high prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed him to put, and putteth all manner matters and quarrels indeed, with all their incidents, circumstances, dependents and conneres that touchen him and his person, that he hath in anie wise do, or seeleth himselfe greued or heauie against my lord his uncle, my lord of Winchester: or else that my lord of Winchester findeth him agreued against him, in as much as they touch him or his person from the beginning of the world unto this daie, in the aduise, ordinance and arbitrement of the worshipfull father in God, Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Excester, and John duke of Norfolk, the worshipfull father in God Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Bath, the noble lord Humfrie earle of Stafford, the worshipfull persons maister William Alnwickie keeper of the

kings priue seale, and Kase lord Cromwell, promising and beghitting by the faith of his bodie, & words of his princehood and kings sonne, to do, keepe, obserue, and fulfill for him and his behalfe, all that shall be declared, ordeined, and arbitrated, by the foresaid archbishop, dukes, bishops, earle, keeper of the priue seale, and lord Cromwell in all matters and quarrels abovesaid.

Granting also and promising ouer that, to be comprehended in the foresaid arbitrement, as toward putting awaie all heavinesses and displeasures, in anie wise contained, by my lord of Glocester against all those that haue in anie wise assisted, counselled, or fauoured unto his said uncle of Winchester, and as toward anie matters that be touching my lord of Glocester, remitteth it, and the gouernance thereof unto the king & his counsell, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsell, as him thinketh it to be done. In witness of the which thing to this present compromise my said lord of Glocester hath subscribed his name with his owne hand: Humfrie Glocester. And in like forme my lord of Winchester in another compromise hath subscribed with his owne hand vnder the word of his priesthood, to stand at the aduise, ordinance, & arbitrement of the persons abovesaid, *Mutatis mutandis*.

A decree or order taken by the kings
counsell for the pacifying of the quarrels
& variances that were betwene
the duke of Glocester, and the bishop
of Winchester.

The causes aforesaid and quarrels by vs seene, heard, and diligentlie examined and decreed, by the assent of the said parties, ordeine and award, that my lords of Glocester, and of Winchester, for any thing done or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by anie of theirs, or anie other person or persons, afoze the seuenth daie of this present moneth of March, neuer hereafter take causes, quarrels, displeasures, or heavinesses, that one against the other, ne neither against the counsellors, adherents, or fauourers of that other for anie thing or things that are past. And that my said lord of Glocester be good lord to my said lord of Winchester, & haue him in loue and affection as his kinsman & uncle. And that my said lord of Winchester haue to my said lord of Glocester true and sad loue and affection, do and be ready to do him such service as apperteineth of honestie to my said lord of Winchester and his estate to do. And that each of them be good lord unto all those adherents, counsellors, and fauourers of that other, and shew them at all times fauourable loue and affection, as for anie thing by them done or said, before the seauenth daie of March.

And we decreed, ordeine, and award, that my said lord of Winchester, in the presence of the king our soueraine lord, my lord of Bedford, and my lord of Glocester, and the residue of the lords spirituall and tempozall, and commons being in this present parlement, saie and declare in manner and forme that foloweth: My soueraine lord, I haue well vnderstand, that I am noised among the states of your land, how that the king our soueraine lord that was, at that time being prince, and lodged in the great chamber at Westminster, by the basing of a spaniell, there was on a night taken behind a tapet in the same chamber, a man, that should haue confessed, that he was there by mine excitation and procuring, to haue slaine the foresaid prince there in his bed; whereupon he was sacked, and forthwith also drowned in the Thames.

Further.

Furthermore, I am accused, how that I should have stirred the king that last died, the time also that he was prince, to have taken the gouernance of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, his father liuing the same time, being king. Although which language and noising, I feele my name and fame greatlie embellished in diuerse mens opinions. Wherevpon, I take first God to my witnes, and after all the world, that I haue bene at all times, and am true louer, and true man, to you my souereigne lord, and shall be all my life. And also, I haue bene to my souereigne lord that was your father, all the time of his reigne, true man, and soe such he toke me, trusted me and cherished me to his liues end; and as I trust, no man will affirme the contrarie, nor neuer in my life procuring nor imagining death nor destruction of his person, ne assenting to any such thing, or like thereto, the time that he was king or prince, or else in other state.

I was likewise true man to king Henrie the fourth, all the time that he was my souereigne lord, and reigned vpon me. In which matters, in all manner of wise that it liketh to you my souereigne lord soe to command me, I am readie soe to declare me: and furthermore, where, how, and when it shall like you, by the aduise of your counsell, to assigne me. Wherefore I beseech you my souereigne lord, as humble as I can, considering that there is no grounded proceesse, by the which I might lawfullie in these matters abovesaid, be conuicted (blessed be God) to hold me, and declare me, by the aduise of all the lords, spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement, true man to you my souereigne lord, and soe to haue bene vnto my souereigne lords that were your father and grandfather, and true man also to haue bene at all times to your said father whilst he was prince, or else in any other estate, the said slander and noise notwithstanding, and this same declaration to be inacted in this your said present parlement.

The which words declared in manner as it is aboue said, it seemeth to my said lords the arbitrators, that it is meet, that my said lord of Winchester shoulde him apart, and in the meane time, the lords being present, be singularlie examined therevpon, and saie their aduise. And if it be assented by them, in manner as my said lord of Winchester desireth, let him be called againe, and that then my lord of Bedford haue these words in effect that follow: Faire uncle, the king my lord by the aduise of his counsell, hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath well vnderstood and considered all the matters which ye haue here openlie declared in his presence, and therevpon ye desire a petition, that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement, he declareth you a true man to him, and that ye haue soe bene to my lord his father, and grandfather, also true man to my lord his father whilst he was prince, or else in any other estate, the said slander and noising notwithstanding, and will that the said declaration be soe inacted in this present parlement.

After the which words thus said (as before is declared) it was decreed also by the said lords arbitrators, that the said lord of Winchester should haue these words that follow vnto my said lord of Gloucester: My lord of Gloucester, I haue conceiued to my great heauinesse, that ye should haue receiued by diuerse reports, that I should haue purposed and imagined against your person, hono^r, and estate, in diuers manners, for the which, ye haue taken against me great displeasure: Sir, I take God to my witnesse, that what reports soe ever haue bene to you of me, peradventure of such as haue had no great affection to me, God soe giue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed

any thing that might be hindering or prejudice to your person, hono^r, or estate: and therefore I praise you, that ye be vnto me good lord from this time forth; soe by my will, I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to doe hereafter by the grace of God. The which words soe by him said, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that my lord of Gloucester, should answer and saie: Faire uncle, sith ye declare you such a man, as ye saie, I am right glad that it is soe, and soe such a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that euerie each of my lord of Gloucester, and Winchester, should take either other by the hand, in the presence of the king and all the parlement, in signe and token of good loue & accord, the which was done, and the parlement adioyned till after Easter.

At this reconciliation, such as loued peace reioiced (sith it is a foule & pernicious thing for priuat men, much more for noblemen to be at variance, sith vpon them depend manie in affections diuerse, whereby factions might grow to the shedding of blood) though others, to whom contention & hartgrudge is delight, wished to see the bittermost mischance that might therof insue, which is the bitter ouerthrow and desolation of populous tribes, euen as with a little sparkle whole houses are manie times consumed to ashes; as the old proverbe saith, and that berie true and aptlie;

Sola scintilla perit hac domus aut in cinilla.

But when the great fier of this difference betwene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and iudgement) utterlie quenched out, and laid vnder wood; all other contrarieties betwene other lords, taking part with the one partie or the other, were appeased, and brought to concord, so that soe the king caused a solemne feast to be kept on Whitsonday; on which daie he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge (whome his father at Southampton had put to death, as before ye haue heard) duke of Yorke, not foreseeing that this preferment should be his destruction, nor that his seed shoulde of his generation be the extreame end and finall conclusion. The same daie also promoted John lord Mowbray, and earle marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas duke of Norfolk (by king Richard the second exiled this realme) to the title, name, and stile of duke of Norfolk.

During this feast, the duke of Bedford adioyned the king with the high order of knight hood, who on the same daie dubbed with the sword these knights, whose names insue: Richard duke of Yorke, John duke of Norfolk; the earle of Westmerland, Henrie lord Perrie, John lord Butler, sonne to the earle of Dymond, the lord Kosse, the lord Spatrauers, the lord Welles, the lord Barkelie, sir James Butler, sir Henrie Greie of Tankerville, sir John Talbot, sir Rafe Greie of Marke, sir Robert Wre, sir Richard Greie, sir Edmund Hungerford, sir Walter Wingfield, sir John Butler, sir Reginald Cobham, sir John Basthelen, sir Thomas Lunstall, sir John Chebocke, sir Rafe Langstre, sir William Dyrrie, sir William ap Thomas, sir Richard Carnonell, sir Richard Woodville, sir John Shirdlow, sir Nicholas Blunket, sir William Cheine iustice, sir William Babington, sir Rafe Butler, sir Robert Beauchampe, sir Edmund Trafford, sir John Kune these baron, and diuerse others.

After this solemne feast ended, a great aid and subsidie was granted for the continuance of the conquest in France, and soe therevpon monie was gathered, and men were prepared in euerie citie, towne, and countrie. During which businesse, Thomas duke of Excester, great uncle to the king, a right sage and

The duke of Excester died, etc.

discreet counsellor, departed out of this mortall life, at his manor of Crane wich, and with all funerall pompe was conueyed through London to Berrie, and there buried. ¶ In the same yeare also died the ladie Elizabeth, halfe sister to the same duke, and of the whole bloud with king Henrie the fourth, married first to the lord John Holland, duke of Excester, and after to the lord Janhope, buried at the blacke friers of London.

Fr. Thin.

1425

Philip Morgan after the death of John Fortham (sometime treasurer of England, bishop of Elie and Durham, both which bishopricks, for anie thing that I can yet see, he inioined both at one time) was made bishop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption 1425, in this sort. Henrie the first and manie of the nobilitie had written to the conuent of the church of Elie, to chuse William Alnetwicke (doctor of both lawes confessor to the king and keeper of the priue seale) to be their bishop. Notwithstanding which (they having more regard to their owne priuileges and benefit) chose Peter the prior of Elie to succeed in the place of John Fortham. But none of both these inioined that roine; for Martin bishop of Rome (stepping into the matter to make the third part, neither fauouring the kings motion, nor approuing the monks election) remoued this William Morgan from the see of Worcester into Elie, sometime called Helir: as I haue scene it set downe in Saron characters in an ancient booke of the liues of saints written in the Saron tong, about the yeare of Christ 1010, before the time of Edward the confessor, and much about the time of Albo Floracensis. This Morgan sat at Elie nine yeares, twentie and six weeks, and foure daies, departing his life in his manour of Hatfield, in the yeare 1434, and was buried at the Charterhouse of London; being the twentie and fourth bishop that was installed in that place.]

1426

Or rather
Gorhe.

John winter.

While these things were thus a doing in England, the earle of Warwicke, lieutenant for the regent in France, entered into the countrie of Maine, & besieged the towne of Chateau de Loire, the which shoulde to him was rendered, whereof he made captaine Matthew Cough, esquier. After this, he took by assault the castell of Paiet, and gaue it for his valiantnesse to John Winter esquier, and after that he conquered the castell of Lude, and made there captaine William Cladesdale gentleman. Here he was informed, that the Frenchmen were assembled in the countrie of Beauce, whereupon he halsted thitherwards to haue giuen them battell, but they hauing knowledge of his approach, durst not abide to trie the matter with him by a pight field, but fled before he came nere them.

The earle of
Warwicke
made gouernour
of the
young king.

Anno Reg. 5.

The earle in his returne toan the castell of Pontdublean by surrender; where he left the valiant lord Willoughbie, and then returned to Paris. During which season, he was ordeined by the three estates of the realme of England, to be gouernour of the young king in the place of the duke of Excester deceased: howbeit, he did not as yet returne into England, but remained in France for a season, and atchiued manie worthe enterprisses. Whilest the lord regent of France was thus in England, meanes was made by the duke of Burgonie, for the deliuerie of the duke of Alanson, taken at the battell of Veruolle, and now for the summe of two hundred thousand crownes he was set at libertie; but he would not by anie meanes acknowledge the king of England to be his liege and soueraigne lord.

1427

After that the duke of Bedford had set all things in good order in England, he tooke leaue of the king, and together with his wife returned into France, first landing at Calis, where the bishop of Winchester (that also passed the seas with him) received the

habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinal, with all ceremonies to it appertaining: which promotion, the late a. right deeplie persuing into the unrestrainable ambitious mind of the man, that euen from his youth was euer to cheeke at the highest: and also right well ascertained with what intollerable pride his head should soone be swollen under such a hat: did therefore all his life long keepe this prelat backe from that presumptuous estate. But now the king being young and the regent his friend, he obtained his purpose, to his great profit, and the impouertising of the spiritualitie of his realme. For by a bull legantine, which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in manner had monie but he: so that he was called the rich cardinal of Winchester.

After that the lord regent was arrived in France, the lord of Austrian, marshall of Britaine, assembled a great compaignie of the British nation, which fortified and repaired the towne of Pontorson: and after, the said marshall, with a thousand men, entered into the countrie of Constantine, and coming before the towne of Auranches, was encountered by the Englishmen of that garrison; & after long fight, his people were put to the worse, chased, and discomfited, and he himselfe taken prisoner in the field. The duke of Bedford, hearing that the towne of Pontorson, situate within two leagues of Pont Saint Michael, was newlie fortified, and stronglie defended, sent thither the earle of Warwicke, accompanied with the lord Scales, and other valiant captains and souldiers, to the number of seauen thousand men, to besiege the towne; who so inuironed it on euerie side, that no man could scale neither in nor out.

The siege thus long continuing, bittels began to war scant in the English armie: wherefore the lord Scales, hauing in his compaignie sir John Hargreue bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Bearton bailiffe of Caen, sir Rafe Tesson, sir John Carbonell, and three thousand good men of warre, departed from the siege to get bittels, powder, and other things necessary for their purpose. And as they were returning with their carriages by the sea coast, nere to Saint Michaels Mount, they suddenly were encountered by their enemies, whereof were cheefe, the baron of Coloses, the lord Dauleboff, captaine of the said Mount, the lord Mountabon, the lord Pontbarchier, the lord of Chateaugiron, the lord of Antignat, the lord of Chateaubrian, with six thousand men of warre.

The lord Scales and his compaignie, perceiuing themselves beset on the one side with the sea, & on the other with their enemies, alighted from their horses, and like couragious persons, there in an vnpeakeable furie, set on their enemies. The fight was fierce & cruell. The Englishmen kept themselves close together; so that their enemies could get no aduantage of them. At the last, the lord Scales cried so, George they flee. Whereupon, the Englishmen took such courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismayed, that they began to flee in dead. The Englishmen leaped on horse-backe, and followed them so, that they slew and tooke aboue eleuen hundred persons, among the which were taken the baron of Coloses, the vicount of Rone, and others. The lord of Chateaugiron, with a Scottish captaine, & diuers other men of name were slaine. After this victorie, the lord Scales with his bittels, prouision, and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the earle and other noble men to ioulice receiued.

Whilest the siege continued thus before Pontorson, Christopher Hanton, and other souldiers of the garrison of Saint Sulan, made a rode into the countrie of Aniou, and came to a castell called Kamfort, which

The lord of
Austrian
taken and by
people slain
and discomfited.On the 17th
of August.

Engendered.

castell was so prussie scaled, that the capteine within, and his companie, were taken or slaine, before they knew of their enemies approaching. When know ledge hereof was given unto the Frenchmen which were assembled, to the number of twentie thousand, to raise the siege that late before Pontorson, they left that enterprize, and went to recover the said castell of Hamfort, and so comming before it, planted their siege so on each side of it, that at length by composition, the Englishmen within, doubting to be taken by force, rendered by the castell, having libertie to depart with bag and baggage.

Shortlie after, the lord of Rais, calling himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin, entred into Spaine with an armie of three thousand men, and by force took the castell of Salicorne, wherof was capteine an Englishman, one Oliver Obwaterbie. In like manner, they took the little castell of Lude, and therein William Blackbozne, lieutenant for William Clafdale squier. After this, the Frenchmen returned backe to the Dolphin, and kept not on their journey to Pontorson, for that they understood by espials, that the earle of Warwicke, and the Englishmen there, determined to glue them battell, if they once attempted to raise the siege. They within the towne, being already besieged, perceiving no likelihood of succours, and seeing the English armie daily increase, fell to treatie for doubt to be taken by force, and so rendered the towne upon condition, that they might depart with horse and harnesse onelie. Which being granted to them, the erle like a valiant capteine entred into the towne, and there appointed for gouernours, the lord Kos, and the lord Talbot, and leaving there a convenient garrison, returned to the lord regent.

After the taking of this towne of Pontorson, there was a league and treatie concluded betwene the regent and the duke of Britaine; by the articles of which agreement, the townes of Pontorson and saint James de Beuron were beaten downe to the ground and rased. When the lord of Rais was departed out of Spaine (as ye haue heard) Christopher Hanton, Philip Cough, Martin Godfric, called the Sceler, took by stealth the castell of saint Laurence de Portiers. At the same time, when the capteine and the most part of his companie were gone forth to heare masse, in a church ouer against the same castell, and keeping themselves close, till the capteine returned, they took him as he was entred within the first gate, & so was this castell stuffed with Englishmen, and capteine thereof was appointed sir William Oldhall.

The same season, sir John Fastolfe, gouernour of the countries of Antou and Spaine, assembled a great puissance of men warre, and laid siege before the castell of saint Owen Difrais, beside the towne of Laual; and after he had laine there ten daies, the castell was deliuered, they within departing with their liues and armour onelie to them granted, by the tenor of the composition, which they took with the same sir John Fastolfe. After the winning of this castell, the Englishmen removed to the strong castell of Graule, and after twelue daies, they with in offered to yeld the castell by a daie, if they were not succoured by the Dolphin or his power: the offer was taken and pledges deliuered.

Then sir John Fastolfe returned in post to the regent, aduertising him of this composition and agreement; wherefore, the said regent raised a great power to fight with the Frenchmen at the daie appointed, and in his companie were the earles of Portaigne and Warwicke, the lord Kos and Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, sir John Aubermont, sir John Ratcliffe, and diuerse other, to the number of twenty

thousand men; and so marched forwards, in hope to meet and ioine battell with their aduersaries. But the French power, being not far off from the place, durst not approach. Wherefore, the regent sent to sir John Fastolfe incontinentlie, to receiue the castell: but they within (contrarie to promise and appointment) had newlie vittelled & manned the place, and so forsaking the pledges, and their fellows in armes, refused to render the fortresse; wherefore, the pledges were brought before their sight, and there before the castell openlie put to death.

After this the lord Talbot was made gouernour of Antou and Spaine, and sir John Fastolfe was assigned to an other place, which lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of hartie courage, after his comming into France, obtained so manie glorious victories of his enemies, that his onelie name was yet is dreadfull to the French nation, and much renowned amongst all other people. This iustie and most valiant capteine entred into Spaine, where he slue men, destroyed castels, burnt townes, and in conclusion suddenly took the towne of Laual. The lord Loebac, and diuerse other, withdrew into the castell, in the which they were so straitlie besieged, that in the end they agreed to paie the lord Talbot an hundred thousand crownes, for licence to depart, with all their bag and baggage.

Then was this castell deliuered to the keeping of Gilbert Halsall, which after was slaine at the siege of Orlance, in whose place Matthew Cough was made capteine there: who being at the iourne of Senlis, by treason of a miller that kept a mill adioining to the wall, the Frenchmen entred into the towne, and brought it againe into their subiection. Now the duke of Bedford hearing that the towne of Pontargis, in the territoile of Orlance, was but slenderlie kept, and not thoroughlie furnished, sent the erle of Suffolke, with his brother sir John Pole, and sir Henrie Bisset, hauing in their companie a sir thousand men, to assalt that towne; but when they came thither and found the towne both well manned and strongly fortified, contrarie to their expectation, they surceased from giuing the assalt, and onelie laid their siege round about it.

The earle of Warwicke was appointed to lie with a great number of men of warre, at St. Marthelines de Archeimpe, to encounter the Frenchmen, if they would attempt to aid or vittell those within the towne. The situation of this towne was such, that by reason of waters and marshes, the English armie must needs leuer it selfe into thre parts, so that the one could not easilie helpe the other, but either by boats or bridges. This siege continued aboue two moneths, so that in the meane time the Frenchmen had leasure to prouide for the succour thereof; and so it came to passe, that the constable of France Arthur of Britaine, the lord Boissac one of the marshals, Stephan la Hire, Pothon de Saintrelles, the lord Graule, and diuerse others, to the number of three thousand horsemen, were sent forth by the Dolphin.

These prussie in the night season came on that side, where sir John de la Pole and sir Henrie Bisset laie, whome they found so out of order, and without good watch, that the Frenchmen entred into their lodgings, slue manie in their beds, and spared none, for their resistance was but small. Sir John de la Pole with his horse saved himselfe, and sir Henrie Bisset escaped by a boat, and eight other with him. The residue fleeing in plumpes, and struing to passe by a bridge of timber, the which was pestered with peeale of the multitude, brake, and so there were a great number drowned: inso much that there were slaine by the enemies sword, and drowned in the wa-

Hostages executed for promise broken.

The lord Talbot, a valiant capteine.

Or rather Cough.

A great slaughter by negligence of the watch at Pontargis.

ter, fiftene hundred men.

The earle of Marwike hearing of this misfortune, departed from saint Mathelines with all speed, and comming before Pontargis, offered battell to the French captains, which answered, that they had manned and vittelled the towne, and intended to do no more at that time. The Englishmen hereupon came forthie backe againe with all their ordinance to the duke of Bedford. Yet had not the French so great cause to baunt of their successe: for at this verie time, sir Nicholas Burdet, appointed by the duke of Sum-
Sir Nicholas Burdet, Polydor.

merfet to indamage his enemies in the coasts of Brittainie, sent horsemen into euerie part, working all the displeasure to the people that might be deuised. The countrie, through which he passed, was wasted, the townes were burnt, the houses spoiled, and great number of prisoners taken, the small villages were destroyed, and the walled towns ransomed, and so without hurt or damage the said sir Nicholas Burdet returned into Normandie.

These newes being signified to the constable, and other the French captains, asswaged their great mirth and triumphant ioy, conceiued for the victorie of Pontargis, that loth they were to attempt anie further enterprises against the English nation. But the duke of Alanson, who (as ye haue heard) was lately deliuered out of captiuitie, reuiued againe the dulled spirits of the Dolphin, and somewhat aduanced, in hope of good speed, the fainting hartes of his captains; so that (some occasion offered) they determined to atchieue a notable feat (as they took it) against the Englishmen, which was the recouerie of the citie of Mans out of their hands: for so it happened, that diuers of the chiefe rulers in that citie, and namelie diuerse spirituall persons, meaning to reuolt to the Dolphins side, aduertised him by letters of their whole minds, which letters were conueied vnto him by certeine friers.

The Dolphin glad of those newes, appointed the lords de la Beethand ffaict, marshals of France, accompanied with the lords of Mount Jehan, of Bueil, Dozuall, Loxie, Beaumanoz, the Brete, and his brother Guiliam, with fise hundred other baliuic captains and souldiers, to the accomplishing of this enterprize; who comming thither at the daie assigned, in the night season approached towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in sight of the towne, to signifie their comming, which perceived by the citizens that nere to the great church were watching for the same, a burning cresset was shewed out of the steeple, which suddenlie was put out and quenched. What needeth manie words?

The captains on horsebacke came to the gate, the traitors within shew the porters and watchmen, and let in their friends, whereby the footmen entered first, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if need required, they might fight it out in open field. Hereby manie Englishmen were slaine, & a great crye and garboile raised through the towne, as in such surprises is wont. The cause of this mischance was not knowen to any, but onelie to the conspirators; for the remnant of the citizens being no partakers, imagined, that the Englishmen had made haucke in the towne, and put all to the sword. The Englishmen on the other side iudged, that the citizens had begun some new rebellion against them, or else had stricken amongst themselves.

The earle of Suffolke, which was gouernour of the towne, hauing perfect knowledge by such as escaped from the wals, how the matter went, withdrew without any tarriance into the castell, which standeth at the gate of saint Vincent, whereof was constable Thomas Colver esquier, whither also fled manie Englishmen; so as for beging of the enemye, preface

of the number, and lacke of vittells, they could not haue indured long: wherefore they prouide sent a messenger to the lord Talbot, which then laye at Alanson, certifieng him in how hard a case they were. The lord Talbot hearing these newes, like a carefull captaine in all hast assembled together about seuen hundred men, & in the euening departed from Alanson, so as in the morning he came to a castell called Ouerch, two miles from Mans, and there staid a while, till he had sent out Matthew Cough, as an espiall, to vnderstand how the Frenchmen demeaned themselves.

Matthew Cough so well sped his businesse, that prouide in the night he came into the castell, where he learned that the Frenchmen were negligent to see themselves, without taking heed to their watch, as though they had bene out of all danger: which well vnderstod, he returned againe, and within a mile of the citie met the lord Talbot, and the lord Seales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence. The lords then, to make hast in the matter, because the daie approached, with all speed possible came to the posterne gate, and alighting from their horses, about six of the clocke in the morning, they issued out of the castell, crying saint George, Talbot.

The Frenchmen being thus suddenlie taken, were sore amazed, in so much that some of them, being not out of their beds, got vp in their shirts, and leapt ouer the walles. Other ran naked out of the gates to save their liues, leauing all their apparell, horses, armour, and riches behind them, none was hurt but such as resisted. A hard fight was made on all hands for safetie of life, & hapie was he that could find a place of refuge where to lurke vnsighte and vnhurt of the enemye; who in the execution of their vengeance were so peremptorie, that it was a matter of great difficultie or rather impossibilitie to escape their force. To be thort, there were slaine and taken, to the number of foure hundred gentlemen, the priuat souldiers were frankelie let go. After this, inquisition was made of the authors of the treason, and there were found & condemned thirtie citizens, twentie priests, and fiftene friers, who according to their demerits were all hanged.

The citie of Mans being thus recovered, the lord Talbot returned to Alanson, and shortly after the earle of Marwike departed into England, to be gouernour of the young king, in stead of Thomas duke of Excester, lately departed to God, and then was the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie sent into France, to supplie the vacante of the said earle of Marwike, who landed at Calis with fise thousand men, and so came to the duke of Bedford as then lieng in Paris, where they fell in counsell together concerning the affaires of France, and namelie the earle of Salisburie began maruellouslie to praise the gaining of the citie & countrie of Orleans.

This earle was the man at that time, by whose wit, strength, and policie, the English name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himselfe might both appoint, command, and do all things in manner at his pleasure, in whose power (as it appeared after his death) a great part of the conquest consisted: for suerlie, he was a man both painefull, diligent, and ready to withstand all dangerous chanches that were at hand, prompt in counsell, and of courage invincible, so that in no one man, men put more trust, nor any singular person wan the hartes so much of all men.

Hereupon, after this great enterprize had long bene debated in the priue counsell, the earle of Salisburie deuise therein was of them all granted and allowed, so that he being replenished with good hope of victorie, and furnished with artillerie & munition

Mans lost by treason of the citizens.

Some more.

Abt. R.

Trailing on.

Anno Reg.

Duke of Excester.

1448

Montacute earle of Salisburie.

W. P.
Les grandes
chroniques de
France.

Anno Reg. 7.
Dileance de
Sageo.
Bastard of
Dileance.

Bulworne
et Dileance
taken.
An. 61.

appertaining to so great an enterprise, accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Talbot, and with a valiant armie, to the number of ten thousand men, departed from Paris, and passed through the countie of Beauce. There he took by assault, the towne of Genville, and within five daies after had the castell deliuered unto him, by them that were tied into it for their safegard. He also took the towne of Saugencie, suffering such a man which would become subiect to the king of England, to inioine their lands and goods. The townes of Meun upon Loire, and Jargcault, hearing of these doings, presented to them the keyes of their townes upon like agreement. [About Maie in this 1428, the towne of Maunts and territories there with a fearefull earthquake were shaken, houses castles and strong buildings, in such terrour, as it was thought the end of the world had bene come.]

After this, in the moneth of September the earle came before the cite of Dileance, and planted his siege on the one side of the riuer of Loire; but before his comming, the bastard of Dileance, the bishop of the cite, and a great number of Scots, hearing of the earles intent, made diuerse fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbs, in which were twelue parish churches, and foure orders of friers. They cut also downe all the vines, trees, and bushes, within five leagues of the cite, so that the Englishmen should haue neither refuge nor succour.

After the siege had continued full three weekes, the bastard of Dileance issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen; but they received him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flee backe into the cite. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enemies, that they entered with them. ¶ The bulworne of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinentlie by the Englishmen, who behaued themselves right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their couragious capteine, as at this assault, so in diuerse skirmishes against the French; partly to keepe possession of that which Henrie the sixt had by his magnanimitie & puissance achieved, as also to enlarge the same. But all helped not. For who can hold that which will atwaie? In so much that some cities by fraudulent practises, other some by martiall promise were recovered by the French, to the great discouragement of the English and the appalling of their spirits; whose hope was now dashed partly by their great losses and discomfitures (as after you shall heare) but chiefly by the death of the late deceased Henrie their victorious king; as Chr. Okland verie truelie and agreeable to the storie noteth:

*Dolphinus, comitisque eius fera praelia tentant,
Fraude domi captant alias, virtute recepta
Sunt vides alia quiddam, sublapsa refertur
Anglum spes retro, languescere pectora dicas,
Quippe erat Henricus quintus, dux strenuus olim,
Mortuus: hinc damni grauior causa atque doloris.*

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but more were haine, and the keeping of the tower and bulworne was committed to William Glasdale esquier. By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie. After this, the earle caused certeine bulwornes to be made round about the towne, casting trenches betwene the one and the other, laying ordinance in euerie place where he saw that any batterie might be deuised. When they within saw that they were emiunited with fortresses and ordinance, they laid gun against gun, and fortified towers against bulwornes, and within cast new rampiers, and fortified themselves as stronglie as might be deuised.

The bastard of Dileance and the sire were appointed to see the walles and watches kept, and the bishop saw that the inhabitants within the cite were put in good order, and that vittels were not vaineilie spent. In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the cite; at which grate manie of the chiefe capteins stood manie times, viewing the cite, and deuising in what place it was best to giue the assault. They within the cite well perceived this looking hole, and laid a peece of ordinance directlie against the window.

It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the siege was laid, the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Garrauc, and William Glasdale, with diuerse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a short space, the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiving men looking out at the window, took his match (as his father had taught him) who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gun; the shot whereof brake, and shivered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violentlie on the head, that it stroke atwaie one of his eyes, and the side of his cheeke. Sir Thomas Garrauc was likewise stricken, and died within two daies.

The earle of
Salisburie
haine.

The earle was conueied to Meun on Loire, where after eight daies he likewise departed this world, whose bodie was conueied into England with all funerall appointment, and buried at Wilsam by his progenitozs, leaving behind him an onelie daughter named Alice, married to Richard Beuill, sonne to Rafe earle of Westmerland, of whose more shall be said hereafter. The damage that the realme of England received by the losse of this noble man, manifestlie appeared; in that immediatlie after his death, the prosperous good lucke, which had followed the English nation, began to decline, and the glorie of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the sea fell in decaye.

Though all men were sorrowfull for his death, yet the duke of Bedford was most stricken with heavinesse, as he that had lost his onelie right hand, and chiefe aid in time of necessitie. But sith that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the siege, and joined with him the lord Scales, the lord Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, and diuerse other right valiant capteins. These persons caused bastilles to be made round about the cite, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance their purpose, which to bring to wished effect there was not anie want, as of no cautelous policie, so of no valiant enterprise, tending to the enemies ouerthrow.

In the Lent season, vittels and artillerie began to wailecant in the English campe, wherefore the earle of Suffolke appointed sir John Fastolfe, sir Thomas Rampston, and sir Phillip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the lord regent, to informe him of their lacke, who incontinentlie vpon that information prouided vittels, artillerie, and munitions necessarie, and loaded therewith manie chariots, carts, and horses: and for the sure conueieng of the same, he appointed sir Simon Pozhier, prouost of Paris, with the gard of the cite, and diuerse of his owne household-servants to accompanie sir John Fastolfe and his complices, to the armie lieng at the siege of Dileance. They were in all the number of fiftie one hundred men, of the which there were not past five or six hundred Englishmen.

Engucrans,

These departing in good order of battell out of Paris,

ris, came to Genuille in Beaulieu, and in a morning earlie, in a great frost, they departed from thence toward the siege; and when they came to a towne called Houlzait, in the lands of Beaulieu, they perceived their enemies comming towards them, being to the number of nine or ten thousand of Frenchmen and Scots, of whom were capitaine Charles of Clermont, sonne to the duke of Bourbon then being prisoner in England; sir William Stewart constable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captiuitie, the earle of Perdslake, the lord John Clandosine, the Aldame of Chartres, the lord of Tournes, the lord of Lohar, the lord of Eglere, the lord of Beaulieu, the bastard Tremolle, and manie other valiant capitaine.

1500 English
did slay and
baptish 10000
French.

Wherefore sir John Fastolfe set all his companie in good order of battell, and pitched stakes before euerie archer, to breake the force of the horsemen. At their backs they set all the wagons and carriages, and within them they tied all their horses. In this manner stood they still, abiding the assault of their enemies. The Frenchmen by reason of their great number, thinking themselves sure of the victorie, egerlie set on the Englishmen, which with great force them received, and themselves manfully defended. At length, after long and cruell fight, the Englishmen droue backe and vanquished the proud Frenchmen, a compelled them to flee. In this conflict were slaine the lord William Stewart constable of Scotland, and his brother the lord Dornalle, the lord Chateaubrian, sir John Baskot, and other Frenchmen and Scots, to the number of five and twentie hundred, and aboute eleven hundred taken prisoners, although the French writers affirme the number lesse.

The battell of
herrings.

After this fortunate victorie, sir John Fastolfe and his companie (having lost no one man of ante reputation) with all their carriages, vittels, and prisoners, marched forth and came to the English campe before Doleance, where they were fullie received, and highlie commended for their valiance and worthy prowesse shewed in the battell; the which because most part of the carriage was herring and lenton stufte, the Frenchmen called it the battell of herrings. The earle of Suffolke being thus vittelled, continued the siege, and euerie daie almost furnished with the Frenchmen within, who (at length being in despair of all succours) offered to treat, and in conclusion, to saue themselves and the citie from captiuitie of their enemies, they deuised to submit the citie, themselves, and all theirs under the obedience of Philip duke of Burgonie, because he was extract out of the stocke and blond roiall of the ancient kings of France, thinking by this means (as they did in deed) to breake or diminish the great amitie betwene the Englishmen and him.

W. P.

This offer was signified by them vnto the duke of Burgonie, who with thanks certified them againe, that he would gladlie receiue them, if the lord regent would therewith be contented. Whereupon he dispatched messengers to the duke of Bedford, who though some counselled that it should be verie good and necessary for him to agree to that manner of yielding; yet he and other thought it neither conuenient nor honourable, that a citie so long besieged by the king of England, should be deliuered vnto anie other prince, than to him, or to his regent, for that might be a verie bad president to other townes in anie like case. Whereupon the regent answered the Burgognian ambassadors: that after so long a siege on his part, and obstinate resistance of theirs, he might not receiue rendring and conditions at their appointment. At this answer the duke bong the groine, as concluding that our side should enue his glorie, or not to be so forward in aduancing his honour as he

would haue it.

In time of this siege at Doleance (French stories saie) the first weeke of March 1428, vnto Charles the Dolphin, at Chinon as he was in verie great care and studie how to wrestle against the English nation, by one Peter Babincourt capitaine of Cacoleur, (made after marshall of France by the Dolphins creation) was caried a poore wench of an eightieth yeres old, called Jone Dompzin, by name of hir father (a soxie shepheard) James of Ace, and Isabell hir mother, brought by poxelle in their trade of keeping cat-tell, borne at Dompzin (therefore reported by Bale, Jone Dompzin) upon Hense in Lozraine within the diocesse of Thoul. Of fauour was she counted like some, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall, an understander of counsels though she were not at them, great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behaviour, the name of Jesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses, humble, obedient, and fasting bluerse daies in the weeke. A person (as their bookes make hir) raised by by power diuine, onelie for succour to the French estate then depelle in distresse, in whom, for planning a credit the rather, first the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct hir, through places all dangerous, as holden by the English, where the neuer was afoze, all the waie and by nightertale safe, lie did she lead: then at the Dolphins sending by hir assignement, from saint Batharins church of Fierbois in Touraine (where the neuer had bene and knew not) in a secret place there among old tron, appointed the hir sword to be sought out and brought hir, that with fine flour delices was grauen on both sides, wherewith she fought & did manie slaughters by hir owne hands. On warfar rode she in armour cap a pie & muffled as a man, before hir an ensigne all white, wherein was Jesus Christ painted with a flour delice in his hand.

Vnto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first she was brought, and he shadowing himselfe behind, setting other gate lords before him to trie hir cunning from all the companie, with a salutation (that indeed marz all the matter) she pickt him out alone, who thereupon had hir to the end of the gallerie, where she held him an houre in secret and priuate talke, that of his priue chamber was thought verie long, and therefore would haue broken it off; but he made them a signe to let hir saie on. In which (among other) as likelie it was, she set out vnto him the singular feats (so sooth) giuen hir to understand by reuelation diuine, that in vertue of that sword she should atchieue, which were, how with honoz and victorie she would rasse the siege at Doleance, set him in state of the crowne of France, and driu the English out of the countrie, thereby he to inioine the kingdome alone. Whereupon he hartened at full, appointed hir a sufficient armie with absolute power to lead them, and they obedientlie to do as he had them. Then fell she to worke, and first defeated indeed the siege at Doleance, by and by encouraged him to crowne himselfe king of France at Reims, that a little before from the English she had toone. Thus after pursued she manie bold enterprizes to our great displeasure a two yeres together, for the time she kept in state vntill she were taken and for herselfe and withcherie burned: as in particularities hereafter followeth. But in hir prime time she armed at all points (like a folie capitaine) roade from Poitiers to Blois, and there found men of warre, vittels, and munition, readie to be conueied to Doleance.

Here was it knowne that the Englishmen kept not so diligent watch as they had bene accustomed to do, and therefore this maid (with other French capitaine) comming forward in the dead time of the night

V. P.
Ich de T.
Les chur.
de Br.
Le Rober
Ich hum
bit.
Jone de Ace
Puell de ce.
In vita Doug
vica.

Grand chur.

from her
to fast.

Chis saluta
tion apper
after waie.

Les grand
chronic.

night, and in a great raine and thunder entered into the citie with all their vittels, artillerie, and other necessarie provisions. The next daie the Englishmen boldlie assaulted the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles so, as no great feat worthe of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen, whereupon the bastard of Orleans gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanson, in what danger the towne stood without his present helpe, who comming within two leagues of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they should be ready the next daie to receiue him.

This accordingly was accomplished: for the Englishmen willingly suffered him and his armie also to enter, supposing that it should be for their advantage to haue so great a multitude to enter the citie, whereby their vittels (whereof they within had great scarcitie) might the sooner be consumed. On the next daie in the morning, the Frenchmen altogether issued out of the towne, wone by assault the bastille of saint Lou, and set it on fire. And after they likewise assaulted the tower at the bridge foot, which was manfully defended. But the Frenchmen (more in number) at length took it, yet the lord Talbot could come to the succours, in the which William Gladesdale the capteine was slaine, with the lord Hollins, and lord Poynings also.

The Frenchmen puffed vp with this good lucke, fetched a compasse about, and in good order of battell marched toward the bastille, which was in the keeping of the lord Talbot: the which upon the enemies approach, like a capteine without all feare or dread of that great multitude, issued forth against them, and gaue them so sharpe an encounter, that they not able to withstand his puissance, fled (like sheepe before the wolfe) againe into the citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie. Of Englishmen were lost in the two battles, to the number of six hundred persons, or thereabout, though the French writers multiplye this number of hundreds to thousands, as their manner is.

The earle of Suffolke, the lord Talbot, the lord Scates, and other capteins assembled together in counsell, and after causes shewed to and fro, it was amongst them determined to leaue their fortresses and bastilles, and to assemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the daie, to see if the Frenchmen would issue forth to fight with them. This conclusion taken was accordingly executed: but when the Frenchmen durst not once come forth to shew their heads, the Englishmen set fire of their lodgings, and departed in good order of battell from Orleans. The next daie, which was the eight daie of Maie, the earle of Suffolke rode to Jargeaur with foure hundred Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Mehun. And after he had fortified that towne, he went to the towne of Lauall, & wone it, together with the castell, soe punishing the towne men for their cankered obstinacie against them.

Thus when the Englishmen had secured themselves into garrisons, the duke of Alanson, the bastard of Orleans, Jone le Dufell, the lord Saluicourt, and diuerse other capteins of the Frenchmen, came the twelue daie of June, before the towne of Jargeaur, where the earle of Suffolke and his two brethren sojourned, & gaue to the towne so fierce an assault on three parts, that Poiton de Sentrailes, perceiving an other part void of defendants, scaled the wals on that side, and without difficultie took the towne, and slew sir Alexander Pole, brother to the earle, and manie other, to the number of two hundred. But the Frenchmen gained not much thereby, for they lost three hundred good men and more. Of the

Englishmen fortie were taken, with the earle and his other brother named John.

The Frenchmen, as they returned to Orleans, fell at variance for their prisoners, and slue them all, saving the earle and his brother. Shortly after, the same French armie came to Mehun, where they took the tower at the bridge foot, and put therein a garrison. From thence they remoued to Saugencie, and constrained them that were within the towne to yeld, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. At the same place there came to the duke of Alanson, the new constable Arthur of Britaine, and with him the lord Dalbyet, and other. Also after this the earle of Blandouine came to them, so that by the daile repaire of such as assembled together to strengthen the French part, they were in all to the number betwene twentie and thre and twentie thousand men.

All which being once ioined in one armie, shortly after fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) nere vnto a village in Beausse called Pataie: at which battell the charge was giuen by the French so vpon a sudden, that the Englishmen had not leisure to put themselves in a rate, after they had put vp their stakes before their archers, so that there was no remedie but to fight at aduenture. This battell continued by the space of three long houres: for the Englishmen, though they were overpessed with multitude of their enemies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was soe wounded at the backe, and so taken.

When their hearts began to faint, and they fled, in which sight were slaine aboue twelue hundred, and forty taken, of whom the lord Talbot, the lord Scates, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampton were cheefe. Diuerse archers, after they had shot all their arrowes, hauing onelie their swords, defended themselves, and with helpe of some of their horsemen came safe to Mehun. This overthrow, and specially the taking of the lord Talbot, did not so much reioise the Frenchmen; but it did as much abash the Englishmen: so that immediatlie thereupon, the townes of Jenaile, Mehun, Fort, and diuerse other, returned from the English part, and became French. From this battell departed without anie stroke stricken sir John Fastolfe, the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of misdealing at this brunt, the duke of Bedford took from him the image of saint George, and his garter; though afterward by meanes of friends, and apparant causes of good excuse, the same were to him againe deliuered against the mind of the lord Talbot.

Charles the Dolphin that called himselfe French perceiuing fortune to smile thus vpon him, assembled a great power, and determined to conquer the citie of Reimes, that he might be there sacred, crowned, and annointed, according to the custome of his progenitors, that all men might iudge that he was by all lawes and decrees a iust and lawfull king. In his waie thitherwards he besieged the citie of Auierre, the citizens whereof compounded with him to yeld, if they were not rescued within certeine daies. From thence he came before Trois, and after twelue daies siege had that citie deliuered vnto him, by composition, that the capteine sir Philip Hall (with his people and moueables) might depart in safetie. After that Trois was yelded, the communalitie of Chaalons rebelled against sir John Aubemond their capteine, and constrained him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition. In semblable manner did they of Reimes, desiring him to giue safe conduct to all the Englishmen safelie to depart. When Reimes was

Diffenders slaine by the French as they were taken.

Nichol. Gilles, slue thousand sauh Hall.

Great losse on English side
The lord Talbot, Scates, and Hungerford taken.

The siege of Orleans begun.

The French
king crowned.

was thus become French, the foresaid Charles the Delphin in the presence of the dukes of Lorraine and Barre, and of all the noble men of his faction, was sacred there king of France by the name of Charles the seauenth, with all rites and ceremonies thereto belonging. They of Auxerre, when the terme of their appointment was expired, submitted themselves to him; and so likewise did all the cities and townes adjoining.

One taken to
be a witch.

The duke of Bedford aduertised of all these doings, assembled his power about him, and hauing together ten thousand good Englishmen (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, & passing thorough Wyte to Pontrecau fault Ponne, sent by his herald Bedford, letters to the French king, signifying to him; that where he had (contrarie to the small conclusion accorded betwene his noble brother H. Henrie the sixt, & king Charles the first, father to him that was the usurper) by allurement of a diuinely witch, taken vpon him the name, title, & dignitie of the king of France; and further had by murder, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfullie kept diuerse cities and townes belonging to the king of England his nephew; for proofe thereof he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the countrie of Wyte, by dint of sword and stroke of battell to proue his writing and cause true, willing his enimie to chuse the place, and in the same he would giue him battell.

The new French king being come from Reimes to Dampmartine, studieng how to compassie them of Paris, was halfe abashed at this message. But yet to set a good countenance on the matter, he answered the herald, that he would sooner seeke his maister, than his maister should need to pursue him. The duke of Bedford hearing this answer, marched toward the king, and pitched his field in a strong place. The French king though at the first he meant to haue abidden battell; yet when he vnderstood that the duke was equall to him in number of people, he changed his purpose, and turned with his armie a little out of the waie. The duke of Bedford, perceiuing his faint courage, followed him by the hills and dales, till he came to a towne not far from Senlis, where he found the French king and his armie lodged; wherefore he ordered his battels like an expert chaffeine in martiall science, setting the archers before, and himselfe with the noblemen in the maine battell, and put the Normans on both sides for wings. The French king also ordered his battels with the aduise of his captains.

The French
armie fled in
the night.
Boheme.

Thus these two armies late two daies and two nights either in sight of other, without any great doing, except a few skirmishes, wherein the dukes light horsemen did vertie valiantlie. At length in the dead of the night (as ymiilie as might be) the French king brake by his campe, and fled to Bray. The duke of Bedford had much adoe to staie his people in the morning from pursuit of the French armie: but for that he mistrusted the Parisiens, he would not depart farre from that cite, and so returned thither againe. ¶ In this season pope Martin the sixt of that name, meaning to subdue the Bohemers that dissent from the church of Rome in matters of religion, appointed Henrie Beaufort Bishop of Winchester & cardinal of saint Cusebie, to be his legat in an armie that should invade the kingdome of Boheme, and to bring a power of men with him out of England. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the cardinal to take the tenth part of euery spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promotion.

This matter was opened in the parlement house, and assented to: whereupon the bishop gathered the

monie, and assembled foure thousand men & above, not without great grudge of the people, which daile were with tallages and aids wearied and sore burdened. As this bishop was come to Douer ready to passe the seas ouer into Flanders, the duke of Gloucester hauing receiued letters from the duke of Bedford, containing an earnest request to release him with some speedie aid of men of warre, was constrained to write vnto the bishop of Winchester, willing him in time of such need, when all stood vpon losse or gaine, to passe with all his armie toward the duke of Bedford, to assist him against his aduersaries; which thing done, and to his honour achieved, he might performe his iourne against the brigations Bohemers. The cardinal (though not well contented with this countermand) yet least he should run into the note of infamie, if he refused to aid the regent of France in so great a cause, passed ouer with his power, and brought the same vnto his confine to the cite of Paris.

About the same season, the French king, in hope to be receiued into the townes of Campaigne and Beaunois (by reason of the fauour and good will which the inhabitants bare towards him) was come with an armie towards Campaigne. Whereof the duke of Bedford being aduertised, and hauing now his host augmented with the new supplie, which the cardinal had of late brought vnto him, marched forward with great speed toward the place where he vnderstood the French king was lodged: and coming to Senlis, he perceiued how his enimies were incamped vpon the mount Biliolt, betwene Senlis and Campaigne.

Here might either armie behold the other: whereupon for the auoiding of dangers that might ensue, the campos were trenchd, and the battels pitched, and the fields ordered as though they should haue tried the matter by battell: but nothing was done except with skirmishes, in the which the Normans sore bered the Frenchmen; and therefore receiued great commendations & praises of the lord regent: who vndoubtedly determined to haue giuen battell to his enimies if they would haue abidden it. But after the armies had thus lien ether in sight of other, for the space of two daies together, the French king not determining to aduenture in an open battell the whole chance of the game, least he might thereby receiue a perpetuall checkmate, in the night season remoued his campe, and fled to Crespie, though his number was double to the English armie. The duke of Bedford, seeing that the French king was thus cowardlie recoiled with all his power and armie, returned againe to Paris, euer suspecting the deceitfull faith of the Parisiens.

The bishop of Winchester, after that the French king was retreated backe, went into Boheme, and there did somewhat, though hostile after without any great praise or gaine he returned into England, more glad of his coming backe than of his aduancing forward. Anon after the pope vblegated him, and set an other in his place, wherewith he was nothing contented. On the first daie of Nouember, being the daie of saint Leonard, king Henrie in the eight yeare of his reigne was at Westminster with all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme of England. In the same yere the French king was receiued into the towne of Campaigne, and thither after were the townes of Senlis and Beaunois recovered to him. And the lord A. ougurnal took by stealth the castell of Aumarle, and drew all the Englishmen within it.

Also about the same time, the Frenchmen recovered the red castell Calard south of the Englishmens hands, where the lord Barbacon was found in a dungeon, inclosed

Anno Reg. 1.

The pope vblegated the cardinal of Winchester. B. Henrie's commandment to the cardinal.

Thom. W.

inclosed within a great grate of iron like to a little chamber, and withouth they brake open the grate: but Barbaſon would not come forth; because he had given his faith and promise to one Kingdon that was captaine of that fortreſſe for the king of England, to be true prisoner, untill the Frenchmen had sent to the ſame Kingdon (that was departed vpon ſuch covenants as they were agreed vpon at the deliuerie of that fortreſſe) willing him to come backe againe vpon ſafe conduct. Which at their earneſt request he did, and withall diſcharged the lord Barbaſon of his oath; and ſo then he came forth, and remained at his libertie, to the great reioyſing of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had bene rather dead than alive all that time of his impriſonment.

About the ſame time alſo the French king ſought by all meanes poſſible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of England, and the houſe of Burgognie. Whereof the duke of Bedford hauing intelligence, thought it ſtood him vpon the more earneſtie to looke to his charge; and namelic as it were an anchorhold, he determined to prouide that he might defend and ſaſe keepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appointing the biſhop of Terroien and Cle, named Leues of Lutzenburgh, chancelor for king Henrie of the realme of France, to remaine at Paris vpon the defence of that cite, with a conuenient number of Engliſhmen, he departed into Normandie, and coming to Rone, called a parlement there of the three eſtates of the duchie, in the which he declared manie things vnto them, touching the happie life, and great freedom which they might be aſſured to enjoy, ſo long as they continued vnder the Engliſh obedience: and therefore he exhorted them to abide conſtant in their allegiance, faith, and promise made and ſworne to his noble brother king Henrie the ſixt.

Whileſt the duke of Bedford was buſie to reteine the Normans in their due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis; and coming to the towne of ſaint Denis, found it in maner deſolate, ſo that he entered there without reſiſtance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martz and Amberuilliers, nere vnto the cite of Paris; and from thence ſent John duke of Alanson, and his forcerelle Jone la Pucelle, with three thouſand light horſemen to aſſault the cite, and followed himſelfe, in hope to get it, either by force or treatie. But the Engliſh captaine euerie one keeping his ward and place aſſigned, ſo manfullie defended themſelues, their walles and towers, with the aſſiſtance of the Parisiens, that they repelled the Frenchmen, and threw downe Jone their great goddeſſe into the bottome of the towne ditch, where the lay behind the backe of an aſſe ſore hurt in the leg, till the time that ſhe (all filthie with urine and dirt) was drawne out by Guilſhard of Chienzone, ſervant to the duke of Alanson.

The French king, perceiuing that he could not preuaile in this enterpriſe, left the dead bodies behind him, and taking with him the wounded captaine, returned into Berrie. But in the meane waie, the inhabitants of Laigrie ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. The duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this ſudden attempt, with all haſt poſſible came to Paris, where he gaue manie great thanks, with high commendations vnto the captaine, ſouldiers and citizens for their aſſured fidelitie, great hardineſſe & manlie doing. Which his gentle words ſo encouraged the hearts of the Parisiens, that they ſware, promiſed and concluded, to be friends for euer to the king of England and his friends, and enemies alwaies to his foes and aduerſaries, making proclamation by this ſtile: Friends to B. Henrie, friends to the Parisiens, Enemies to England, enemies to

Paris. Wherewith this was viſcered from their hearts, it is hard ſo to ſaie, for the ſequale of their acts ſeemed to proue the contrarie.

Some after theſe doings, came to Paris with a great companie Philip duke of Burgognie, and then vpon long conſultation had for the recouerie of their loſſes, it was agreed that the duke of Bedford ſhould raiſe an armie, & that the duke of Burgognie ſhould be his deputie, and tarry at Paris for the defence of the cite. The duke of Bedford then without any great reſiſtance recovered againe the towne of ſaint Denis, with diuerſe other fortreſſes. And after this he ſent the baſſard of Clarence to laie ſiege to the caſtell of Roſſie, the which (notwithſtanding the great ſtrength thereof) after ſix moneths ſiege, was rendered vnto his hands. During the ſiege of this caſtell, ſir Thomas Kiriell knight, with ſoure hundred Engliſhmen departed from Courneie in Normandie, and rode by Beaunois, ſpoiling and waſting the countie to the ſuburbes of Cleremont. Whereof the earle of that towne hauing aduerſement, aſſembled all the men of warre of the garrisons adjoining, and with the ſame ſet forward to fight with the Engliſhmen, whom he found in a ſtreit place nere to Beaunois.

The earle of Cleremont, perceiuing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reaſon of the ſtrength, came downe on foot with all his companie, and ſiercelie ſet on the Engliſhmen: but by the terrible ſhot of the Engliſh archers, the Frenchmen in the end were conſtrained to flee; and the Engliſhmen perceiuing the matter, ſtreight leapt on horſebacke and followed the chace. In the which were taken two hundred prisoners, and theſe as manie ſlaine. The earle eſcaped by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe. At the ſame ſeaſon the earle of Suffolke beſieging the towne of Aumarle (whereof was captaine the lord of Rambures) after ſoure and twentie great aſſaults, had the towne and caſtell ſimplie to him rendered. Thus by little and little the Engliſhmen recovered manie townes which beſore they had loſt. Howbeit about the verie ſame time, the Frenchmen ſale the towne of Lauall, by treaſon wrought by a miller, which keeping a mill that ioined to the wall, ſuffered the French to paſſe through his mill into the towne. Shortly after alſo ſir Steuen de Gignolles, ſurnamed la Hire, toke by ſcaling the towne of Louiers in Normandie. The Engliſhmen in the cold moneth of December beſieged the towne of Laigrie in the which was the Puſell, and diuerſe other good captaineſ.

[In the moneth of Maie 1430, with a valiant man in ſeats of armes on the duke of Burgognions ſide, one Franquet and his band of three hundred ſouldiers, making all towards the maintenance of the ſiege, the Puſell Jone and a ſoure hundredes with hir did meet. In great courage and force did ſhe and hir people ſundrie times aſſaile him, but he with his archers in good order ſet, did ſo hardilie withſtand them, that for the firſt and ſecond pulſe the rather loſt than won: Whereat this captaineſſe ſtriken into a fretting chafe, called out in all haſt the garrison of Laigrie, and from other the ſorts thereabout, who thicke and threefold came downe with night and maine, in armour and number ſo far exceeding Franquets, that though they had done hir much hurt in hir horſemen; yet by the verie multitude were they oppreſſed, moſt in hir furie put to the ſword; & as for to Franquet that worthy captaine himſelfe, hir rage not appeaſed, till out of hand ſhe had his head ſtroken off: contrarie to all manhood (but ſhe was a woman, if ſhe were that) & contrarie to common right & law of armes. The man for his merits was verie much lamented, and ſhe by hir malice then ſound of what ſpirt

Saint Denis
by the recou-
ered againe.

Parlement
at Rone called
by the
duke of Bedford.

The French
got ſaint Denis.

Jone had a
cur in the leg
and a fall,
wherein all
herie out of
herie.

La Hire.

Laigrie be-
ſieged by the
Engliſhmen.

W. P.
1430
Le Roſier.

rit she was.]

Campiegne
besieged.

After this the duke of Burgognie accompanied with the earles of Arundell, and Suffolke, and the lord John of Lutzenburgh besieged the towne of Campiegne with a great puissance. This towne was well walled, manned, and bittelled, so that the besiegers were constrained to cast trenches, and make mines, for otherwise they saw not how to compass their purpose. In the meane time it happened in the night of the Ascension of our Lord, that Joiton de Saintreilles, Jone la Pusell, and five or six hundred men of armes issued out by the bridge toward Pont-debier, intending to set fire in the tents and lodgings of the lord Waldo de Poitelle.

Abr. Fl. ex
Gelnoro.

Richard Fleming
bishop
of Lincoln.

The books
that he wrote.

In this yeare of our Lord, among diuerse notable men of learning and knowledge, one Richard Fleming, English borne, a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, did flourish: who by the prouidence of God grew in such fauour with this king Henrie the first, & the nobles nere about him, that he was preferred to the bishops see of Lincoln. This man founded Lincoln college in Oxford, in which vniuersitie he had bene a profitable student. Diuerse booke he wrote (as the vniuersitie librarie doth beare witness) whereof these following haue bene seene vnder their names and titles; to wit: A protestation against the Spaniards, the Frenchmen, and the Scots, made in the generall counsell holden at Senes: one booke of the Etymologie of England; besides diuerse other treatises, as Gelnoro reporteth *Ex bibliotheca Oxonijs*, aforesaid.]

Jone the
Pusell taken.

W. P.

Chroniques
de Britaigne.

At the verie same time that Campiegne was besieged (as before is said) sir John of Lutzenburgh, with eight other gentlemen, chanced to be nere unto the lodging of the said lord Waldo, where they espied the Frenchmen, which began to cut downe tents, overthrow paullions, & kill men in their beds: whereupon they with all speed assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgognions, and courageously set on the Frenchmen, and in the end beat them backe into the towne, so that they fled so fast that one letted another, as they would haue entered. In the chase and pursute was the Pusell taken, with diuerse other, besides those that were slaine, which were no small number. Diuerse were hurt also on both parts. Among the Englishmen, sir John Pontgomerie had his arme broken, and sir John Steuward was shot into the thigh with a quarell.

[As before ye haue heard somewhat of this damnable strange beginning and proceedings, so with the ending of all such miraclemongers doth (for the most part) plainelie decipher the vertue and power that they worke, by hir shall ye be aduertised what at last became of hir; call your opinions as ye haue cause. Of hir louces (the Frenchmen) reporteth one, how in Campiegne thus besieged, Guillaume de Flaunie the capteine hauing sold hir aforesaid to the lord of Lutzenburgh, vnder colour of halting hir with a band out of the towne towards their king, for him with speed to come and leaue the siege there, so gotten hir forth he shut the gates after hir, when anon by the Burgognians set vpon and ouermatched in the conflict she was taken: marie yet (all things accounted) to no small maruell how it could come so to passe, had she bene of any deuotion or of true beleefe, and no false miscreant, but all holie as she made it. For earlie that morning she gat hir to saint James church, confessed hir, and receiued hir maker (as the booke termes it) and after setting hir selfe to a pillar, manie of the towne men that with a five or six score of their children stood about there to see hir, vnto them (quod she) God children and my deere friends, I tell you plaine one hath sold me, I am betrayed and shortly lie shall be deliuered to death; I beseech you praie to

God for me, for I shall neuer haue more power to do seruice either to the king or to the realme of France againe.

With another booke, she was intrapt by a Picard capteine of Soissons, who sold that citie to the duke of Burgognie, and he then put it ouer into the hands of the lord of Lutzenburgh, so by that meanes the Burgognians appoched and besieged Campiegne, for succour whereof as damself Jone with hir capteins from Laignie was thither come, and daile to the English gaue manie a hot skirmish, so happened it one a daie in an outfallie that she made by a Picard of the lord of Lutzenburghs band, in the fiercest of hir fight she was taken, and by him by and by to his lord presented, who sold hir ouer againe to the English, who for witchcraft and sorcerie burnt hir at Rone. Tillet telleth it thus, that she was caught at Campiegne by one of the earle of Ligneis soldiers, from him had to Beaucenouir castell, where kept a three months, she was after for ten thousand pounds in monie and three hundred pounds rent (all Lannois) sold into the English hands.

In which for hir pranks so vncomely and suspicious, the lord regent by Peter Chancon bishop of Beauuois (in whose diocesse she was taken) caused hir life and beleefe, after order of law to be inquired vpon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet first shamefullie reiecting hir for abominable in acts and apparell to haue counterfeited mankind, and then all damnable faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in diuillish witchcraft and sorcerie, sentence accordingly was pronounced against hir. Whobeyt vpon humble confession of hir iniquities with a counterfeited contrition pretending a carefull sorow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from thenceforth she should cast off hir vnnaturall wearing of mans abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abjure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leasure in perpetuall prison to bewaile hir misdoeds. Which to performe (according to the manner of abuturation) a soleinne othe she gladlie she toke.

But herein (God helpe vs) she fullie afore posselt of the feend, not able to hold hir in anie towardnesse of grace, falling straight waie into hir former abominations (and yet seeking to ech out life as long as she might) stak not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a trumpet, and vnnaried as she was) to be withchild. For trial, the lord regents lenitie gaue hir nine moneths spaie, at the end whereof she found herein as false as wicked in the rest, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitive sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouner of hir oth and repentance, was she therevpon deliuered ouer to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the selfe same sted where now saint Michaels church stands, hir ashes afterward without the towne walls shaken into the wind. Now recounting altogether, hir pastozall bringing vp, rude without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conuersation with wicked spirits, whome in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she bittred to be our Ladye, saint Katherine, and saint Annes, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields (where saints in warres among christen men were (be we sure) neuer so parcell patrons or partners to maintenance of horrible slaughters, rapines and bloudshed) hereto hir murderous mind in killing of Franquet hir owne prisoner, hir two yeares continuance in hir abominations and drablie mischief without anie hir trauell or motion betwene the princes for peace, hir relapse

La Roche.

In la vie de
Charles
seigneur
de France
par
le
sieur
de
la Roche.

Polydore
in H.A.

Les grand
chron.

Les grand
chronic.
liv. 14.

relapſe at laſt & falling againe into his abiured iniquities, by his virginitie (if it were anie) by his holie wordes, his fasting and prayers that they might be ſith ſatan (after S. Paule) can change himſelfe into an angell of light, the deapler to deceiue.

Theſe matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world his execrable abominations, and well iuſtifie the iudgement he had, and the execution he was put to for the ſame. A thing yet (God wot) verie ſmallie shadowed, and leſſe holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whoſe dignitie abroad ſoule ſpotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degree of a right chriſten prince (as he called himſelfe) for maintenance of his quarrels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his ſacred eſtate, as dealing in diuelliſh practiſes with miſbeleuers and witches, which malicie be full ſozlie ſalued (like one that to kill the ſtrong ſent of onions would cheaſe a cloude of garlike) ſo a ſir and twentieth yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whoſe mandat directed to his thre delegats, the biſhops of Paris, Reſmes, and Conſtance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in preſence of Jone (the pufels mother) John and Peter his brethren, the ſeuen and twentieth daie of November 1455, the validitie and goodneſſe of the proceſſe and ſentence vpon him was called in queſtion, and in great ſolemnitie ſit vpon.

Therein the cauſe was ſo ſincerelie canuaſſed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Iulie 1456, a quite contrarie ſentence was there declared: of effect, that this Jone (forſoth) was a damſell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counſell and witcherie practiſes with him; the proceſſe, iudgement, and condemnation againſt him all wrong and iniurious. And for iuſtification and remembrance a ſwell of his innocencie in life and death, as alſo of the ſinceritie of their later ſentence, a new croſſe in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillets is the further likened to Deboza, Japhell, and Judith, and vnto Romanee Clelia compared by Polydor, that ſhames not ſomewhat alſo to carpe at his iudgment, and much piſtieth his paine. But what puritie or regard of deuotion or conſcience is in theſe writers trow yee, who make no conſideration of his heinous enormities, or elſe any difference betwene one ſtirred vp by mercie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable ſozerer ſuborned by ſatan? And thus much of this gentle Jone, and of his good oratours that haue ſaid ſo well for him: now iudge as ye liſt.]

After the beſtowing of this Buſell in ſozt as yee haue heard, the ſiege ſtill continued before Campegne, and the duke of Bedford ſent to the duke of Burgognie lieng at the ſiege, the earle of Huntingdon, and ſir John Robſert (two ſollie gentlemen, of no leſſe prudence to parle with the enimie, than purſuance to encounter them) with a thouſand archers (whoſe actiuitie, I warrant you, ſhod not then vpon the ſirſt trial) which daillie ſtirriſhed with them with in, and made ſuch baſtles & fortrefſes, that the towne had bene renored into their hands, but that the duke of Burgognie departed from the ſiege to go into Habant, to receiue the poſſeſſion of that duchie, by the death of his couſin Philip the duke of that countie, as then departed this world.

Sir John de Lutzenburgh was left by the duke of Burgognie as generall of the ſiege before Campegne, the which he raiſed within a ſhort ſpace after, contrarie to the minds of the Engliſhmen, which were verie deſirous to haue lien there till the towne had bene rendered, which if the ſiege had bene continued but eight daies longer, muſt needs haue come to paſſe; by reaſon that peſtilence and famine had almoſt conſumed all the ſouldiers within the towne, ſo that it remained in maner without deſenſe. After

the breaking vp of his ſiege, John duke of Borſfolke toke againe the townes of Dampmartine, and the Challe Spongaie, with diuerſe other townes. Alſo the earle of Stafford toke the towne of Burcountie Robert, and from thence foraged all the countie to Sens, and after toke Duchnoie in Brie, Grand Puis, and Kampellon.

During this time, the Frenchmen on the other ſide toke Louiers, and Villeneuf. Then alſo did the towne of Melun rebell, and had ſuch aid of other townes adioining, that the Engliſh ſouldiers were ſaine to leaue Melun, Poiret, and Cozbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtfull balance betwixt the two nations Engliſh and French. But becauſe the Engliſh ſoze miſtruſted further danger, it was concluded, that king Henrie in his roiall perſon with a new armie ſhould come into France, partlie to viſit and comfort his owne ſubiects ther, and partlie either by feare or fauour (becauſe a child of his age and beautie doth commonlie procure them loue of elder perſons) to moue the Frenchmen to continue their due obediſſance towards him.

Wherefore after a great hoſt conuenient for that purpoſe aſſembled, and monie for maintenance of the warre readie gathered, and the realme ſet in an order vnder the gouernement of the duke of Gloceſter protector (which during the kings abſence appeared diuerſe riots, and puniſhed the offendours) the king with a great power toke ſhipping at Douer on ſaint Georges euen within night, and landed at Calis on the morrow being ſaint Georges daie, and ſundaie, by ſeuen of the clocke in the morning. He remained in Calis a good ſpace, and from thence he remoued to Rone, being there receiued with all triumph. He taried in that citie a long time, his nobles daillie conſulting on their great buſineſſe & weightie affaires.

In this kings time, & ſomewhat about this yeare, a certeine Wyeton, whome a good honeſt widow had receiued into his houſe, and conceiued well of him in opinion, was by his maintained of his owne purſe, & (as Polychronicon ſaith) the found him of almes and for Gods ſake. This charitable deed of his deſerued a deuout mind to God ward, and a thankful hart to him. But (good ſoule) how was he recompensed? * Euen murdered in his bed by the hands of that villaine whome ſo bountifullie he ſuccoured, and motherlike tendered. Vnto which bloudie ſaſa (which was a preparatiue to a further miſcheefe byed in his vnaturall hart) he added another offense: for when he had diſpatched the woman, viſing the riddance of hir to his aduantage, and as he had obtained oportunitie (to his thinking) he conueied all that ſhe had a waie with him for his owne releſe. When being perſecuted with guiltineſſe of conſcience, which troubleth offendours with readieſſe verations, and ſozeth them from place to place to ſeke corners of euacion and thift, he toke priuilege of holie church at ſaint Georges in Southwarke, where laſeng hands on the croſſe, as a ſhield of ſufficient ſafegard, he abiured this land, and by that meanes thought himſelfe free from afterclaps,

Neuertheleſſe, God (whoſe mercifull nature abhorreth the effuſion of mans blond) prepared a puniſhment for the malefactor, who paſſing through the ſuburbs of London, without Algate (the place where he had committed the murder) the women of the ſame pariſh and ſtreet (as it were intraged) came out with ſtones, ſtaues, kenell bong, and other things, wherewith they ſo beſthwacht him on all parts of his bodie, that they laid him a ſtretching, and rid him quite of life. In the working of this their teene they were ſo fell and fierce, that the conſtables with their aſſiſtants (which were no ſmall number) doing what they could by their authoritie and maine ſtrength,

King Henrie the ſixt in perſon goeth with an armie into France.

S. Albons.

Ed. Hall.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron. A widow without Algate murdered in his bed by a Wyeton whome the charitable releued, * A ſoule in gratitude.

The marcher reuenged by women of the appointment of Gods iuſtice.

¶ m m. i.

were

were not able to rescue him out of the womens hands; who had sworn in their hearts (as it seemed by the manner of their reuenge which was void of all mercie) to see the end of such a villaine as most unnaturallie had slaine a woman, a neighbour, a widow, a pittifull woman, a good neighbour, an honest stranger borne, a begger, and he to whome she shewed himselfe the staffe of his support. A singular ingratitude which nature abhorreth, law disalloweth, heauen disclaimeth, God detesteth, humanitie condemneth, and euerie good bodie to the verie death detesteth; as the old distichon excellentlie and with good sense noteth;

Lex & natura, celum, Deus, omnia iura

Damnant ingratum, parent illum quog. natum.

But to returne to the affaires of king Henrie, who in the moneth of Nouember remoued from Rone to Montoile, and so to saint Denis, to the intent to make his entrie into Paris, and there to be sacred king of France. There were in his companie of his owne nation, his vnckle the cardinall of Winchester, the cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, the dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norfolke, the earles of Warwicke, Salisburie, Denford, Huntington, Dymond, Poysaigne, and Suffolke. Of Gascoignes, there were the earles of Longuille and Parche, besides manie other noble men of England, Guien, and Normandie. And the cheefe of the French nation were the dukes of Burgognie, and Lewis of Lutzenburgh, cardinall and chancelor of France for king Henrie: the bishops of Beauuois and Poion, both peeres of France, beside the bishop of Paris, and diuerse other bishops; the earle of Wandemount, and other noble men, whose names were superfluous to rehearse. And he had in a gard about his person thre thousand pice archers, some on horsebacke, and part on foot.

King Henrie
the sixt crowned
in Paris.

Le Roier
historiall.

To speake with what honour he was receiued into the citie of Paris, what pageants were prepared, and how richlie the gates, streets, and bridges on euerie side were hangd with costlie clothes of arras & tapestrie, it would be too long a procelle, and therefore I doe here passe it ouer with silence. On the thirtieth daie of December, he was crowned king of France, in our ladie church of Paris, by the cardinall of Winchester, the bishop of Paris not being contented that the cardinall should doe such an high ceremonie in his church and iurisdiction. After all the ceremonies were finished, the king returned toward the palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another borne before him; and one scepter in his hand, and the second borne before him. As touching other the rotall seruices and princelie appointments, they are verie diligentlie & at large set out in the French chronicle of that time. This coronation of the king, *Anglorum prelia* as manie other good and memorable matters, so this also he hath noted, saing thereof in comelic breuitie and truth, as after followeth:

Aeterna fame paulo post rege sepulto,

Parisq; diadema vias & compita circum

Iunior Henricus portat lepidissimus infans.

This high and famous scaff passed not without some spot of displeasure among the English nobilitie: for the cardinall of Winchester, which at this time would haue no man be equall with him, commanded the duke of Bedford to leaue off the name of regent, during the time that the king was in France, affirming the cheefe ruler being in presence, the authoritie of the substitute to be clerelie derogate, according to the common saing; In the presence of the higher power, the smaller giveth place. The duke of Bedford took such a secret displeasure with this doing, that he neuer after fauoured the cardinall, but stood against him in all things that he would haue forward. This

was the root (as some haue thought) of that diuision amongst the English nobilitie, where through their glozie within the realme of France began first to decline.

The next daie after the solempne feast of the kings coronation, were kept triumphant iusts and toyncis, in the which the earle of Arundell, and the bastard of S. Paule, by the iudgement of the ladies wonne the pize. The king kept open hall the space of five daies to all commers, and after (because the aire of Paris seemed contrarie to his pure complexion) by the aduise of his counsell, he remoued to Rone, where he kept his Chyristmasse. But before his departure from Paris, the noble men as well of France and Normandie did to him homage, and the common people sware to him fealtie. In this meane time, sir Francis called the Aragoignois, a noble capteine of the English part in Normandie, took by force and policie the towne of Pontargis, with a great pize of treasure and prisoners, and put therein a garrison, leaving it well furnished with vittels and munition.

About the same time, the earle of Arundell, being truelie informed that the lord Boufasc marshall of France was come to Beauuois, intending to doe some feat in Normandie, assembled the number of thre and twentie hundred men, and comming nere to the said towne of Beauuois, sent a great number of light horsemen to run before the towne, to traîne out the Frenchmen within; the which issuing out and following the English horsemen vnto their skale, were so inclosed and fought with, that in maner all the number of them, save a few which fled backe into the towne with the marshall, were slaine or taken. Amongst other of the cheefest prisoners, that valiant capteine Ponton de Santrails was one, who without delaie was exchanged for the lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battell of Patay. There was also taken one called the shepheard, a simple man, and a filie soule; but yet of such reputation for his supposed holinesse amongst the Frenchmen, that if he touched the wall of any of their aduersaries towne, they beleued verelie it would incontinentlie fall downe.

The lord Talbot
was ransomed
by exchange.
The hole
shepherd.

This chance succeeded not fortunatlie alone vnto the English nation, for Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwicke had a great skirmish before the towne of Courtie, where he discomfited and repelled his enemies: and beside those that were slaine, he took fortie horsemen, all being gentlemen of name and armes. Like chance happened to the friends of king Charles, towards the marches of Lorraine, where Reigner duke of Bar besieged the towne of Wandemont pertaining to the earle thereof named Anthoine, coufine to the same duke Reigner. This earle, before the dukes approaching, left a conuenient crue within the towne to defend it, and with all speed rode to the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, being then at the foresaid great triumph at Paris, where he purchased such fauour at their hands, because he had euer taken their parts, that not onelie sir John Falstolfe was appointed to go with him, hauing in his companie sir hundred archers, but also the duke of Burgognies marshall named sir Anthoine Bonalongon, accompanied with sixtine hundred other men of warre.

When the duke of Bar heard that his enemies were thus comming towards him, like a hardie capteine he raised his siege, and met face to face with the earle and his companie, betwene whome was a cruell and mortall battell. The horsemen of the French side endured long, but in conclusion the English archers so galled their horses, and so wounded the men, that the Barrois, Almaines, and other of duke Reigners side were compelled to flee. In the chase was taken

Wandemont
besieged.

ken the duke of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the lord of Roquemaque, sir Gerard of Salisbury, the Viscount Darcie, and two hundred other, beside three thousand which were slain.

In this luckie time also, no lesse occasion of victorie was offered to the Englishmen in an other part, if they could haue bled it with such circumspect warrenesse as had bene expedient. For Robert lord Willoughbie, and Matthew Gough, a valiant Welsh man, with fiftene hundred Englishmen, laid siege to a towne in Anjou called saint Senerine. Whereof Charles the French king being aduertised, sent with all speed the lord Ambrose de Loxe, with manie noble men to the succours of them within the towne, where of the same lord Ambrose was captaine: and therefore made the more hast to releue his deputie, and the other being more stoutly besieged, but yet staied at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him.

The Englishmen aduertised of this intent of the captaine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch so out of order, that a thousand men were entered into the campe before they were espied; by reason whereof the Englishmen found small resistance. But when the daie began to appeare, and that the sunne had set forth his bright beames abroad, that all things might be seene, the Englishmen giuen whole to spoile, followed not their enemies in chase, but being contented with their preie and gaite, began to retreat toward the siege againe, which the lord Willoughbie still maintained with a part of the armie.

But see the chance. The Frenchmen which were coming after, hearing by the noise of the people that some fraie was at hand, put spurres to their horses, and set on the Englishmen pestered with bag and baggage of the spoile and preie which they had gotten in the French campe. The other of the Frenchmen which before had fled, returned againe, and aided their fellows; so that the Englishmen being taken out of order, were compelled to flee, of whom Matthew Gough and diuerse other were taken prisoners. And yet of the other part manie were slain, and a great number taken: amongst whom was the lord de Loxe, who (for all that the Frenchmen could doe) was kept, and not deliuered. The lord Willoughbie hearing of this mishap, raised his siege, and departed therewith displeased in his mind, but could not remedie it.

About this season, Nicholas the cardinall of the holie crosse was sent into France, as a legat from Eugenie the fourth as then bishop of Rome, to treat a peace betwene the Englishmen and Frenchmen. But when after great instance and labour made betwene the parties, he saw their obstinate and forward minds, nothing inclined to any agreement, he went so much at their hands by earnest sute, that a truce was granted to indure for six yeares to come: but as the same was hardlie granted, so was it of the Frenchmen soon and lightlie broken. For the baron of Dancance newlie made earle of Dunois, toke by treason the towne of Chartres from the Englishmen, affirming by the law of armes, that stealing or buieng a towne, without inuasion or assault, was no breach of league, amitie, or truce. In which towne he slew the bishop, because he was a Burgoniam. Whereby did new malice increase, and mortall warre began to be put in use.

Whilst these things were doing in France, the cardinall of Winchester was come backe againe into England, to appease certaine commotions and stirres attempted by sundrie persons vnder colour of religion: but after that William Sandeuille, and John Sharpe the chiefe authors thereof were agree-

bended and executed by the gouernour and the kings iustices, the residue yielded and confessed their offences, whereof two articles were these (as some write) that priests should haue no possessions, and that all things by the order of charitie among christian people should be in common. Other thought their opinions were not such errors, but that their enemies spread abroad such rumors of them, to make them more odious to the people.

After that, a parlement was called by the duke of Glocester, in the which monie was assigned to be leuied, and men appointed, which should passe ouer into France to the aid of the duke of Bedford, for the maintenance of the warres: because it was suspected the truce would not long continue. During this parlement, James the king of Scots sent ambassadors to conclude a peace with the duke of Glocester, who (because the king was absent) referred the matter to the three estates. After long consultation, not without great arguments, a peace was concluded. When the parlement was ended, the cardinall well furnished with men & monie, departed out of England, and came to Rome to the king, to whom also referred the duke of Bedford from Paris, to consult of things not vnlikelie to follow.

Herevpon a great councell was kept in the castell of Hone, and manie doubts moued, and few weightie things out of hand concluded. At length, after great disputation, with manie arguments ended, the dukes of Bedford and Porke, and Edmund late earle of Mortaigne, and now (by the death of John duke of Summerfet, leaving behind him a sole daughter and heire, married to the earle, and called Margaret after the countesse of Richmond) attained to the name and title of duke of Summerfet, approved the reason of those, that held it expedient to haue an armie in a readinesse for defense, least the Frenchmen suddenly should attempt any enterprise to the danger of the Englishmen, and losse of those townes and countries that were vnder them.

When all things were agreed, king Henrie came to Calis, from thence to Douer; and so by easie iournies the one and twentieth daie of Februarie to London, where he was triumphantlie receiued, and richlie presented, as in the chronicles of Robert Fabian it maie at large appeare. After that the king was departed into England, the duke of Bedford regent of France, and captaine of Calis, taried behind in the marches of Picardie, where he was informed certaine souldiers of Calis grudging at the restraint of wolles, began to murmur against the king and his councell, to some danger of the towne. The duke vpon due examination had, caused diuerse to be put to death, and manie banished that towne and marches for euer.

In the meane time, the ladie Anne duchesse of Bedford departed this life at Paris, by whose death the fast knot of faithfull friendship betwixt the duke of Bedford and his brother in law the duke of Burgonie began somewhat to slacken. Shortly after, to wit, about the beginning of the next yeare 1433, the said duke of Bedford being thus a widower, through the perswasion of the lord Lewes of Lutzenburgh bishop of Teruine and Cleue, and chancellor of France for king Henrie, agreed to marrie the ladie Jaquet, daughter to Peter earle of saint Paule, and neece to the said bishop, and to the lord John of Lutzenburgh.

The mariage was solemnized at Teruine with great triumph. Which ended, the duke with his new spouse (being about the age of seauentene yeares) came vnto Calis, and so into England, from whence in the moneth of August next he returned to Paris. The duke of Burgonie, though nothing pleased

The two errors.

A parlement called by the duke of Glocester the king being in France. A peace concluded with the Scots.

1432 King Henrie returneth out of France into England.

The duchesse of Bedford sister to the duke of Burgonie deceased.

The duke of Bedford married with the earle of saint Paules daughter.

with this new alliance contracted by the duke of Bedford, with the house of Lutzenburgh, but yet not able to do any thing to let it; because of the marriage consummate yet he could find any power or knowledge to hinder it. Whil实现 these things were a doing, in some places the French souldiers of the Dolphins, lacking wages (as the time serued) took both Englishmen and Burgognians, ransoming and spoiling them at their pleasure. Herewith the regent much moued, prepared for warre after six moneths the truce had bene taken: and so the warre againe was renewed.

The Frenchmen brake the peace and take the town of Saint Valerie.

The Frenchmen anon as open truce-breakers, raised a cruie, and suddenlie took the towne of Saint Valerie in Normandie, nere to the mouth of the riuer of Seine. An other armie, vnder the leading of sir Ambrose de Loxe, wasted and destroyed all the countrie about Caen. The duke of Bedford on his part sent the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwickes sonne, the lord Lisle Adam marshall of France for king Henrie, and twelue hundred men of warre with ordinance and munition to besiege the towne of Laigntie vpon the riuer of Marne. The earle with shot of canon brake the arch of the bridge, and got from the Frenchmen their bulworke, and set it on fire. Diuerse assaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for there were within it an eight hundred men of armes, besides other meane souldiers.

Laigntie besieged.

The duke of Bedford herewith gathered an armie of six thousand men, whereof were capitaine; Robert lord Willoughbie, sir Andrieu Ogard chamberlaine to the duke, sir John Saluaine bailiffe of Rone, sir John Pontgomerie bailiffe of Caen, sir Philip Hall bailiffe of Ternoill, sir Richard Katcliffe deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Peuill, sir Rafe Standish, sir John Hanford, sir Richard Cuthin, sir Richard Harington bailiffe of Curren, sir William Fulthorpe, sir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, David Hall, Thomas Strangith, Leonard Dunsfons esquiers, and Thomas Gerard. All gentlemen of courage, and as forward to giue the French the foile, as the French for their liues to giue them the discomfiture. But vnto which side the victorie should befall, incerteine it was before the trial of both their chancas had determined the doubt by the euent of the confliat.

The duke of Bedford furnished with this armie and companie of worthie capitaine came to the siege before Laigntie, where he made a bridge of boats, and brought his ordinance so nere the towne, that to all people it seemed not long able to resist. But the earle of Dunois, otherwise called the bastard of France, with diuerse hardie capitaine, as valiantlie defended as the Englishmen assaulted. At length the French king, perceining this towne to be the three corners keie betwene the territories Burgognion, English, and French, and the losse thereof should turne him to irreuocable damage, sent the lord of Rieux, Poiton, the Hire, the lord Caluocourt, and six thousand men, with great plentie of vittels, to the intent either to raise the siege, or else to vittell the towne.

The Frenchmen made a brag, as though they would haue assailed the Englishmen in their campe, but when they perceiued the courage of the lord regent, and the desire he had to fight, they framed themselves so in order of battell, as though they could do all things, and yet in effect did nothing: but that whil实现 part of them maintained a skirmish, a sort of rude & rusticall persons were appointed to conueie into the towne thirtie oren, and other small vittels. But this sweet gaine was deuelie paid for, if the losse with the gaine be pondered in equall balance: for hauing regard to their 30 leane oren, in the skir-

ish were slain the lord Saintreilles brother to that valiant capteine Poiton de Saintreilles, also capteine John brother to the lord Caluocourt, and fiftie other noble and valiant personages.

The Frenchmen thus politike hauing done their feat, in the beginning of August, remoued their armie vnto Fort vnder Per, where, by a bridge of funes they passed into the Ile of France. The duke of Bedford (like a wise prince) not minding to leaue the more in icopardie for hope of the lesse, nor the accident for the substance, raised his siege, and returned to Paris, nothing more minding than to trie his quarrell with dint of sword against the enimies, if they would thereto agree. And hereupon sent Bedford his herald to the lord Caluocourt and other capitaine of the French armie, offering them battell and a pitched field within a conuenient time, and where they would appoint. The French capitaine answered the English herald, that there was time to gaine, and time to lose: and for choise of times they would vse their owne discretions.

Shortlie after, Piers Audeuense constable of the castell of Rone, corrupted with monie, suffered the marshall of France, with two hundred other, as persons disguised to enter the place by stealth: but they were some espyed, and driuen to the dungeon, where they were constrained to yeld themselves prisoners: of the which some were hanged, some beheaded, and some ransomed, at the pleasure of the regent. This pageant thus played, the lord regent sent the earle of Saint Paule, and Robert lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to besiege the towne of S. Valerie, which the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This siege continued the space of thre weeks; at the end whereof the Frenchmen within yelded the towne, and departed with their horse and harnesse onelic to them saued.

The earle put there in garrison fresh and valiant souldiers, and appointed capteine there, sir John Aubernond. In the same towne (whether by infection of aire, or by corrupt vittels, which the townsmen did eat) a great pestilence shortlie after happened, which consumed within a small time two parts of the people. The earle of Saint Paule, and the lord Willoughbie returning backe to the regent, were so fullie receiued, and within a while after, the earle departed from Paris to laie siege to the castell of Monchas. But being incamped nere the towne of Blangie, he by a sudden maladie departed this life, the last of August, leaving his feignories to Elwes de Lutzenburgh his sonne and heire. Because this dead earle was father in law to the regent, solempne obsequies were kept for him both in Paris and in London.

In the meane season, the Frenchmen entering into high Burgognie, burnt, took, and destroyed diuerse townes; whereupon the Burgognians assembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarrels, and to recouer their townes taken from them. So thome as to his friends the duke of Bedford sent the lord Willoughbie, and sir Thomas Kirrell, with a conuenient number of souldiers, which entering into the lands of Laonnois, were encountered with a great power of their enimies. But after long fight, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, and of them left dead in the field an hundred and fiftie horsemen, besides prisoners, which after vpon vrgent cause were all killed.

Whil实现 these things happened thus in France, John lord Talbot gathered together a cruie of chosen men of warre in England, to the number of eight hundred, and sailed into Normandie, and passed by Rone to Paris. In his waie he took the strong castell of Joing betwene Beaunois and Cisors, and

Anno 14

1433

Some think he taken by treachery of the capitaine

The lord of Saint Paule deceased.

Anno Regis

English killed.

1434
The lord Talbot taken by the French.

caused all the Frenchmen within to be taken and hanged, and after rased and defaced the castell. After he had rested himselfe a while at Paris, and taken advise with the counsell there, what waie it should be best for him to take, without prolonging time; he with the lord de Lisle Adam and others, departed from thence, having in their retinues sixtene hundred men of warre. And coming to the castell of

Amboise, upon the Rye, wherof was capteine sir Amadour de Chignols brother to the Rye, they found it abandoned by them that had it in keeping, who were withdrawn to the towne of Creill.

Whither therefore the lord Talbot followed, who having in a skirmish the said Amadour, he won at length the said towne of Creill, and after the townes of Mont St. Parence, Beaufaile in Chinoie, la Rouge maison, Crespie in Alalois, & Cleremont in Beauvois, and after with great riches and good prisoners returned to Paris. Neither had the lord Talbot such good and prosperous successe alone, but the earle of Arundell also at the verie same season took the castell of Somelme, & rased it to the ground, after he got by force the castell of Doyle, & from thence came to St. Seleine, where the lord Ambrose de Loe, being capteine, issued out and fought with the Englishmen so egerlie, that he drove them backe an arrow shot by fine force: but the earle so encouraged his men, that they gave a fresh onset upon the Frenchmen, and followed it so ferre, that they slew a great number of them, and drove the residue into the towne.

After this victorie, he besieged Louiers, wherof was capteine the Rye, and his brother, who rendered the towne without assault. Then the earle assembling together a great armie, returned againe to St. Seleine, & intreated the towne with a strong siege. When he had lien there almost thre moneths, having daie attempting or doing somewhat, he finally gave so fierce an assault, that by force he entered the towne, and slew John Almatgne, and Guillian saint Albine, the chiefe capteines, and eight hundred other men of warre. The children of le seigneur de Loe were taken prisoners. The earle put new men of warre into the towne, and made capteine there sir John Cornwall. After this, he before the strong towne of Billie pitched his campe. The inhabitants terrified at the losse of saint Seleine, delivered him pledges, upon condition; that if they were not rescued within thirtie daies next, then they (their lives saved) should render the towne into his possession: which offer was received.

The French king, being advertised hercof by a post, appointed (as some saie) Arthur earle of Richemont; as other write, John duke of Alanson) with a great companie of men of warre to go to the rescue of this towne. But whether it was the earle or duke, certeine it is at his approaching to the siege, he incamped himselfe by a brooke side, over the which a man might have striden, & perceiving how stronglie the English were incamped against him, he thought it not for his profit to give battell; & so in the night season raised & went his waie without further attempt. When they within the towne knew that their succours failed, they rendered themselves to the mercie of the earle of Arundell, who gentlie received them, and leaving a garrison in the towne, departed to Paris, and in his waie took the castels of Pellale and saint Laurence. About this time the lord Willoughbie & sir Thomas Hirsch, returning with great victorie out of Burgonie, passing by the towne of Louiers, lately reduced to the English obedience, furnished it both with men and munition.

Among so many good chances, some evil are accustomed to happen, or else the gainers would not know themselves. And so at this time it happened,

that a great number of the common and rusticall people in Normandie dwelling by the sea coast, either provoked by the French king, or desirous of alteration and change (which thing the commons much covet and desire) made an insurrection, put on banelle, and by force expelled certeine English garrisons out of their holds, publishing and proclaiming openlie, that their onelie purpose and intent was to expell and banish the whole English nation out of their countries and coasts. Wherefore it maie be likelie, that the blacke Norman will sooner become white, than the people bred in France will heartilie love an English boine. For it standeth not with their envious nature to alter their malicious manners; as the old proverbe saith truelie of them:

Celica natura semper sequitur sua iura.

These rebels thus franticklie assembled, with all speed marched toward Caen, to the intent there both to increase their number, and also to consult what waie they should follow in their new begun enterprise. But the dukes of Booke and Summerset, then lieng in Normandie, having perfect knowledge hereof, immediatlie sent forth the earle of Arundell, and the lord Willoughbie with six thousand archers, and thirtie hundred light horsemen, to save and keepe them from making anie further progresse. The earle of Arundell appointed the lord Willoughbie, with two thousand archers, and certeine horsemen to go afore him, and lie in a state within some covert place. Which done, the earle followed; & so keeping in the multitude at the backe, drove them before him as deere into a buckefale: and when the miserable wretches came nere to the scale, the earle made a token, whereat a gun shot off for a signe. Therewith the lord Willoughbie set on them before, and the earle behind, shooting so ferre, that the poor creatures, wounded and galled with the shot of arrows, threw awaie their harness, and cried out instantlie for mercie.

The earle of Arundell moved with compassion, caused his souldiers to staie from further slaughter, and apprehending those that were known to be stirrers and leaders of the rest, let the other returne home without further damage: but yet, per the souldiers could be brought backe under their standards, there were about a thousand of the rebels slaine. And this commotion thus appeased, upon inquirie of the principall offenders, such as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions; as they had well deserved. During which rebellion, Peter Rokeford and his companie gat by treason the towne of Diepe, and diverse other holds thereto adjoining. After the earle of Arundell had obtained so good successe in his enterprises (as partlie ye have heard) he attempted another, which was the last worke and small labour of his living daies. For the duke of Bedford, being informed that his aduersaries had gotten the towne of Rue, and therein put a garrison, which sore vexed the countries of Ponthieu, Arthois, and Solennois, sent word to the earle that he without delay should besiege the said towne.

The earle obeying his commandement assembled his people, and came to Courneie, where he heard tell how there was a castell nere to Beauvois called Cerberote, the which being fallen in decay, Charles the French king had appointed sir Stephan de Uignois, commonlie called the Rye, to repare and newlie to fortifie, because it stood commodiously to serve as a countergarrison against the English townes and fortresses on those frontiers. The earle advertised hercof, and perceiving that this new building would be greatlie prejudiciall to the Englishmen, determined first to dispossesse his enemies of that place, supposing to find small resistance: but he

ad m. li.

was

Caen

Caen

Louiers

Billie

Bedford

was deceived. For there was the said Wyre, and three thousand men of warre with him. The erle comming thither, incamped himselfe with five hundred horsemen in a little close not farre from the castell.

The Frenchmen, perceiuing that the erle and his horses were wearie, and that his archers were not yet come, determined to set vpon him before the coming of his footmen, the which they knew to be little more than a mile behind. Wherefore for a policie, they set forth fiftie horsemen, as though there had bene no mo within the castell. The erle perceiuing this, sent forth sir Randolfe Standish to encounter them, hauing with him an hundred horses. The Frenchmen fought couragiously awhile, and suddenlie came out all the remnant, and slue sir Randolfe Standish and all his companie, and boldlie set on the erle and his band, which manfully resisted the Frenchmen, till at length the Wyre caused three culuerings to be shot off amongst the Englishmen, wherof one strake the erle on the ancle, and so brake his leg, that for paine he fell from his horse.

The erle of
Arundell be-
castled.

Then the Frenchmen entered amongst the Englishmen, toke the erle lying on the ground, with sir Richard Wobbe, and sir scoe more, and there were slaine almost two hundred. The residue saved themselves as well as they might. The erle was caried to Beaunois, where of his hurt he shortly died, & was buried in the frier priours. He was a man of singular vertue, constancie, and grauitie, whose death in so troublous a season did sore appall the hearts of the English people. Thus oftentimes varied the chance of doubtful warre, so that one time the Englishmen got by assault, and yelded diuerse strong townes, castles, and piles: and at another season the French people, sometime by bargaine, sometime by assault obtained the same againe, or other in their stead.

The duke of
Bourbon di-
eth at Lon-
don.

About the moneth of June in this twelfth yeare, John duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, taken prisoner at the battell of Agincourt eightene yeeres past (as before ye haue heard) now paying his rancome, which was eightene thousand pounds sterling, was taken with a most sore and grievous feuer, the which made an end of his life in the citie of London, on the same daie that was appointed for his departure towards France, whose corpse was interred in the grate friers of the same citie. This yeare also about the latter end of Maie, was a meeting appointed to be had at saint Omers betwixt the dukes of Bedford and Burgonie, for the qualifieng of certeine displeasures and grudges betwixt them kindled and maintained by some flattering tale-tellers, who raising matters of reproch touching their honors, bred such grudges, that all lone betwixt them ceased, all affinitie reiected, and all old friendship forgotten; such enuie insuech where enmitie once hath princes hearts possessed.

W. P.

These two dukes come into the towne of saint Omers, the duke of Bedford being then regent of France, sonne, brother, and vnckle to kings, thought that the duke of Burgonie should haue come and visited him in his lodging. The duke of Burgonie on the other part, being lord and soueraine of the towne, iudged it as much vnmet for him to go to the regent where he was lodged. Holbeith by intreatie of friends, to meet in a place indifferent betwixt both their lodgings was appointed; which offer not accepted, both parties departed discontent, and neuer after saw no; communed together. Thus by the proud disdain & enuious discord of these two high somached princes, Bedford not minding to haue a nie pèrre, and Burgonie not willing to abtine a nie superior, shortly after England much lost, and Burgonie greatlie gained not, as by the sequelle may appeare.

The bastard of Orleans, called the erle of Dauphinois, the lord Rochford marshall of France, with other, in the beginning of this thirtieth yeare, toke the towne of St. Denis by treason, skirmished with them of Paris, and leading behind them a great garison, toke the towne of Holdone, and Pont saint Patence by composition. And at the same time was the towne of Pont Reulan taken by the sudden scaling of two sithermen, who entered by at a common priue standing in the wall. Thus warre continually lasted betwixt these two mightie nations, English and French, within the realme of France (than which therefore no countrie thought more miserable.) And though the poore people and inhabitants of the good townes and villages, suffeined most losse in their substance, yet the men of warre oftentimes paid dearely for the bargaine, being daily slaine, wounded, and taken prisoners: for warre seldom beareth anie other fruit.

[It may serue verie well here to recount, how somewhat before these dates, Martin the sixt, in the fiftieth yeare of his popedom, An. 1431, agreeing vpon a generall counsell to be holden at Basill the same yeare, did anon after decesse: whom Eugenie the fourth succeeding, and liking right well of the time and place, by his authoritie signified and sent with Julian Cesarine his legat, did confirme the choise. Whereupon as the counsell the ninetieth of Julie the same 1431 was there begun, and his holiness sone after aduertised how malapertlie his ghoellie children had imbusied themselves in chocking at their holie fathers faults, and about reformation of his church at Rome; his sublimitie therat highlie offended (for great cause it had) commanded his legat by and by to dissolue that synod, and in his name to appoint a new at Ferras, and so come his waie: vnder colour forsooth how that place was meetest for the prelates of the Graie church, who had to confer with the Latine counsell about points of religion, wherein they long had remained at square.

But these Basillien clerks, there still fastlie contending themselves, so smallie regarded this summons of Eugenie (who then with his prelates, as the time was run on, vpon propagation from Ferras kept an other counsell at Florence 1439) as by a confident countermand cited Eugenie & all his cardinals to come to them at their solemne set counsell at Basill. Which his supremacie (for so best became it, notwithstanding sundrie citations) utterlie contemning to do, they sone after like verie impious imps, first for contumacie accursed his holie fatherhood, then depriued him of his papacie, and out of hand chose another in his office, one Amedeus late duke of Savoie, who afore that time hauing giuen by his possessions & dignitie vnto his children, became an heremite in a monastrie of his owne building by mount Geuenna in Sauoie nigh the lake Aeman, where he by title of *Decanus militum Iesu Christi*, and ten more of nobilitie with him, had settled themselves to liue.

The vertuous minded man thus chosen pope by spirituall counsell inueigled, lest the holie life (such as it was) that he had profess, toke the papacie vpon him the same 1439, and called Felix the sixt, which promotion yet he not long intoid. For after, by his succellour Nicholas the sixts ambition, that had suborned emperour Frederike to be a worker in the matter, this little Amedeus was confined of his popes golden crowne for a cardinals felt hat. Then (good man) at last could he find, whether were nearer to christen profession, the life of a vertuous prince ruling in iustice, of a solitarie heremite vertuoullie occupied, of an imperious pope that may know no pèrre, or of a licentious cardinal to liue as he list. This poore prince had experience of all, & then knewe the

the best: when well might he lament him, but too late repent him.

And in the fift yeare of this Basilien counsell that had a continuance of eleuen yeare (whereof an eight were run per felix was chosen, in which gentle remaining pope still, though of curst hart he neuer came at them) motion was made among the ginsund the emperor and other christen kings (who for appealing this schisme betwene the pope and his prelats, were all present by person or pproxie) that sith such horroz of bloudshed betwene the two nations continuallie so lamentable raged in France, some mediation might be made for accord: whereof one thing seemed to minister occasion of the moze hope, because the duke of Burgognie was willing (so that it were not of his owne sute) to returne and reconcile himselfe with the French king his mortall enemye and ancient aduersarie.]

Stolome
truce of peace
in 1313.

Whereupon by authoritie of this generall counsell, two graue prelats, the one Nicholas Albergat a Carthusian frier, intituled a pxeell cardinall of the holie crosse; the other Hugh Lusignan a Cyprian, Creke, bishop cardinall of Venece in Italie, came to the towne of Arras in Arthois, whither were sent from the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, Henrie archbishop of Poze, William de la Pole earle of Suffolke, and John Holland earle of Huntington, with diuerse other knights and esquieres. And for the French king were there present Charles duke of Bourbon, Lewis erle of Glandoune, Arthur of Britaine constable of France, the archbishop of Reims, and sir Phillip Harecourt. The duke of Burgognie was there in proper person, accompanied with the duke of Guelders, and the earles of Estampes, Ligne, S. Paule, Namement, Peures, and Daniell sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallant companie.

Upon the date of the first session, the cardinall of S. Crosse declared to the thre parties the innumerable mischances, that had followed to the whole state of the christen common-wealth by their continuall dissention and daily discord, exhorting them for the honour of God, & for the loue which they ought to beare towards the advancement of his faith and true religion, to conforme themselves to reason, and to late aside all rancor, malice and displeasure, so that in concluding a godlie peace, they might receiue profit and quietnesse here in this world, and of God an euerslasting reward in heauen. After this admonition, and diuerse daies of communication, euerie partie brought in their demands, which were most contrarie, and farre from anie likelihood of comming to a god conclusion.

The Englishmen would that king Charles should haue nothing but what it pleased the king of England, and that not as dutie, but as a benefit by him of his mere liberalitie giuen and distributed. The Frenchmen on the other part would that k. Charles should haue the kingdome franklie and frelie, and that the king of England should leaue the name, armes, and title of the king of France, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitaine and Poymandie, and to forsake Paris, and all the townes which they possessed in France, betwene the riuers of Seine and Loire, being no parcell of the duchie of Normandie. So he briefe, the demands of all parts were betwene them so farre out of square, as hope of concord there was none at all.

The cardinals seeing them so farre in sunder, minded not to dispute their titles, but offered them reasonable conditions of truce and peace for a season, which notwithstanding, either of stowardnesse, or of disdain on both parts, were openlie refused. Inso-

much that the Englishmen in great displeasure, departed to Calis, and so into England. One writer affirmeth, that they being warned of a secret conspiracie moued against them, suddenly departed from Arras, and so returned into their countrie. But what cause so euer hindered their accord and vnitie (sith this and that may be surmized) certene it is, that the onelie and principall cause was, for that the God of peace and loue was not among them, without whom no discord is quenched, no knot of concord fastened, no bond of peace confirmed, no distracted minds reconciled, no true friendship maintained: for had he bene among them, their dissenting and wastward willes had founded the sweet harmonie of amiable peace, which of all things that God hath bestowed vpon man is the verie best, and moze to be set by than manie triumphs, as the poet excellentie well saith:

*pax optima rerum
Quas homini nouisse datum: pax una triumphis
Innumera potior, pax custodire salutem
Et cines aquare potens.*

Abr. Pl.

Sil. Ital. lib. 11.

Now whiles this treatie of peace was in hand, the lord Talbot, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Scales, with the lord Isle Adam, and five thousand men of warre, besieged the towne of saint Denis with a strong band. The earle of Dunois hearing hereof, accompanied with the lord Lohac, and the lord Bueil, with a great compaignie of hoissemen hastid thitherwards to raise the siege, and by the waie encountered with sir Thomas Kiriell, and Mattheu *Gough, riding also toward saint Denis, betwene whom was a great conflict. But suddenly came to the aid of the Frenchmen the garrison of Pont Neulan, which caused the Englishmen to returne without anie great harme or damage: sauing that Mattheu *Gough by foundering of his horse was taken, and carried to Pont Neulan.

* Or rather
Goche.

* Or Goche.

In the meane time was the towne of saint Denis rendered to the Englishmen, the which raced the walles and fortifications, sauing the walles of the abbey, and of the towne called Menin. Shortly after the towne of Pontois, where sir John Kuppelleie was capteine, rebelled; and by force the Englishmen were expelled, the inhabitants yielding themselves to the French king. This towne was small, but the losse was great, because it was the keie that opened the passage betwixt the cities of Paris and Mone. But now to returne to the communication at Arras, which after the departure of the English commissioners held betwixt the Frenchmen & Burgognians, till at length a peace was concluded, accorded, and sworn betwixt king Charles and duke Phillip of Burgognie, vpon certene conditions, as in the French histories moze plainlie appeareth.

S. Denis taken by the
Englishmen.

A peace betwixt
Charles of France and
the duke of
Burgognie.

And after, the duke of Burgognie, to set a besse before the king of Englandes eyes, sent Thoisin Poze his chiefe herald to king Henrie with letters, excusing the matter by way of information, that he was constrained to enter in this league with k. Charles, by the daily outcries, complaints, and lamentations of his people; alledging against him, that he was the onlie cause of the long continuance of the wars, to the bitter impouerishing of his owne people, and the whole nation of France. Therefore sith he could not otherwise do, but partlie to content his owne people, and chesellie to satisfie the request of the whole generall counsell, was in manner compelled for his part to growe vnto a peace and amitie with king Charles.

He likewise wished that king Henrie, vpon reasonable and honozable conditions of agreement offered, should in no wise refuse the same: whereby the long continued warre at length might cease and take end, to the pleasure of almighty God, which is

the author of peace and unitie: & hereto he promised him his aid and furtherance, with manie gaine words, which I passe over. The superscription of this letter was thus. [To the high and mightie prince, Henrie by the grace of God king of England, his welbeloued couline.] Neither naming him king of France, nor his soueraigne lord, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to do. This letter was much maruelled at of the counsell, after they had throughlie considered all the contents thereof, & they could not but be much disquieted, so far forth that diuerse of them offended so much with the vntruth of the duke, that they could not temper their passions, but openlie called him traitor.

But when the rumoz of the dukes revolting was published amongst the people, they left words, and fell to bestowing of stripes: for being pricked with these euill tidings, they ran in great outrage vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgognions, which then inhabited within the citie of London, and the suburbs of the same, and slue and hurt a great number of them before they, by the kings proclamation, could be staied from such inuiouous doing: for the king nothing more minded than to saue innocent blood, and to defend them that had not offended. The officer at armes was willed to tell his maister, that it stood not with his honor to be enimie to the English nation; and that his dutie had bene to keepe his ancient truth and allegiance, rather than to be occasion of new warre. And what a new reconciled enimie was in respect of an old tried friend, he might thorowlie find. [When the messenger with this answer was dispatched, and vpon consultation found, a matter standing both with good policie in forcing the proud subject to know his obedience, and also with great equitie to twitt a quarreller with such pinfars as wherewith afore he had nipt another, so was it anon brought about, that sundrie of his good townes and cities rebelled against him, whereby (lesse to his liking than to his deseruing) he was verie well made to bite of a chokepeate of his owne grafting.]

This yeare the fourtieth daie of September died John duke of Bedford, regent of France, a man both politike in peace, and hardie in warre, and yet no more hardie than mercifull when he had the victorie, whose bodie was with all funerall solemnities buried in the cathedrall church of our ladie in Rone, on the north side of the high altar, vnder a sumptuous and costlie monument. Which some when king Lewis the eleauenth, by certeine vndiscreet persons was counselled to deface, affirming that it was a great dishonour both to the king and to the realme, to see the enimie of his father and theirs to haue so solemne and rich a memorie: he answered saleng, What honour shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground the dead bones of him, whome in his life neither my father nor your progenitors, with all their power, puissance, and friends were once able to make flee one foot backward; but by his strength, wit, and policie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of France, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandie: Wherefore I saie, first, God haue his soule, and let his bodie now lie in rest, which when he was alive, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all. And as for the tome, I assure you, it is not so deconsent nor conuenient, as his honour and acts deserued, although it were much richer, and more beauteous.

Great frost.

The frost was so extreame this yeare, beginning about the sixe and twentieth daie of Nouember, and continuing till the tenth of Februarie, that the ships with merchandize arriuing at the Thames mouth, could not come by the riuer: so their lading there

saine to be discharged, was brought to the citie by land. After the death of that noble prince the duke of Bedford, the bright sunne in France toward Englishmen, began to be cloudie, and daile to darken, the Frenchmen began not onlie to withdraue their obedience by oth to the king of England, but also tooke sword in hand & openlie rebelled. Notwithstanding all these mishaps could not anie thing abate the valiant courages of the English people: for they hauing no mistrust in God and good fortune, set vp a new sale, began the warre afresh, and appointed for regent in France, Richard duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambridge.

Although the duke of Yorke was worthe (both for birth and courage) of this honor and preferment, yet so disdained of Edmund duke of Summerfet being couline to the king, that by all means possible he sought his hinderance, as one glad of his losse, and sozie of his well doing: by reason whereof, per the duke of Yorke could get his dispatch, Paris and diuerse other of the chiefe places in France were gotten by the French king. The duke of Yorke perceiving his euill will, openlie dissembled that which he inwardlie minded, either of them twoking things to the others displeasure, till through malice & diuision betwene them, at length by mortall warre they were both consumed, with almost all their whole lines and offspring.

The Normans of the countie of Caure, being heartened by the death of the duke of Bedford, began a new rebellion, slue diuerse Englishmen, robbed manie townes that were vnder the English obedience, and tooke the towne of Harfleur by assault, and diuerse other townes. But the lord regent being aduertised, sent forth the lord Scales, sir Thomas Kriell, and the lord Wm, which so afflicted those rebels of Caure, that they slue about five thousand persons, and burnt all the townes and villages in the countie, not being walled: so that in that part was neither habitation nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britaine, and all the beasts of the countie were brought to Caudebecke, where a good shepe was sold for an English penie, and a Cow for twelue pence. Daile was skirmishing and fighting in euerie part, in so much that the lord Scales at the Rie beside Rone, discomfited the Ytre, and slake hundred ballant Frenchmen; of the which, about three hundred were taken prisoners, beside the gaine of seauen faire couriers.

Amongst other of the prisoners, were sir Richard Reginald de Fountaines, sir Alain Gerond, Alain Monsaie, and Gessie Grame, captaine of the Scots. But yet this victorie and others the like, staied not the Frenchmen from working treason daile, in so much that diuers townes turned to the part of La Charles, and some were taken by practise, as Diepe, Bois, Vincennes, and others. So that here partlie was accomplished the prophesie of Henrie the sixt, giuen out in the ninth yeare of his reigne when he laie at siege before Meaur, that Henrie of Windsoze should lose all that Henrie of Monmouth had gotten (for so they are named according to the place of their natiuitie) and this prediction was complet and full by that time the yeares of his regnment were expired.

But here is one chiefe point to be noted, that either the disdaine amongst the chiefe peres of the realme of England (as yee haue heard) or the negligence of the kings counsell (which did not foresee dangers to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of France, betwene the riuers of Rone and Marne, and in especiall, of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were sent ouer thousands for defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yea and scores, some rascals, and some not able

Spoils vpon the Burgognian people in London.

W. P.

Anno Reg. 14.
The death of
the Duke of
Bedford regent
of France

A worthy saying
of a wise
prince.

Abt. Fl.
See before
pag. 611.

able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill: for the lord Willoughbie, and the bishop of Teruine, which had the gouernance of the great cite of Paris, had in their companie not two thousand Englishmen.

Which weakenesse king Charles well perceiued, and therefore by authoritie appointed the constable, Arthur of Britaine, the earle of Dunois, the lords de la Roch, and Lisle Adam, with other valiant capitaine and men of warre, as well Burgognions as French, to go before Paris, trusting by fauour of certaine citizens, with whome he had intelligence, hostile to be lord of the cite, without great losse or battell. So these capitaine came before the cite of Paris. But perceiuing that all things succeeded not according to their expectation, they returned to spont Partiz, and the next daie suddenlie set on the towne of saint Denis, and constrained the Englishmen that kept it, to flee into the abbeie, and into the towne of Aen. In this conflict two hundred Englishmen were slaine, the residue vpon reasonable composition rendered by the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas lord Beaumont, who of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued forth with six hundred souldiers, intending to biew the doings and number of the French armie; but suddenlie compassed about, within a small space was discomfited and taken, with him fourescore prisoners, beside two hundred slaine in the field, the remnant chased to the verie gates of the cite. The Parisiens, and especiallie the maister of the halles, and some of the vniuersitie, and Michael Lallier, and manie notable burgeses of the cite (who euer with an English countenance covered a French hart) perceiuing the weakenesse of the Englishmen, and force of the French; signified to the French capitaine their toward minds willing them with all diligence to come & receiue so rich a preie without anie difficultie, readie to be giuen and deliuered into their hands.

The constable delating no time, came with his power, lodged by the charter house: and the lord Lisle Adam, approaching to the walles, shewed to the citizens a charter, sealed with the great seale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offences, and granted to them all their old liberties, and ancient priuileges, so that they would hereafter be to him true and obedient: which thing to them declared, they ran about the towne, crying; S. Denis, line king Charles. The Englishmen perceiuing this, determined to keepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceived: for the cheines were drawne in euerie street, and women and children cast doونه stones and scalding water on the Englishmens heads, and the citizens in armour fought with them and chased them from street to street, and from lane to lane, and slue and hurt diuerse and manie of them.

The bishop of Teruine, chancelor there for king Henrie, the lord Willoughbie, and sir Simon Moruier, took great paine to appease the people: but when they saw that all auailed not, they withdrew into the basilie of saint Anthonie, which forresse they had well vittelled, and furnished with men and munitions. Whilest this rumoz was in the towne, the earle of Dunois and others scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by botes, and opened the gate of saint James, by the which the constable with his banner displayed, entered, at whose entrie the Parisiens made great ioy. The bishop and the lord Willoughbie, with their small companie, defended their forresse ten daies, looking for aid: but when they saw that no comfort appeared, they yielded their forresse, so that they and theirs, with certaine baggage, might peaceably returne to Rone. Thus was the cite of Paris brought into the possession of Charles the

French king, through the vntrue demeanour of the citizens, who contrarie to their othe, and promised allegiance, like false and inconstant people, so reuolted from the English.

After this glorious gaine, the Frenchmen besieged the towne of Craill vpon Dife, whereof sir William Chamberlaine was capitaine, the which with five hundred Englishmen issued out of the towne, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, & slue two hundred, and took a great number prisoners: the remnant not liking the market, departed to Campaigne, and other townes adioining. During which season, twelue burgeses of the towne of S. fours sold it for monie vnto Poiton de Fantrailes. But he had not the castell deliuered, & therefore with all his power, he besieged the same; whereof the lord Laibot being aduertised, sent for the lord Seales, and they both with eightene hundred men rescued the castell, took the towne, and discomfited their enemies, and slue of them about foure hundred persons.

Now according to the old saieing (when the steed is stolen that the stable doze) the duke of Borke appointed at the last parlement to be regent of France (after that Paris, Saint Denis, Saint Germans in Laie, and diuerse other townes in France were taken and betraied for lacke of conuenient succours) was sent ouer into Normandie with eight thousand men, and in his companie, the earles of Salisburie, and Suffolke, and the lord Falconbridge, and diuerse other valiant capitaine. When he was landed, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell of Chambois, which hostile was to him rendered. Then the duke remoued to Rone, where he set good orders, and did great iustice to the countrie; wherefore the Normans in their chronicles highlie extoll him for that point. Howbeit they saie, that he gat by long siege the towne and abbeie of Fecampe, and did none other notable ad, during the time of his rule and gouernment.

In this fourteenth yeare, the duke of Burgognie determined by the aduise of his counsell, to attempt the winning of Calis. The prouision was wonderful great which was made for the atchining of this enterprise: whereof sir John Katcliffe, deputie of the towne of Calis, hauing perfect intelligence, aduertised king Henrie, and his counsell, who incontinentlie sent thither the earle of Mortaigne, sonne to the duke of Summerset, and the lord Camois, with fiftene hundred men, and great foison of vittels, that issued out of Calis, and came before Grauelin, where they were encountered with a great number of Flemings, who were hostile discomfited, foure hundred of them slaine, and six score taken prisoners. Within two daies after, the Englishmen draue by fine force the lords of Warren and Wado to the barriers of Ard, and discomfited their whole companie, to the number of fiftene hundred, slue seauen valiant capitaine, and took manie gentlemen prisoners.

The duke of Burgognie, remaining still in his former purpose, assembled together, of Flemings, Picards, Hollanders, and Venetours, a great armie, to the number of fortie thousand, so well armed, so well vittelled, so well furnished with ordinance, and garnished in all things, that they thought and blazed amongst themselves, that the Calissians would leaue their towne desolate, and flee for their safegard, hearing onelie of the dukes approach: but they reckoned without their host; and so paid a dearer shot than they looked for. Now when this mightie armie was past the water of Grauelin, the duke intending to begin his feats, assaulted the little pore castell of Die, which hauing in it but fiftie souldiers, whereof twelue sold their liues deuelie; the remnant (compelled by necessitie) yielded themselves to the dukes mercie.

The duke set into France to late.

The duke of Burgonie prepared an armie against Calis.

The duke of Burgonie with fortie thousand men.

The person of Parisiens.

Paris passed to the French king.

mercie. Which to please the Sautois (being of number most puissant in all the armie) liberallie gaue to them, both the castell and prisoners, who (rude & cruell people) not onelic rased the castell, but also hanged nine and twentie of the captiues, and had so done with the residue, if the duke, offended at their cruelty, had not willed a state.

After this feat done, the Picards besieged the castell of Harke, & gaue thre assaults to it. The Englishmen within, being in number two hundred and sir, vnder the gouernement of their capteine sir John Gedding, valiantlie defended the place; untill at length, despairing of succours, they yielded themselves (their liues & lims saued.) The castell of Harke being thus deliuered, was rased to the ground. Then the duke, accompanied with the duke of Cleues, the earle of Estampes, the lords of Wantoing, Croie, Crisquie, Hunniers, and manie other barons and knights, with his great armie, came before Calis, & placed his siege about the same, most to his aduantage: he gaue thre assaults, and gained nothing by them, but constrained to keepe them further off. At the first assault, the hire which was come to see the duke of Burgonie, was sore wounded and hurt. A cooling card it was also vnto them, still to see ships arrived in the hauen out of England, openlie before their faces, laden with vittels, munition and men.

The duke on a daie riding about to view the situation of the towne, to the intent to take his most aduantage (either by assault or otherwise) was quickelie espied, and with the shot of a canon, a trumpet, which rode next before him, and thre hoises in his companie were slaine out of hand. The lord of Croie, and a conuenient number with him, was appointed to besiege the castell of Guisnes, where he got little profit, and did lesse harme. Whereouer, for the better aduancing of his enterprise, the duke minded to stop by the hauen; so that no succours should enter there. Herevpon, he caused foure great hulkes to be fraught with great square stones, cemented and joined together with lead, to the intent they should lie still like a mount, and not seuer in sunder.

These ships, with the residue of the dukes manie, were conueied into the mouth of Calis hauen, and at a full sea, by craft and policie, were sonke downe to the ground. But whether God would not that the hauen should be destroyed, either the conueiers of the hulkes knew not the verie channell; these foure great ships, at the low water, late openlie vpon the sands, without hurting the rode or channell. Which when the souldiers perceiued, they issued out of the towne, brake the ships, and caried both the stones and timber into the towne. An other deuise the duke had, which was the building of a strong bassile vpon a little mountaine, which he furnished with foure hundred men, and much artillerie, that did impeach the Englishmen from issuing forth of the towne, to their great displeasure.

Whilist these things were adooing, there came to the duke an herald called Denbroke, belonging to the duke of Glocester, who declared to the duke of Burgonie, that the protector of England his maister (if God would send him wind & weather) would giue him battell, either there, or in anie other place within his owne countrie, where he would appoint, and that with speed, if God vouchsafed him wind and weather. The duke answered the herald; Sir, saie to your maister, that his challenge is both honorable and reasonable: howbeit, he shall not need to take the paines to seeke me in mine owne countrie, for (God willing) he shall find me here, till I haue my will of the towne, ready to abide him and all the power he can bring. After the herald had receiued this answer, he was highlie cheered, and had a cup and an hundred

guildens to him giuen in reward, and so he returned to Calis.

After whose departure, the duke called a counsell in the chiefe pavilion of the Sautois, about this message of the English herald, where it was determined with great courage, that they would abide the battell, if the duke of Glocester came to offer it. Whilist this great matter was in consultation, the Calisians, not well content with the bassile which the duke had inuolue builded, issued out of the towne in great number, part on horsebacke and part on foot. The footmen ran to assault the bassile, and the horsemen went betwene the armie & the assailants, to stop the aid and succours that might come. Upon the sounding of the alarme, the duke himselfe in person was comming on foot, to releue his men: but being kept backe a space by the English horsemen, in that belate of time, the bassile was wonne by fine force, and eight score persons of those that kept it slaine, beside the residue which were taken prisoners, and led to Calis, with all the ordinance and artillerie, to the high displeasure of the duke and his prudent counsell. The next daie after, there sprang a rumor in the armie (no man could tell how) that the duke of Glocester with a great puissance was already imbarcked, and would arrive at the next tide. The same night the duke fled awaie, and sent in all hast to the lord of Croie, to raise his siege before Guisnes, which tidings were to him verie iolous, for he neither got nor saued. So these two capteins departed, leaving behind them, both ordinance, vittels, & great riches. The French writers (to saue the honor of the duke of Burgonie) saie, that there was a certaine discord and commotion amongst the Flemings and Dutch nation, affirming, that the great lords and the Picards (whome the Frenchmen greatly extoll) would betraie and sell the Flemings and their friends, and that for the same cause in a great furie they cried; Home, home: and would not tarrie for anie request that the duke could make, and so by their misgouernance, the duke was inforced to raise his siege, and to depart. The Flemish authors affirme the contrarie, saieing, that they were ready to abide the coming of the duke of Glocester; but the duke of Burgonie fearing to be intrapped betwene the English armie without, and the garrison within the towne of Calis, fled awaie in the night, giuing to them no warning thereof before, so that for lacke of time, and conuenient space to lade and carrie their stuffe, and being commanded vpon the sudden to dislodge with all speed, they left behind them their vittels, tents, and other things, to their great losse and detriment.

Howseuer the matter was, the truth is, that he fled the six and twentieth daie of Iulie, in the night. And the next daie in the morning, the duke of Glocester landed in Calis hauen, & straight went into the campe, where his enemies the night before were lodged, and there he found manie faire peeces of ordinance, and speciallie one called Digeon: so named, after the chiefe towne of Burgonie; beside pavilions, wine, beere, meale, and innumerable vittels. The duke of Glocester, seeing his enemies recoiled, hauing in his companie sixe and twentie thousand men, entered into Flanders, burning houses, killing such as made resistance, destroying the countrie on euerie part, setting fire in the townes of Popperinch, Wallenill, and others. Also, they wasted the suburbs of diuerse closed townes, and after passed by Helw castell, Amesture, and Alalon chapel: and then entering into Artois, they came to Arques and Blawdesques, setting fire in euerie part where they came. Thus they passed by saint Omers, and finally by Arde returned to Guisnes: and so to Calis at the six weeks end, with great booties of cattell and riches.

Calis besieged by the duke of Burgonie.

The dukes enterprise to bar the hauen.

The dukes battell wonne

The dukes of Burgonie broken by the sieges before Calis, and fled the 26 of Iulie

If you will Digeon.

The dukes of Glocester broken by the Flemish Flanders

In all this their iournie, they had but small store of bread, which caused much faintnesse and diuerse diseases in the armie, whereof a greater number died than did of the enimies sword: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Bruges distressed the number of two thousand Englishmen in this iournie. Holbeitt, the French writers affirme, that the Englishmen lost more of their companie in the marches about Ard, than they did in all other places where they had bene before, hauing passed through the parties of Flanders, without incounter, or any damage done to them by the enimies. After that, the duke of Gloucester returned into England, where he was advertised, that James king of Scots had besieged the castell of Rochefburgh with thirtie thousand men: but the capitaine thereof, sir Rafe Croic, defended it so manfully, for the space of twentie daies, that king James being then advertised, that the earle of Northumberland was comming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse than dishonour, and inough of both.

Shortlie after that the duke of Burgognie had bene before Calis, at the desire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betwene the king of England: the said duke. For which cause were sent to Cracelin for the king of England, Henrie Beaupre cardinal of Winchester, John lord Spotsbiate duke of Northfolke, Humfre earle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned & honorable personages. And for the duke of Burgognie, there appeared the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lord of Croic, and diuerse other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse obserued, which was concluded betwene the king of England, and the duchesse of Burgognie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

Some thinke, that the king of England would neuer enter in league with him, bicause he had broken his promise, oth, and writing sealed to him, and to his father. Other imagined this to be done of a cattell, to cast a mist before the French kings eyes, to the intent he should beleue that this feat was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his counsell; and so he was not bound to accomplish anie act or thing done in his wiues treatie. Thus may you see, that princes sometime with such vaine glosses and scornfull expositions will hibe their doings, and cloke their purposes; to the intent they would not either be espied, or else that they may plucke their heads out of the collar at their pleasure. But (as the common opinion goeth) he which is a promise-breaker escapeth not alwaies with impunitie. For it is well seene by dallie and usuall euents both in princes and priuat persons, that for violating their faith, and breaking of promise, manie discommodities arise, and inconueniences not a few do follow. So the due keeping whereof the heathen bare such a religious conscience, that a prophane man in respect of others, preferreth it before sacrifice, the sentence is of great excellencie out of a pagans mouth:

*Non bene maculato caelestia numina gaudent,
sed que prastanda est sine ulla fide.*

About this season, quene Katharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir husband in the abbey of Westminster. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the first hir husband, being young and lustie, following more hir owne wanton appetite than frendlie counsell, and regarding more priuate affection than princelike honour, toke to her husband priuillie a galant gentleman and a right beautifull person, indued with manie goodly gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Tudor, a man descended of the noble linage and ancient line of Cadwallader last king of the Britains. By this Owen she brought forth three goodlie

sonnes, Edmund, Jasper, and another that was a monke in Westminster, and liued a small time: also a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this transitorie life.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, bicause, they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmond, and Jasper earle of Penbroke: which Edmund of Margaret daughter and sole heire to John duke of Summerfet begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the seventh, of whome ye shall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the quene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, bicause that (contrarie to the statute made in the first yeare of this king) he presumptuously had married the quene, without the kings especiall assent, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after escaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon saith that he was a squier of low birth and like degree, the same autho; also reporteth that he was commanded to serue by the duke of Gloucester then lord protector of the realme: out of which prison he brake by the helpe of a prest that was his chapline.ouertheless he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to seruegate, whence (when he had remained there a while) he was deliuered and set at libertie.]

The duchesse of Bedford also, sister to Lewis erle of Daule, more for affection than increase of honour, without counsell of hir friends, married a lustie young knight, called sir Richard Woodville, to the great displeasure of hir vnckle the bishop of Exerwine, and the earle hir brother. This sir Richard was made baron of Rivers, and after earle, and had by this ladie manie noble sonnes, and faire daughters, of the which one was the ladie Elizabeth, after quene of England, by reason she was married vnto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whilist this marriage was a celebrating, Jane late quene of England, and before duchesse of Britaine, daughter to the king of Nauarre, and wife to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Hawering, and was buried by hir husband at Canturburie. ¶ About the same time, deceased also the countesse of Martholke, and Henrie archbishop of York.

In this yeare also, the duke of Summerfet, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francis Surien, the Arrognois, Matthew Cough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbrike, John Coddington, William Watton esquires, and Thomas Hilton bailiffe of Rone, with a great companie of the English partie, besieged the towne of Harflue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the capitaine within the towne was one sir John d'Esouteville, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a sir hundred good fighting men. The assailants cast trenches, and so fortified themselves in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Glouc and Dunois, the valiant bastard of Bourbon, the lord Caluourt, and other famous capitaine, with a foure thousand men, sent to the rescue of them within, came before the towne, they could not succour their friends, nor annoie their enimies by anie means they could deuise; so for feare to lose honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little profit.

The capitaine within the towne perceiuing they could not be aided, did shortlie after render the towne to the duke of Summerfet; who after committed it to the keeping of Thomas Paulet, William Limbrike, Christopher Barber, and George saint George, which manie yeares (till the diuision began in England) manfully and valiantlie defended both the towne and the haue. But afterward, when this duke of Summerfet was regent and gouernour of

Abr. Fl.

Quene Elizabeth.

Harflue besieged and taken by the Englishmen.

The duke of Summerfet's misfortune.

In all this their iourne, they had but small store of bread, which caused much faintnesse and diuerse diseases in the armie, whereof a greater number died than did of the enemies sword: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Burges distressed to the number of two thousand Englishmen in this iourne. Holbeith, the French writers affirme, that the Englishmen lost more of their companie in the marches about Ard, than they did in all other places where they had bene before, hauing passed through the parties of Flanders, without encounter, or any damage done to them by the enemies. After that, the duke of Gloucester returned into England, where he was advertised, that James king of Scots had besieged the castell of Rocheburgh with thirtie thousand men: but the captaine thereof, sir Rafe Greie defended it so manfully, for the space of twentie daies, that king James being then advertised, that the earle of Northumberland was coming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse than dishonour, and inough of both.

Shortlie after that the duke of Burgognie had bene before Calis, at the desire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betwene the king of England & the said duke. For which cause were sent to Crauelin for the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, John lord Spotsbraie duke of Northfolke, Humfrie earle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned & honorable personages. And for the duke of Burgognie, there appeared the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lord of Croie, and diuerse other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse obserued, which was concluded betwene the king of England, and the duchesse of Burgognie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

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Sed quae praestanda est sine ueste fide.*

About this season, quene Katharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir husband in the abbey of Westminster. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the first hir husband, being young and lustie, following more hir olone wanton appetite than frendlie counsell, and regarding more pivate affection than princelike honour, toke to husband priuallie a galant gentleman and a right beautifull person, indued with manie goodlie gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Tudor, a man descended of the noble lineage and ancient line of Cadwallader last king of the Britains. By this Owen she brought forth three goodlie

sonnes, Edmund, Jasper, and another that was a monke in Westminster, and liued a small time: also a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this transitorie life.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, because, they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmond, and Jasper earle of Penbroke: which Edmund of Margaret daughter and sole heire to John duke of Summerfet begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the seuenth, of whome ye shall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the quene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, because that (contrarie to the statute made in the first yeare of this king) he presumptuously had married the quene, without the kings especiall assent, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after escaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon saith that he was a squier of low birth and like degree, the same author also reporteth that he was commanded to Pelagate by the duke of Gloucester then lord protector of the realme: out of which prison he brake by the helpe of a priest that was his chapline. Neuerthelesse he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to Pelagate, whence (when he had remained there a while) he was deliuered and set at libertie.]

The duchesse of Bedford also, sister to Lewes erle of Saluile, more for affection than increase of honour, without counsell of hir frends, married a lustie young knight, called sir Richard Woodville, to the great displeasure of hir vnkle the bishop of Exeter, and the earle hir brother. This sir Richard was made baron of Rivers, and after earle, and had by this ladie manie noble sonnes, and faire daughters, of the which one was the ladie Elizabeth, after quene of England, by reason she was married vnto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whilest this marriage was a celebrating, Jane late quene of England, and before duchesse of Britaine, daughter to the king of France, and wife to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Harnering, and was buried by hir husband at Canturburie. ¶ About the same time, deceased also the countesse of Marwarke, and Henrie archbishop of Yorke.

In this yeare also, the duke of Summerfet, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francis Surten, the Aragonnois, Patthet * Cough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, * Or rather Walter Limbrike, John Gedding, William Watton esquires, and Thomas Hilton balliffe of Hone, with a great companie of the English partie, besieged the towne of Harflue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the captaine within the towne was one sir John d'Estouteville, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a sir hundred good fighting men. The assailants cast trenches, and so fortified themselves in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Glou and Dunois, the valiant bastard of Bourbon, the lord Catwourt, and other famous capteins, with a foure thousand men, sent to the rescue of them within, came before the towne, they could not succour their frends, nor annie their enemies by any meanes they could deuise; so for feare to lose honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little profit.

The capteins within the towne perceiving they could not be aided, did shortly after render the towne to the duke of Summerfet; who after committed it to the keeping of Thomas Paulet, William Limbrike, Christopher Barber, and George saint George, which manie yeares (till the diuision began in England) manfully and valiantlie defended both the towne and the haue. But afterward, when this duke of Summerfet was regent and gouernour of

Abr. Fl.

Quene Elizabeth.

* Or rather Goche.

Harflue besieged and won by the Englishmen.

The duke of Summerfet's unfortunate.

James king
of Scots
murdered.
Abr. Fl. ex
Polychr.

Normandie, he not onlie lost this towne of Hardue, but also the citie of Rone, and the whole duchie of Normandie, whereas now (being but a deputie) he got it to his high praise and glorie. In this yeare was James king of Scots murdered by certeine traitors of his owne subiects (such in his bedchamber by night, which king (saith Polychr.) had borne prisoner in England fiftene yeares, the murderers of whom being afterwards taken, were terrible executed.)

The lord Talbot besieged Tankerville, and after fourc moneths had it simple to him rendered. This towne was no great gaine to the Englishmen, for in the meane season, the French king in his owne person besieged the strong towne of Montreault fault Ponne; whereof Thomas Gerard being captaine, more for desire of reward, than for feare of enemies, sold the towne to the French king, and had of him great gifts and intertainment, as afterwards was openlie knowne. This towne had bene rescued of the French king fought withall, if one chance had not happened. For the duke of Bozke about that time was discharged of his office, and the earle of Warwike preferred to the same, so that the duke of Bozke, lying as then at Rone, would haue gladlie rescued the towne, if his authoritie had not surreasied; and the earle of Warwike could not come in time, for the wind was contrarie to him.

The earle of
Warwike
made regent
of France.

This present yeare was a parlement holden at Westminster, in the which manie god and profitable acts for the preservation of concord at home, and defence against the enemies abroad, were ordeined and decreed. Arthur of Britaine constable of France, and John duke of Alanson, were sent by the French king into Normandie, with a great armie, to besiege the towne of Auranches, standing vpon the knop of an hill: where after they had laien a certeine space without gaine, the lord Talbot with a valiant compaignie of men came thither, and offered the emanes battell. Which when they at all hands refused, the lord Talbot perceiving their faint harts, raised his field, and in the open sight of them all, entered into the towne, and the next daie issued out; and finding the Frenchmen riding abroad to destroie the plaine countie, he compassed them about, and slue manie of them, and toke diuerse prisoners. Although the Frenchmen got neither honor nor profit by this iourneie, yet they enterprised a greater matter, as the winning of Rone; in so much that Doulon de Samtreils, and the Vire, with manie other notable captains, hauing promise of certeine burgesles of that citie to haue entrie made them, secretlie in the night came forwarde to a towne called Hise or Hiz, not past foure leagues from Rone, and there lodged.

The lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and sir Thomas Kiriell hearing of their approach, set out of Rone at midnight, and with great paine came to Hise for courtie in the morning, that the French suddenly surprised and set vpon, like men all amazed ran awaie and fled. In the chace were taken the lord of Fontaines, sir Alcine Seron, sir Lewes de Balle, and threescore knights, and esquiers, beside others; and there were slaine two hundred and more. The Vire escaped verie narrowlie, by swiftnesse of his horse, though not vnbwounded. The Englishmen returned to the towne of Hise, and found there great number of horses and other baggages, which they ioioudie brought with them to Rone.

Anno Reg. 16.
The earle of
Warwike re-
gent came in-
to France.

On the first daie of Nouember this present yeare, the earle of Warwike, as regent of France, passed the sea, after he had bene seuen times shipped and unshipped, and landed at Bomsluc with a thousand fresh souldiers, and came to Rone, and then the duke of Bozke returned into England. Betwene the change of these two captains, the duke of Burgognie (which

foze enuied the glorie of the Englishmen) besieged the towne of Crotoy, with ten thousand men and more, hauing with him great plentie of guns and goodlie ordinance. The earle of Warwike aduertised hereof, sent the lord Fauconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir John Spantgonurie, Thomas Lambzike, Thomas Chandois, David Hall, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, and an host of five thousand men, which passed the river of Some, beside the towne of Saint Valerie, wading in the water by to the chin, so that were they to rescue their felowes.

When the duke of Burgognie was informed of the approaching of the lord Talbot, he with all his power (sailing foure hundred, which were left in a baskille by him there newlie builded) fled to Abule, the baskille was some gaine by the Englishmen, and those within either slaine or taken. After this, the lord Talbot sent to the duke of Burgognie, signifying that except he would come forth, and bide by a battell, he would bitterlie wast his countie of Picardie. According whereunto (the duke of Burgognie (himself) he burnt townes, spoiled and slue manie people in Picardie. But for all those his doings, the duke of Burgognie appeared not, but got him from Abule to Amiens, so that the lord Talbot abode twentie daies full in Picardie and Arthois, destroing all as he went, and after returned vntouched. In the meane season, sir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the dukes carriages and ordinance, and left as much bittell in the towne of Crotoy, as would serue sir hundred men a whole yeare, and conueied the residue to the earle of Warwike, who highlie praised them for their hardie doings.

After this, Henrie earle of Portaigne, sonne to Edmund duke of Summerfet, arrived at Chierburgh with foure hundred archers, and three hundred speares, and passed through Normandie, till he came into the countie of Maine, where he besieged a castell called saint Anian, in the which were three hundred Scots, besides Frenchmen. This castell he toke by assault, slue the Scots, and hanged the Frenchmen, because they were once sworne English. After this he got also another castell, two miles from saint Julians, called Alegerche, which was shortlie after recovered; and the lord of Camelwis, which came to the rescue of the same, in the meane waie was intrapped and taken. Thus slowe the victorie, sometime on the one partie, and sometime on the other. For about the same time the townes of Meaur in Brie, and saint Susan were sold and deliuered to the French part, by the vntrust of the burgesles and inhabitants of the same townes, about the latter end of this fiftenth yeare.

This yeare (by reason of great tempests) raging winds, and raine, there rose such scaritic, that wheate was sold at three shillings foure pence the bushell, wine at twelue pence the gallon, baifalt at fourtene pence the bushell, and malt at thirtene shillings foure pence the quarter, and all other graines at exorbitant prices above the old rate. Wherevpon Steuen Wolone (saith Polychronicon) at the same season maior of London, tendering the state of the citie in this want of breadcorne, sent into Brie certeine ships, which returned laden with plentie of rie: wherewith he did much good to the people in that hard time, speciallie to them of the citie, where the want of come was not so extreme as in some other places of the land, where the poore distressed people that were hungerbitten, made them bise of serne roots, and bysed other hard shifts, till God provided remedie for their penurie by good successe of husbandrie.]

In the moneth of June, the earle of Huntingdon (as Steward of Guisen) with two thousand archers, and foure hundred speares was sent into Calcoigne, as a supplie to the countie and commons of the same;

Byed with
of some
wata.

Part of a po-
tence capteine
a wife coun-
sell.

Englische
gillanders.

Anno Reg. 18.

Ponthoife re-
covered by
the English.

Anno Reg. 19.

Englische.

for the king of England and his counsell were infor-
med, that the earle of Dunois laie in the frontiers of
Holouffe secretly, by rewards and faire promises
practising to procure diuerse townes in Guien to be-
come French. Wherefore this earle (like a politike
warrior) altered not onelie the capteins in euerie
towne and citie, but also remoued the magistrates,
and changed the officers from towne to towne, and
came to Rome; so that by this meanes, the earle of
Dunois at that time lost both trauell and cost.

In the same moneth also, sir Richard Wodville, sir
William Chamberleine, sir William Deto, and sir
William Storie, with a thousand men, were sent to
subdue the townes in Normandie, which at that time
had therof great need: for the English capteins had
small confidence in the Normans, and not too much
in some of their own nation. For that harlot byberie,
with hir fellow countenances, ran so fast abroad with
French crownes, that hard was it to remaine incor-
rupted. In this yeare, the Dolphin of France alied
with John duke of Alanson, and John duke of Bur-
gogne, rebelled against his father king Charles: but
in the end, by wise persuasions, and wittie handling
of the matter, the knot of that seditious faction was
dissolved, and the king with his sonne, and the other
confederates openlie and apparantlie pacified. The
Englishmen taking advantage of this domestlicall
division in France, raised an armie, and recovered
againe diuerse townes, which had bene surprised
from them before, and prepared also to haue recou-
ered the citie of Paris, till they heard of the agreement
betwixt the father and the sonne, and then they left off
that enterpryse.

In November of this yeare, there was such a
great frost, and after that so deepe a snow, that all the
ground was couered therewith, and all the ditches fro-
zen. Which whether put the Englishmen in hope to re-
cover againe the towne of Ponthoife, by the French
king gotten before, by corrupting with monie di-
uerse burgeses of the towne. Whereupon the English-
men clothed all in white, with John lord Clifford
their capteine, came in the night to the ditches, passed
them without danger by reason of the frost, scaled the
walles, slue the watch, and toke the towne, with ma-
nie profitabill prisoners. After the regaining of this
towne, the lord Richard Beauchampe earle of War-
wicke died in the castell of Hone, from whence con-
ueied into England, he was with sollemne ceremo-
nies buried at his college of Warwicke, in a verie
faire and sumptuous sepulchre.

About the beginning of Lent, the duke of Sum-
merfet, and the lord Talbot, with other capteins and
men of warre to the number of two thousand, which
they had assembled in the marches of Normandie to-
wards Hone, marching forward towards Picar-
die, passed ouer the riuer of Some; and through the
towne of Montreuil, came before the fortreffe of
Folleuile, which the duke besieged, whilst the lord
Talbot entered further into the countrie. After that
the duke had mounted his great artillerie, and began
to batter the hold, the capteine within chanced to be
slaine with a shot of the same artillerie, & shortly af-
ter, the batterie being still continued, the rest of the
men of warre that serued vnder him yelded the
place, in which the duke left a competent garrison
of souldiers, which afterwards soe indamaged the
countrie.

This done, the duke followed the lord Talbot, who
was already entered a good waie within the coun-
trie of Santhois, and now joining their powers to-
gether, they came to a fortreffe called Lihons in
Santhois, which was also rendered vnto them, after
they had burnt the church, which the countrie people
had against them, and would not yeld it, till they

were fired out, burnt, and slaine, to the number of
three hundred. After the fortreffe was deliuered into
their hands by composition, the duke with his power
laie there about ten daies, sending diuerse troops
of his men of warre abroad into the countrie, which
spoiled the same, toke the fortreffe of Herbonnieres,
and the lord thereof within it, who for his ransom,
and to haue his subiects and house saued from spoile
and fire, compounded with his takers for a thousand
saluz of gold, which he paid to them. Finally, after
the duke of Summerfet, and the lord Talbot with
their power, had laie in Lihons about ten daies,
they departed from thence, and returned into Nor-
mandie, without anie impeachment.

After the death of the earle of Warwicke, the duke
of Poike was againe made regent of France, which
accompanied with the earle of Orenford, the lord
Bourchier called earle of Ewe, sir James of Mon-
mond, the lord Clinton, sir Richard Wodville, & di-
uerse other noble men, sailed into Normandie. So
soe whose arrivall, the French king soe greued with
the taking of the towne of Ponthoife, assembled a
great armie, and besieged the said towne himselfe in
person, inuironing it with bassiles, trenches, and dit-
ches, beating the walles and bulwarks with shot of
great ordinance, and giuing thereunto diuerse great
and fierce assaults. But John lord Clifford, like a va-
liant capteine, defended the towne so manfullie, that
the Frenchmen rather lost than won.

The duke of Poike at his landing receiued true
aduertisement of this siege, whereupon he sent for
the lord Talbot, and a great number of soldiers, and
so came nere to the towne of Ponthoife, and there
incamped himselfe; who therewith sent word to the
French king, that thither he was come to giue him
battell, if he would come out of his strength and ba-
ssiles. But the French king by aduise of his coun-
cell, determined not to venture his person with men
of so base degre, but meant to keepe his ground,
bidding the lord regent to enter at his perill, and in
the meane season did what he could to stop the pas-
sage of the riuer of Dife, so that no vittells should be
brought to the English armie by that waie, in hope
so to cause them to recule backe.

The duke of Poike, perceiving that the French
king minded not to fight, purposed to passe ouer the
riuer of Dife, and so to fight with him in his lodging.
Whereupon he remoued his campe, and appointed the
lord Talbot and other, to make a countenance, as
they would passe the riuer by force at the port of
Beaumont: and appointed an other companie in
boates of timber and leather, and bridges made of
cords and ropes (whereof he had great plentie caried
with him in chariots) to passe ouer beneath the abbie.
Whilst the lord Talbot made a crie, as though he
would assault the gate, certeine Englishmen passed
the water in botes, and drew a bridge of cords ouer, so
that a great number of them were got to the other
side, per the Frenchmen were aduised what had hap-
pened. When they saw the chance, they ran like mad
men, to haue stopped the passage, but it was too late:
for the most part of the Englishmen were got ouer,
in so much that they chased their enemies backe, and
slue sir Guiliam de Chastell, nephew to the lord Ca-
neguie du Chastell, and diuerse others.

The Frenchmen seeing their euill hap irreoue-
rable, returned to the French king, and told him
what had chanced: whereupon he doubting to be assat-
led to his disadvantage, thought not good longer to
tarrie, but with all speed remouing his ordinance
into the bassile of saint Martin, which he had newlie
made, dislodged in the night from Ponthoison, and
went to Poisse, leaving the lord de Cofignie adme-
rall of France, with three thousand men to keepe the
bassile.

I 4 4 I
The duke of
Poike againe
made regent
of France.

Ponthoife
besieged by
the French
king, but va-
liantlie defend-
ed.

A pollicie for
a bridge.

Enguerant de
Montreuil.

Edw. Hall.

bastile. If he had tarried still at Panbussion, the lord Talbot which had passed the river of Wyse in two small leather botes, had either taken or slaine him the same night. The Englishmen the next daie in good order of battell came before the towne of Ponthoisse, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone; and in his lodging they found great riches, and much stuffe which he could not haue space for to carrie awaie for feare of the sudden invasion.

Then the duke with his power entred into the towne, and sent for new vittells, and repaired the towers and bulwarks about the towne, & diuerse times assaulted the bastile of the Frenchmen, of the which he made no great accompt, because they were not of power either to assault or stop the vittells or succours from the towne. After this, the duke intending once againe to offer the French king battell, left behind him at Ponthoisse for capteine there, sir Ceruais Clifton, sir Nicholas Burdet, Henrie Chandos, and a thousand soldiers, and therewith remouing with his whole armie, came before Poissie, where he set himselfe and his men in good order of battell ready to fight. There issued out some of the French gentlemen to skirmish with the Englishmen, but to their losse: for diuerse of them were slaine, and foure valiant horsemen taken prisoners. The duke perceiuing the faint hearts of the Frenchmen, and that they durst not encounter in field with the English power, dislodged from Poissie, and came to Spaunt, and some asier to Hone.

Anno Reg. 20.

Ponthoisse
gotten by the
French.Enguerant.
Sir Nicholas
Burdet
slaine.

When the regent and the lord Talbot were returned againe into Normandie, the French king considering how much it should redound to his dishonour to let rest the towne of Ponthoisse in his enemies hands, sith he had bene at such charges and travaile about the winning thereof, he instantly assembled all his puissance. And returning suddenly into Ponthoisse, he first by assault got the church, and after the whole towne, took the capteine, and diuerse other Englishmen, and due to the number of foure hundred, which sold their liues dearely: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king lost there three thousand men; and the whole garrison of the Englishmen was but onelie a thousand. Among other that were slaine here of the defendants, was sir Nicholas Burdet knight, chiefe butler of Normandie. After this hot tempest, the weather began somewhat to war more calme: for king Henrie and king Charles agreed to send ambassadors to comen of some good conclusion of peace: so that king Henrie sent the cardinal of Winchester, with diuerse other noble personages of his counsell to Calis, with whome was also sent Charles duke of Orleans yet prisoner in England, to the intent that he might be both author of the peace, and also procurer of his owne deliuerance.

The French king sent the archbishop of Reims, and the earle of Dunois: and the duke of Burgonie sent the lord de Creuecueur, and diuerse other. All these met at Calis, where the duke of Orleans courted received the earle of Dunois (his ballard brother) thanking him greatly for his paines taken in governing his lands & countie, during the time of his captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communications were had, as well for the deliuerance of the duke as for a small peace; but nothing was concluded, saving that an other meeting was appointed, so that in the meane season the demands of either partie might be declared to their soueraigne lords and maiesties: and hereupon the commissioners brake by their assembly, and returned into their countries. The Englishmen (as the French writers record) required not onelie to possesse peaceable the two duchies of Aquit-

taine and Normandie, discharged of all resort, supererogatorie, & souereignie against the realme of France, the kings and gouernours of the same; but also to be restored to all the townes, cities, and places, which they within thirtie yeeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of France. Which request the Frenchmen thought verie unreasonable, and so both parties, minding rather to gaine or saue than to lose, departed for that time, as yet haue heard.

After this meeting thus prozaged, Philip duke of Burgonie, partly moued in conscience to make amends to Charles duke of Orleans (as yet prisoner in England) for the death of duke Lewis his father, whome duke John, father to this duke Philip, cruellie murdered in the cite of Paris; and partly intending the aduancement of his neece, the ladie Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue (by the which alliance, he trusted, that all old rancours should cease) continued waies to haue the said duke of Orleans set at libertie, upon promise by him made to take the said ladie Marie vnto wife. This duke had bene prisoner in England euer since the battell was fought at Agincourt, upon the daie of Crispine and Crispinian, in the yeare 1415, and was set now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeare 1440, paying for his ransome foure hundred thousand crownes, though other saie but three hundred thousand.

The cause why he was detained so long in captiuitie, was to pleasure thereby the duke of Burgonie: for so long as the duke of Burgonie continued faithfull to the king of England, it was not thought necessarie to suffer the duke of Orleans to be ransomed, least upon his deliuerance he would not cease to seeke means to be reuenged upon the duke of Burgonie, for the old grudge and displeasure betwixt their two families, and therefore such ransome was demanded for him as he was neuer able to pay. But after the duke of Burgonie had broken his promise, and was turned to the French part, the counsell of the king of England desired how to deliuer the duke of Orleans, that thereby they might displeasure the duke of Burgonie. Which thing the duke of Burgonie perceiuing, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therefore to his great cost practised his deliuerance, paid his ransome, and ioined with him amitie and alliance by marriage of his neece.

This duke being now deliuered, and speaking better English than French, after his arriual in France, repaired to the duke of Burgonie, and according to his promise and conuention, married the ladie Marie of Cleue, in the towne of saint Omers, on whome he begat a sonne, which after was French king, and called Lewis the twelfe. [Festered sores that ranke inward, as they may perchance be palliated by sleight of surgerie; so seldome come they to found cure, but often do burst out againe to greater paine and perill of patient than euer afore: and so befell it betwixt these two noble houses of Orleans and Burgonie, who for all this marriage and plausible peace (that continued a twentie yeeres) still out perasser at square vnattonable:] their children and cousins, to the great inquieting of much part of christendome, speciallie in the times of king Francis the first, and his sonne Henrie the second, heires of the house of Orleans. For John earle of Angoulesme, uncle to this duke Charles, begat Charles, father to the said king Francis: which earle John had bene as pledge in England for the debt of Lewis duke of Orleans, from the last yeare of king Henrie the fourth, till that now his nephew being deliuered, made shift for monie, and ransomed him also, and at

at length restored him to his countrie.

In the beginning of this twentieth yeare, Richard duke of Poike, regent of France, and gouvernour of Normandie, determined to invade the territories of his enemies both by sundrie armies, and in severall places, and thereupon without delaye of time he sent the lord of Willoughbie with a great crue of soldiers to destroye the countrie of Amiens, and John lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the towne of Diepe; and the regent himselfe accompanied with Command duke of Summerfet, set forward into the duchie of Aniou. The lord Willoughbie, according to his commission, entred into the countrie of his enemies in such wise upon the sudden, that a great number of people were taken yet they could with draw into anie place of safegard.

The Frenchmen in the garrisons adjoining, affrighted with the clamour and crye of the poore people, issued out in good order, and manfully fought with the Englishmen. But in the end, the Frenchmen seeing their fellows in the forefront slaine downe, and kild without merite, turned their backs, and fled: the Englishmen followed, and slew manie in the chase; and such as escaped the sword, were robbed by the earle of saint Paule, who was comming to aid the Englishmen. In this conflict were slaine aboute six hundred men of armes, and a great number taken. The dukes of Poike and Summerfet likewise entered into Aniou and Paine, and there destroyed townes, and spoiled the people, and with great prizes and prisoners repaired againe into Normandie, whither also the lord Willoughbie withdrew, after his valiant enterpryse achieved (as before ye haue heard) with rich spoiles and good prisoners.

The duke of Summerfet upon further baliance, entered into the marches of Britaine, and toke by force assault a towne named la Cerche, appertaining to the duke of Alanson, spoiling and burning the same. This done, he went to Ponzie, where he sojourned two moneths, sending forth daillie his men of war to destroye the countries of Aniou, Craonnois, and Chatraonnois. The French king sent the marchall Lioach with foure thousand men to resist the invasions of the duke of Summerfet, which marchall intended to haue set on the duke in his lodgings in the dead time of the night: but that (as by a wise and hardie captaine) well foresene, he marched forward, and met the Frenchmen halfe the waie, and after long fight, discomfited them, slew an hundred of the marchalls men, and toke three score and two prisoners, whereof the chiefe were the lord Dauphine, sir Elwes de Buell, all the other (almost) were knights and chiquiers.

After this encounter, the duke toke the towne of Beaumont le vicount, and manned all the fortresses on the frontiers of his enemies, and with rich booties and prisoners returned againe to the duke of Poike. In this meane time the lord Talbot, besieging the towne of Diepe, inuironed it with deepe trenches; building also upon the mount Paulet a strong and noisome bastile. But at length perceiving the towne to be strongly defended, and that he lacked such furniture of men, vittels, and ordinance, as was necessarie for the winning of it, he deliuered the custodie of the bastile, with the gouernance of the siege to his bastard sonne, a valiant yong gentleman, and departed to Rome for aid, monie, and munition. The French king advertised hereof, sent his sonne the Dolphin of Vienne with the earle of Dunois, and fifteen thousand men to raise the siege from Diepe.

Three daies they assailed the bastile, in the which six hundred Englishmen were inclosed, and at length because powder and weapon failed them within, the Frenchmen won it, and toke the bastard Talbot pri-

soner, with sir William Betsow, and sir John Repelle, which shortly after were redeemed. The other English souldiers, seeing the bastile wone by the Frenchmen, stood all a daie in good order of battell, and in the night following, politikelie saued themselves and returned to Rome, without losse or damage. In the assaulting of the bastile, the Frenchmen saie, they slew two hundred Englishmen; and denie not but that they lost five hundred of their owne men, besides those that were hurt. Whilist these things were a doing, Philip duke of Burgognie made sharpe warre against the earle of saint Paule, in taking from him his townes and castels, that made him to renounce his allegiance towards and promised to the king of England, and returned to the French part.

The English captains in Guien besieged the strong towne of Tartas, belonging to the lord Daubryeth their old and ancient enemy. The towne perceiving that it was not able to resist the force of the Englishmen anie long time, toke appointment, that the towne should remaine neuter. For assurance thereof, they deliuered Cadet the sonne of the lord de la Bzeth in pledge, upon this condition; that if the said lord de la Bzeth would not assent to the agreement, then he should signifie his refusal to the English captains within three moneths next ensuing, and he to haue his pledge, and they to do their best. The French king, at the request of the lords of Guien, caused the lord de la Bzeth to signifie his disagreement unto the earle of Huntington, as then lieutenant to the king of England in the duchie of Aquitaine. And therewith to gratifie the lords of Guien, he assembled an armie of threescore thousand men, & came to Tholouse, and so to Tartas, to whome the chiefeins of the towne, seeing no succours comming from the king of England, rendered the towne: and Cadet de la Bzeth, which was left there as a pledge, was also deliuered.

The French king, after the yielding of Tartas, removed to saint Seuerine, which towne he toke by force, slew three hundred persons, and toke sir Thomas Kampson prisoner. After this, he came to the citie of Arques, toke a bulworke by force, and had the towne yielded to him by composition. The captaine, which was the lord of Montferant, departed with all the English crue to Burdeaur, where he found the earle of Longulle, the Capdau de Weuse, and sir Thomas Kampson, which was a little before deliuered. After this, the fortresses of the Rioll and Permandie were also yielded to the French king: who notwithstanding at length was constrained for lacke of vittels (which were cut off by the Englishmen, that laie abroad in diuerse fortresses for the purpose) to breake up his armie, & to retire into France. And then after his departure, the Englishmen recovered againe the citie of Arques, & the other townes by the French king gained, and toke prisoner his lieutenant called Reginald Guillian the Burgognion, and manie other gentlemen, and all the meane souldiers were either slaine or hanged.

While the French king was in Guien, the lord Talbot toke the towne of Couchet, and after marched toward Galliardon, which was besieged by the bastard of Dileance, otherwile called the earle of Dunois: which earle hearing of the lord Talbots approach, raised his siege, and saued himselfe. The Frenchmen a little before this season, had taken the towne of Cureur by treason of a fisher. Sir Francis the Aragonois hearing of that chance, apparelled six strong fellows, like men of the countrie, with sacks and baskets, as cariers of corne and vittels, and sent them to the castell of Cornill, in the which diuerse Englishmen were kept as prisoners, and he

The earle of saint Paule renoueth to the French.

1441
Tartas besieged.

The change in warre.

The lord Talbot.

The earle of Dunois. An excellent queste in warre.

with an ambush of Englyshmen late in a ballie nyght to the fortreffe.

The six counterfet husbandmen entered the castell unsuspected, and streight came to the chamber of the captiue, & laing hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that laie in ambush to come to their aid. The which suddenlie made forth, and entered the castell, slue and toke all the frenchmen, and set the Englyshmen at libertie: which thing done, they set fire in the castell, and departed to Rome with their bootie and prisoners. This exploit they had not atchiued peradventure by force (as hapilie they mistrusted) and therefore by subtiltie and deceit sought to accomplish it, which meanes to vse in warre is tollerable, so the same warre be latofull; though both fraud & bloudshed otherwise be forbidden euen by the instinct of nature to be put in practise and vse; and that doth the poet insinuat in a proper sententious verse, laieng:

Quid, i. de art.

Frans absit, vacuus cecidis habete manus.

*I note breach
betweene the
duke of Glo-
cester, and the
bishop of win-
chester.*

But now to speake somewhat of the doings in England in the meane time. Whylest the men of war were thus occupied in martiall feates, and daile skirmishes, within the realmes of France: ye shall vnderstand, that after the cardinall of Winchester, and the duke of Gloucester, were (as it seemed) reconciled either to other, yet the cardinall, and the archbishop of Yorke ceased not to do manie things without the consent of the king or of the duke, being (during the minozitie of the king) gouernor and protector of the realme, whereas the duke (as god cause he had) greatlie offended, therevpon in writing declared to the king, wherein the cardinall and the archbishop had offended both his maiestie, and the lawes of the realme. This complaint of the duke of Gloucester was contained in foure and twentie articles, which chieslie rested, in that the cardinall had from time to time, through his ambitious desire to surmount all others in high degrees of honor and dignitie, sought to enrich himselfe, to the great and notorious hinderance of the king, as in defrauding him not onelie of his treasure, but also in doing and practising things greatlie prejudiciall to his affaires in France, and namelie by setting at libertie the king of Scots, vpon so easie conditions, as the kings maiestie greatlie lost thereby, as in particularities thus followeth.

A complaint made to king Henrie the
sixt, by the duke of Gloucester, vpon the
cardinall of Winchester.

*I
Ex Ed. Hall.
143, 144, 145,
146.*



These be in part, the points and articles, which I Humfre duke of Gloucester, for my truth & acquittall, said late, I would giue in writing (my right redoubted lord) vnto your highnesse, aduertising your excellencie, of such things in part, as haue bene done in your tender age, in derogation of your noble estate, and hurt of both your realmes, and yet be done and bled daile.

First, the cardinall then being bishop of Winchester, toke vpon him the state of cardinall, which was naied and denaied him, by the king of most noble memorie, my lord your father (whome God assoile) laieng that he had as lefe set his crowne beside him, as he him weare a cardinals hat, he being a cardinall. For he knew full well, the pride and ambition that was in his person, then being but a bishop, should haue so greatlie extolled him into more intollerable pride, when that he were a cardinall: and also he thought it against his freedome, of the cheefe church of this realme, which, that he two-shipped, as duilie as euer did prince, that blessed be his soule. And

howbeit, that my said lord your father (whome God assoile) would haue agreed him to haue had certeine clearkis of this land cardinals, and to haue no bishoprikes in England; yet his intent was neuer to do so great derogation to the church of Canturburie, to make them that were his suffragans, to sit about their ordinarie and metropolitan. But the cause was that in generall, and in all matters which might concerne the weale of him, and of his realme, he should haue proctors of his nation, as other kings Christen had, in the court of Rome, and not to abide in this land, nor to be in anie part of his counsels, as bene all the spirituall and tempozall, at parlements and other great counsels, when you list to call them. And therefore, though it please you to do him that tooshop, to set him in your priue counsell after your pleasure: yet in your parlement, where euery lord both spirituall and tempozall, hath his place, he ought to occupie but his place as a bishop.

Item, the said bishop, now being cardinall, was assoiled of his bishoprike of Winchester, wherevpon he sued vnto our holie father, to haue a bull declaratorie, notwithstanding he was assumpt to the state of cardinall, that the se was not void, where indeed it stood void by a certeine time, yer the said bull were granted; and so he was exempt from his ordinarie, by the taking on him the state of cardinall, and the church bishoprike of Winchester, so standing void, he toke againe of the pope (you not learned thereof ne knowing whereby he was fallen into the case of psonifion) so that all his god was lawfullie & clerelie forfeited to you my right doubted lord, with more; as the statute declareth plainelie for your aduantage.

Item, it is not vnknown to you (doubted lord) how thorough your lands it is noised, that the said cardinall and the archbishop of Yorke had and haue the gouernance of you, and all your land, the which none of your true liege men ought to vsurpe nor take vpon them. And haue also estranged me your sole vnckle, my cosine of Yorke, my cosine of Huntington, and manie other lords of your kin, to haue anie knowledge of anie great matter, that might touch your high estate, or either of your realmes. And of lords spirituall, of right, the archbishop of Canturburie should be your cheefe counsellor, the which is also estranged and set aside. And so be manie other right sad lords, and well aduised, as well spirituall as tempozall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lord, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes shewen clerelie and euidentlie, more harme it is.

Item, in the tender age of you, my right doubted lord, for the necessitie of an armie, the said cardinall lent you foure thousand pounds vpon certeine iewels, pised at two and twentie thousand markes, with a letter of sale, that and they were not quited at a certeine daie, you should lese them. The said cardinall seeing your monie readie to haue quited your iewels, caused your tresuroz of England, at that daie being, to paie the same monie, in part of an other armie, in defrauding you my right doubted lord of your said iewels, keeping them yet alwaie to his owne vse, to your right great losse, and his singular profit and anaille.

Item, the said cardinall, then being bishop of Winchester, and chancelour of England, deliuered the king of Scots, vpon certeine appointments (as maie be helued) presumptuouslie, and of his owne authoritie, contrarie to the act of parlement. I haue heard notable men of law say, that they neuer heard the like thing done among them: which was to great a defamacion to your highnesse, and also to wed his nece to the said king, whom that my lord of

notable

notable memorie, your father, whome God assoile, would neuer haue so deliuered. And there as he should haue paid for his costs forty thousand pounds, the said cardinall, chancelour of England, caused you to pardon him thereof ten thousand marks, whereof the greater summe he paid you, right a little, what, I report me to your highnesse.

7 Item, where the said cardinall lent you, my redoubted lord, great and notable summes, he hath had and his assignes, the rule and profit of the port of Hampton, where the customers bene his seruants, where (by likelihood and as it is to be supposed) standing the chiefe merchant of the woolls of your land, that you be greatlie defrauded, and vnder that rule, what woolls and other merchandizes haue bene shipped, and maie be from time to time, hard is to esteeme, to the great hurt and preiudice of you my right doubted lord, and of all your people.

8 Item, howbeit that the said cardinall hath diuerse times lent you great summes of monie, since the time of your reigne, yet his loane hath bene so deferred and delaied, that for the most part, the conuenable season of the imploing of the good lent was passed. So that little fruit or none came thereof, as by experience both your realmes haue sufficientlie in knowledge.

9 Item, where there was fewels and plate pressed at cleuen thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinall, forfeited to you my right redoubted lord, he gat him a ressoement thereof for a loane of a little parcell of the same: and so defrauded you wholie of them, to your great hurt, and his auaille, the which god might greatlie haue eased your highnesse, in sparing as much of the poore commons.

10 Item, the cardinall being scoff of my said lord your father (whome God assoile) against his intent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, three hundred markes liuelihod, where that his will was, that and she were wedded within a yeare, then to haue it, or else not, where in deed it was two or three years after, to your great hurt, and diminishing of your inheritance.

11 Item, notwithstanding that the said cardinall hath no maner of authoritie nor interest in the crowne, nor none maie haue by anie possibilitie, yet he presumeth and taketh vpon him in partie, your estate totall, in calling before him, into great abusion of all your land, and derogation of your highnesse, which hath not bene seene nor vsed in no daies heretofore, in greater estate than he is, without your expresse ordinance and commandment.

12 Item, the said cardinall, nothing considering the necessitie of you my right doubted lord, hath sued a pardon of fines, that he should paie for the church of Winchester, for terme of his life, giuing thereby occasion to all other lords spirituall, to do also their good will for anie necessitie, to grant anie fine: and so to laie all the charge vpon the tempozaltie, and the poore people.

13 Item, by the gouernance and labour of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Poike, there hath bene lost and dispended much notable and great good, by diuerse ambassadors sent out of this realme. First to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, whereas by likelihood it was thought and supposed, that it should neuer turne to the effectuall auaille of you my right doubted lord, nor to your said realmes: but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersarie, and the duke of Burgognie. For else your partie aduersarie, & the said duke, might not well haue found meanes nor waies to haue communed togither, nor to haue concluded with other their confederations and conspirations made and wrought there, then, at that time, against your highnesse, whereby

you might haue (right doubted lord) the greater partie of your obedience, as well in your realme of France, as in your duchie of Normandie, and much other thing gone greatlie, as through the said colourable treatie, & otherwise, since the death of my brother of Bedford (whome God assoile.)

14 Item, now of late was sent an other ambassadour to Calis, by the labour and counsell of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Poike, the cause wherof the beginning, is to me your sole uncle, and other lords of your kin and counsell unknowen, to your great charge, and against the publike good of your realme, as it openlie appeareth. The which god if it be imploied for the defense of your lands, the merchandizes of the same might haue had other course, and your said lands not to haue stand in so great mischefe as they do.

15 Item, after that, to your great charge, and hurt of both your realmes, the said cardinall & archbishop of Poike went to your said towne of Calis, and diuerse lords of your kin, and of your counsell in their fellowship, and there, as there was naturall warre betwene the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Burgognie, for murder of their fathers, a capitall enimitie like to haue induced for euer: the said cardinall and archbishop of Poike licenced and suffered the said duke of Orleans, to intreat and common apart with the counsell of your said aduersaries, as well as with the duchies of Burgognie: by which meane the peace and alliance was made betwene the two dukes, to the greatest fortifying of your said capitall aduersaries that could be thought, and consequentlie (my dere redoubted lord) to your greatest charge, and hurt to both your realmes. Vnder colour of which treatie, your said aduersaries in meane time wan your citie of Rheur, and the countrie thereabout, and manie diuerse roades made into your duchie of Normandie, to the great noisance and destruction of your people, as it sheweth openlie.

16 Item, the said archbishop of Poike, sent with other into this your realme from the said cardinall, after communication had with your aduersarie partie, at your said towne of Calis, made at his coming into your notable presence at Windsor, all the suasions and colour, all motions in the most apparant wise that he could, to induce your highnesse to your agreement, to the desires of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble presence of his writing, at which time (as I vnderstood) it was his singular opinion, that is to saie: that you should leaue your right, your title, and your honour of your crowne, and nomination of you king of France, during certeine yeares, & that you should vtterlie absteine you and be content onelie in writing, with *Rex Anglia, &c.* to the great note of infamie that ever fell to you or anie of your noble progenitours, since the taking of them first, the said title and right of your realme and crowne of France. To which matter in your presence there, after that it had liked your said highnesse, to aske mine aduise therevpon, with other of your blood and counsell: I answered and said, that I would neuer agree me thereto to die therfore, and of the same disposition I am yet, and will be while I live in conseruation of your honour, and of your oth made vnto your said crowne, in time of your coronation there.

17 Item, the said cardinall and archbishop of Poike, haue so laboured vnto your highnesse, that you should intend to a new date of convention, in March or Aprill next comming, where it is noised to be more against your worship than with it. And where it was euident to all the world, that the rupture and breaking of the said peace, should haue fallen heretofore, of your aduersarie partie; because of

the great intricacies. Note by that meanes it is like peradventure to be laid vnto the verie great slander of you my doubted lord, like to come to none other purpose nor effect, than other conuersions haue done afore time: and so by subtilties and counsell of your said enemies, your land (they in hope and trust of the said treatie, not knightlie nor puissantlie purueied for) shall be like vnder the colour of the same treatie to be burnt by and destroyed, lost, and utterly lie turned from your obedience.

18 Item it is said, that the deliuerance of the said duke of Orleans, is utterly appointed by the mediation, counsell, and stirring of the said cardinall and archbishop of Poike; and for that cause diuerse persons being come from your aduersaries, into this your realme, and the said duke also brought to your citie of London, where as my lord your father (whom God assoile) perishing so greatlie the inconueniences, and harme that might fall, onlie by his deliuerance, concluded, ordeined, and determined in his last will, utterly in his wisdome, his conquest in his realme of France. And yet then it is to be done, by as great deliberation, solemnitie and suretie, as may be devised or thought. And seeing now the disposition of your realme of France, the puissance and might of your enemies, and what aid they haue gotten against you there, aswell vnder the colour of the said treatie, as otherwise; what may or ought to be thought or said, for that labouring the said duke (all things considered) by such particular persons, the lords of your blood not called thereunto, I report me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto the said wise true men of this your realme.

19 Item, where that euerie true counsellor, speciallie vnto anie king or prince, ought of truth and of dutie, to counsell, promote, increase, prefer, and aduance the weale and prosperitie of his lord: the said cardinall, being of your counsell (my right doubted lord) hath late purchased of your highnesse, certeine great lands and liuelode: as the castell and lordship of Chirk in Wales, and other lands in this your realme; vnto which I was called suddenly, and so in eschewing the breaking and losse of your armie then againe, seeing none other remedie, gaue therevnto mine assent thinking that who that euer labourer moued or stirred the matter first vnto your lordship, counselled you neither for your worship nor profit.

20 More, the said cardinall hath you bound apart, to make him a sure estate of all the said lands, by Easter next coming, as could be deuised by anie learned counsell; or else that suretie not made, the said cardinall to haue and reioy to him, and his heirs for euermore, the lands of the duchie of Lancaster, in Dorsetshire, to the value of seven or eight hundred marks by yeare. Which thing seemeth right strange and vnseene, and vnhard waies of anie liege man, to seke vpon his Soueraigne lord, both in his inheritance and in his ietwels and goods. For it is thought, but if right and extreme necessitie caused it, there should, nor ought no such things to be done: from which necessitie God (for his mercie) euer preferue your noble person. Therefore my redoubted lord, seeing that ye should be so counselled, or stirred to leaue your crowne and inheritance in England; and also by fraud and subtil meanes, as is afore rehearsed, so to lose your ietwels: in my truth and in mine acquit (as me seemeth) I may not nor ought not counsell so great an hurt to you and to all your land.

21 Item, it is not vnknown to you my right doubted lord how oftentimes I haue offered my seruice, to and for the defense of your realme of France, and duchie of Normandie, where I haue bene put thereto by the labour of the said cardinall, in prefer-

ring other after his singular affection: which hath caused a great part of the said duchie of Normandie, aswell as of your realme of France to be lost, as it is well known. And what god (my right doubted lord) was lost on that seruice that was last sent thither, which the earle of Poitaigne, your counsell of France, hath well & clere lie. declared to your highnesse here before.

22 Item, my right doubted lord, it is not vnknown, that it had not bene possible to the said cardinall, to haue come to his great riches, but by such meanes, for of his church it might not rise, and inheritance he had none. Therefore my right doubted lord, sith there is great god behouefull at this time, for the weale and safeguard of your realmes, the pouertie, necessitie, & indigence of your liege people; in highnesse vnderstand, like it vnto your noble grace, to consider the said lure of the said cardinall, and the great deceits that you be receiued in by the labour of him & of the archbishop, aswell in this your realme as in your realme of France and duchie of Normandie, where neither office, liuelode, nor capteine may be had, without so great god giuen vnto him, whereby a great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue bene the causers of; for who that would giue most, his was the price, not considering the merits, seruice, nor sufficiency of persons. Furthermore, it is greatlie to be considered, how, when the said cardinall had forfeited all his goods, because of promise, as the statute therevpon more plainelie declareth; by hauing the rule of you my right doubted lord, purchased himselfe in great defraudation of your highnesse, a charter of pardon, the which god and it had be well governed, might manie yeares haue suffeined your warres, without anie tallage of your poore people.

23 Item, my redoubted lord, whereas I wrote much thing for the weale of you and of your realmes, peradventure some will saie and vnderstand, that I would or haue written by waie of acusement of all your counsell, which God knoweth, I do not: for your highnesse may well see, that I name them that be causers of the said inordinate rule. Therefore, considering that the said cardinall and archbishop of Poike bene they, that pretend the gouernance of you, and of your realmes and lordships: please it vnto your highnesse, of your right wisenesse to estrange them of your counsell, to that intent, that men may be at their freedom, to say what they thinke of truth.

24 For truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poore dare not do so. And if the cardinall and the archbishop of Poike, may afterward declare themselves, of that is, and shalbe said of them; you my right doubted lord may then restore them againe to your counsell, at your noble pleasure.

When the king had heard the accusations thus laid by the duke of Gloucester against the cardinall, he committed the examination thereof to his counsell, whereof the more part were spirituall persons; so that what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was winked at, and nothing said to it: onelie faire countenance was made to the duke, as though no malice had bene conceiued against him. But beneuolence will break out, & inward grudge will soon appeare, which was this yeare to all men apparent: for diuers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season against this noble man Humfreie duke of Gloucester a far off, which in conclusion came so nere, that they bereft him both of life and land; as shall hereafter more plainelie appeare.

For first this yeare, dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the said duke, was accused of treason; for that she by sorcerie and inchantment intended to destroy the king, to the intent to aduance hir husband vnto the

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crochite. Upon this, he was examined in saint Stephens chapel before the bishop of Canturburys, and there by examination and dialogue, he was open penance in three open places within the citie of London. [Polychronicon] said: the was indicted to go through the chapel with a taper in his hand, and after that adjudged to perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man, under the keeping of sir John Stanley knight. At the same season were arrested, arraigned, and adjudged guilty, as adherers to the duchesse, Thomas Southwell priest, and canon of St. Stephens at Westminster, John Hyn priest, Roger Woling, broke a cunning necromancer (as it was said) and Margerie Jordanne, surnamed the witch of Eie.

The matter laid against them, was for that they (at the request of the said duchesse) had devised an image of war, representing the king, which by their force by little and little consumed, intending thereby in conclusion to waste and destroy the kings person. Margerie Jordanne was burnt in Smithfield, and Roger Woling, who was drawn to Tiborne, and hanged and quartered; talking upon his death that there was neuer any such thing by them imagined. John Hyn had his pardon, and Southwell died in the Tower the night before his execution: for (saith Polychr.) he did prophesie of himselfe, that he should die in his bed, and not by iustice. The duke of Gloucester bare all these things patiently, and said little. Edward sonne to the duke of Burgh was borne this yeare the nine and twentieth of Aprill at Rone, his father being the kings lieutenant in Normandie. In this yeare was a great fraie in Fleetstreet in the night time, betwene gentlemen of courts and inhabitants of London; insomuch that much blood was spilt, diuerse slaine outright, and some mortallie wounded; besides great harme otherwise done and suffered.

Upon the daie of the translation of saint Edward, on the twelfth of October, upon which daie the maior and his brethren for the yeare following, and daie when the commoners of the citie, after their ancient custome had chosen two aldermen, such as before had bene sherriffes of London and of Middlesex, namely Robert Clopton draper, and Rafe Holland taylor, and them presented by name vnto the maior and his brethren, then sitting in the vpper chamber where the maiors courts be kept, to the intent that the said maior and his brethren might chose one of the said two, such as they thought most necessarie and worshipfull for the roime; the said maior and his brethren choosing Robert Clopton, brought him after donec upon his right hand towards the hall. Where of some certaine tailors there present were awake, and said that Rafe Holland was not chosen, anon they cried: Nay, nay: not this, but Rafe Holland. Wherevnto the old maior being assomshed, stood still upon the faire, and commanded them to keepe silence, and so held on his waite to the east end of the hall, where he sat him downe, and his brethren about him. In the meane time, the said tailors continued their cry, and incensed others of base trades of the citie (as simple persons) to take their part, and to crie as fast as they, not proffering to cease their misrule for all that the maior could saie, no nor yet when the maiors sergeant at armes had cried Oyes. Whereupon the maior, to appease the rumor, sent downe the sherriffes, and commanded them to take the offenders, and send them to the goale; which precept was fulfilled, about twelue or thirteene of the principall committed to Newgate, where some of them abode a long time imprisoned; and others that were fined set at libertie. This is reported by Polychronicon, but in somewhat a differing manner.

The counsell of England forgot not the late enter-

pulse of the French king, attached in the duchie of Guen, and therefore doubting some other the like attempt, they sent thither sir William Woodville with eight hundred men, to strengthen the frontiers, and further, set forth a proclamation, that all men which would transport anye coine, cheese, or other victuals thither, should paie no manner of custome or tallage: which licence caused the countrie of Aquitaine to be well furnished of all things necessarie. About this season John the valiant lord Talbot for his approved prowesse and wisdom, as well in England as in France, both in peace and warre so well tried, was created earle of Shrewsburie, and with a companye of thre thousand men sent againe into Normandie, for the better defense of the same.

This yeare died Lodowike de Beaufort Archbishop, bishop of Ely, being the true and identith that intoid that place, who came to the same after his mother. After the death of Philip Morgan bishop of that see, the monks of Ely chose for their pastor Robert Hugh bishop of London; but he died at saint Omer before his confirmation; neither possessed the honour thereof. Whereupon the king directed his letters to the count of Ely, to make election of Thomas Audborne (bishop of S. Daniels in Wales) for their bishop. But they contrarie thereto (taking it now for a custome, hauing so often used it before, as did well appeare) made choise of Thomas Bourchier (borne of a noble house, sonne to the countesse of Stafford, chancellor of Orenford, and bishop of Worcester) to succeed Philip Morgan. Which Bourchier, the king (offended with the monks for the little regard had to his request) utterlie refused, and would not admit him vnto that place. Whereupon there were bulls procured from Eugenius the fourth (then bishop of Rome) which were sent into England to confirme the election of the said Bourchier.

But he wiselie fearing to fall into the dangerous statute of Excommunicate, durst not receiue or execute the tenor of the popes commandement. By reason whereof, least the see might otherwise remaine void, (if speedie remedie were not prouided) the king did in commendam bestow the bishopricke of Ely vpon this Lodowike Audborne archbishop of Rone, by office, Card. A. Gornat. Cancellar. Fr. Th. & Norman. and kinsman to the said king. Which done, Eugenius (when he saw no other remedie) did reuoke his bulls made before to Thomas Bourchier, in the yeare of Christ 1437. This Lodowike remaining bishop six yeares and so manie moneths, died in the yeare as before, the eighteenth of September, at his manor of Hatfield, whose bowels were buried in the said church: his hart was caried to Rone, and there honourable intombed, and his bodie was committed to the earth; in the church of Ely, betwene two marble pillois next to the altar of the reliques.

In this yeare died in Guen the countesse of Comings, to whome the French king and also the earle of Arminache pretended to be heire, in so much that the earle entred into all the lands of the said ladie. And because he knewe the French king would not take the matter well, to haue a Rowland for an Adverser; he sent sollemn ambassadours to the king of England, offering him his daughter in marriage, with promise to be bound (beside great summes of monie, which he would giue with hir) to deliuer into the king of Englands hands, all such castles and townes, as he or his ancestors deieined from him within anye part of the duchie of Aquitaine, either by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift and deliuerie of anye French king; and further to aid the same king with monie for the recouerie of other cities within the same duchie, from the French king; or from anye other person that against king Henrie

John lord Talbot created earle of Shrewsburie.

Fr. Thin.
1 4 4 2

Fr. Th.

The earle of Arminackes daughter affied unto king Henrie.

The earle with his ladie, his sonne and two daughters taken.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 441.

A law against buying and selling on the sabbath.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 441. & Polychr.

Paulus steeple burnt.

Anno Reg. 22.

The diet at Tours for a peace to be had betwene England and France.

brutallie kept, and wrongfullie withholden them.

This offer seemed so profitable and also honorable to king Henrie and the realme, that the ambassadours were well heard, honourable received, and with rewards sent home into their countrie. After whome were sent for the conclusion of the marriage into Cuten, sir Edward Hall, sir Robert Ros, and John Grafton deane of S. Severines, the which (as all the chonographers agree) both concluded the marriage, and by prorie affied the young ladie. The French king not a little offended herewith, sent his eldest sonne Leues the Dolphin of Vienne into Rouergue with a puissant armie, which toke the earle and his yonger sonne, with both his daughters, and by force obtainer the countries of Arminacke, Louvergne, Rouergue, and Houlesnonis, beside the cities Seuerac & Cadeac, chasing the bastard of Arminacke out of his countries, and so by reason hereof, the concluded marriage was deferred, and that so long that it neuer toke effect, as hereafter it may appeare.

In this yeare was an act made by authoritie of the common counsell of London, that upon the sabbath no manner of thing within the franchises and liberties of the said citie should be bought or sold; neither vittells nor other thing. It was also enacted by the same common counsell with full consent, and ratified by the authoritie of the law-makers, that no artificer or handicrafts man should bring his wares, commodities, or woorke, unto any person or persons to be worne or occupied on that daie: because it was judged a foule profanation thereof. And peoples minds given to conscience, make no exception of times or places in a case of advantage and gaine. In consideration whereof, and for the suppressing of this abuse, this law was ordeined and made: the force whereof did principallie extend to tailors and shoemakers (who as on that daie bring home their garments and shooes to the parties for whom they are made) and likewise to all other occupations and trades. But this ordinance (saith mine author) was to good for so bad an age, and therefore died within a short time after the magistrate had given it life.

On Candlemasse eue this yeare by lightning in a tempest that fell with claps of thunder at afternone, Paulus steeple was set on fier in the middell of the spere or chappell in the vert timber woorke; which was quenched by the painfullnesse of diuerse persons, and specialie by the diligent labour of a priest of Bow in Cheape. Howbeit the same was thought impossible to be quenched, but that the grace of God was chiefe worke in the same. This steeple hath diuerse times bene ouerthowne and defaced, partlie by winds, and partlie by lightning, as may be obserued in the reading of this volume: yea when the same hath bene repaired by the choicest workemen, and of the substantiallest stufte, and all meanes (that God with the deepe deuise of man) bled to make it so sure that it might continue, as a monument of perpetuallie for posteritie to wonder at and admire. But to returne to the historie.

Whilist England was inquieted (as you haue heard) and France by spoile, slaughter, and burning force defaced (a mischance in all places much lamented) therefore to agree the two puissant kings, all the princes of christendome travelled so effectuously by their oratours and ambassadours, that a diet was appointed to be kept at the citie of Tours in Touraine; where for the king of England appeared William de la Pole earle of Suffolke, doctor Adam Spolins keeper of the kings priue seale, also sir Robert Ros, and diuers other. And for the French king were appointed Charles duke of Orleans, Leues de Bourbon earle of Wandosme, great maister of the French kings household, Piers de Belle Neward

of Poitou, and Bertram Beaulieu lord of Beaulieu.

There were also sent thither ambassadours from the emper, from Spaine, from Denmarke, & from Hungarie; to be mediators betwixt the two princes. The assembly was great, but the cost was much greater, inasmuch that euery part for the honour of their prince and praise of their countrie, set forth themselves, as well in fairs as apparel, to the uttermost. Spaine-matings were had, and many things moued for a small peace; but in conclusion, by reason of many doubts which rose on both parties, no full concord could be agreed upon; but in hope to come to a peace, a certaine truce, as well by sea as by land, was concluded by the commissioners for eighteen moneths, which afterward againe was prolonged to the peace of our Lord 1449.

In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke adventuring somewhat upon his commission, without the assent of his associates, imagined, that the next waile to come to a perfect peace, was to contriue a marriage betwene the French kings kinswoman, the ladie Margaret daughter to Reiner duke of Anjou, and his soueraine lord king Henrie. This Reiner duke of Anjou named himselfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Jerusalem, hauing onlie the name and stile of those realmes; without any penie, profit, or sort of possession. This marriage was made strange to the earle at the first, and one thing seemed to be a great hinderance to it; which was, because the king of England occupied a great part of the duchie of Anjou, and the whole countrie of Spaine, appertaining (as was alledged) to king Reiner.

The earle of Suffolke (I cannot saie) either corrupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this profitable marriage, condescended, that the duchie of Anjou and the countrie of Spaine should be delivered to the king the brides father, demanding for his marriage neither penie nor farthing: as who would saie, that this new affinitie passed all riches, and excelled both gold and pretious stones. And to the intent that of this truce might issue a small concord, a date of enteruile was appointed betwene the two kings in a place conuenient betwene Chartres and Rone. When these things were concluded, the earle of Suffolke with his companie returned into England, where he forgot not to declare what an honourable truce he had taken, out of the which there was a great hope that a small peace might grow the sooner for that honorable marriage, which he had concluded, omitting nothing that might extoll and set forth the personage of the ladie, or the nobilitie of his kindred.

But although this marriage pleased the king and diuerse of his counsell, yet Humfrey duke of Gloucester protector of the realme was much against it, alledging that it should be both contrarie to the lawes of God, and dishonorable to the prince, if he should breakes that promise and contract of marriage, made by ambassadours sufficientlie thereto instructed, with the daughter of the earle of Arminacke, upon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. But the dukes words could not be heard, for the earles doings were onlie liked and allowed. So that for performance of the conclusions, the French king sent the earle of Wandosme, great maister of his house, and the archbishop of Reims first peere of France, and diuerse other into England, where they were honorable received; and after that the instruments were once sealed and delivered on both parts, the said ambassadours returned againe into their countries with great gifts and rewards.

When these things were done, the king both for honour

1449

1449

The promise of the king

Chronicles of
10270

honour of his realme, and to assure to himselfe mo friends, created John Holland earle of Huntington duke of Crete as his father was: Humfre earle of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham: and Henrie earle of Marwike was cleved to the title of duke of Marwike, to whome the king also gave the castell of Bristowe, with the Ile of Jerneise, and Carneise. Also the earle of Suffolke was made marquisse of Suffolke, which marquisse with his wife and manie honorable personages of men and women richlie adorned both with apparell & iewels, having with them manie coslie chariots and gorgeous houslitters, sailed into France for the conueiance of the nominated queene into the realme of England. For king Keiner his father, for all his long stile had too short a purse to send his daughter honorable to the king his spouse.

An. Reg. 23.
1445

This noble companie came to the citie of Tours in Touraine, where they were honorable received both of the French king and of the king of Sicill. The marquisse of Suffolke as procurator to king Henrie, espoused the said ladie in the church of saint Martins. At the which marriage were present the father and mother of the brude; the French king himselfe, which was uncle to the husband; and the French queene also, which was aunt to the wife. There were also the dukes of Sicill, of Calabre, of Aianfon, and of Britaine, seauen earls, twelue barons, twentie bishops, beside knights and gentlemen. When the feast, triumph, bankets and iusts were ended, the ladie was deliuered to the marquisse, who in great estate conueied hir through Normandie unto Diepe, and so transported hir into England, where she landed at Portsmouth in the month of Aprill. This ladie excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wit and policie, and was of stomach and courage more like to a man than a woman.

Margaret
daughter to
Romer k. of
Sicill & Je-
rusalem mar-
ried to Henrie
the sixt.
An. R. ex
Popacion.

Shortlie after hir arriuall, she was conueied to the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where the with all nuptiall ceremonies was coupled in matrimonie to king Henrie the sixt of that name. ¶ On the eighteenth of Maie she came to London, all the lords of England in most sumptuous fort meeting and receiving hir upon the waie, and speciallie the duke of Glocester with such honour as stood with the dignitie of his person. Now when she came to Blackheath, the maior, aldermen, and men of occupations, in blew gowines imbodered with some device, expressing their art and trades whereby to be knowen, did all shew themselves, with congratulation of hir coming; from whence they attended hir to London, where with goodlie pageants and sundrie gallant historicall shewes in diuers places erected, she was verie magnificallie welcomed. The manner and order of which pompe in sundrie places exhibited to the high honour of the king, queene, & states, is verie ample set forth by Fabian, pag. 423, 424, 425, 426, 427. Upon the thirtieth of Maie next following, she was crowned queene of this realme of England at Westminster, with all the solemnities thereto appertaining.]

Chronicles of
10270

This marriage seemed to manie both infortunate and unprofitable to the realme of England, and that for manie causes. First, the king had not one penie with hir; and for the fetching of hir, the marquisse of Suffolke demanded a whole fiftenth in open parliament. And also there was deliuered for hir the duchie of Anion, the citie of Mans, and the whole countie of Maine, which countries were the verie states and backstays to the duchie of Normandie. And furthermore, the earle of Arminacke took such displeasure with the king of England for this marriage, that he became utter enemy to the crowne of England, and was the chief cause that the Englishmen were

expelled out of the whole duchie of Aquitaine.

But most of all it should seeme, that God was displeased with this marriage: for after the confirmation thereof, the kings friends fell from him, both in England and in France, the lords of his realme fell at diuision, and the commons rebelled in such sort, that finally after manie fields foughten, and manie thousands of men slaine, the king at length was deposed, and his sonne killed, and this queene sent home againe, with as much miserie and sorrow as she was receiued with pompe and triumph: such is the instabilitie of worldlie felicitie, and so waucering is false flattering fortune. Which mutation and change of the better for the worse could not but nettle and sting hir with pensiuensse, yea and anie other person what soeuer, that hauing bene in good estate, falleth into the contrarie: whereto the saying of the poet giueth credit, in these fewe words following;

*Quem res plus nimio delectauere secunda,
Mutatae quatiunt.*

Ouid. 2. de ars.

This yeare, after the deceasse of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, succceeded John Stafford in that see, being translated from Bath and Wells. He was the thirdecore and one archbishop, as Polydore noteth. During the time of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and diuerse other capteins repaired into England, both to visit their wiues, children, and friends, and also to consult what should be done, if the truce ended. For the which cause a parlement was called, in the which it was speciallie concluded, that by good foresight Normandie might be so furnished for defense before the end of the truce, that the French king should take no aduantage through want of timelie provision: for it was knowne, that if a peace were not concluded, the French king did prepare to imploie his whole puissance to make open warre. Whereupon monie was granted, an armie leuiued, and the duke of Summerfet appointed to be regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke thereof discharged.

Anno Reg. 24.

1446

The duke of
Summerfet
made regent
of Normadie,
and the duke
of Yorke dis-
charged.

I haue seene in a register booke belonging sometime to the abbeie of saint Albons, that the duke of Yorke was established regent of France, after the deceasse of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the tearme of five yeares; which being expired, he returned home, and was iustlike receiued of the king with thanks for his good seruice, as he had full well deserued in time of that his gouernement: and further, that now when a new regent was to be chosen and sent ouer, to abide upon safeguard of the countries beyond the seas as yet subiect to the English dominion, the said duke of Yorke was estimes (as a man most meet to supplie that ronne) appointed to go ouer againe, as regent of France with all his former allowances.

The duke of
Yorke appoint-
ed to charge
again.

But the duke of Summerfet still maligning the duke of Yorkes aduancement, as he had sought to hinder his dispatch at the first when he was sent ouer to be regent, as before ye haue heard: he likewise now wrought so, that the king reuoked his grant made to the duke of Yorke for enioieng of that office the terme of other five yeeres, and with helpe of William marquisse of Suffolke obtained that grant for himselfe. Which malicious dealing the duke of Yorke might so euill beare, that in the end the heate of displeasure burst out into such a flame, as consumed at length not onelie both those two noble personages, but also manie thousands of others, though in diuers times and seasons, as in places hereafter (as occasion serueth) it shall more euidentlie appeare. But now to retorne to the parlement.

The appoint-
ment disap-
pointed, and por-
ted to the mar-
quisse of
Suffolke.

The marques of Suffolke, supposing all men had as well liked his doings (during the time of his legation in France) as himselfe, the second daie of

The marques
of Suffolke
request.

June

June in the first session of this parlement, in the higher house openlie, eloquentlie, and boldlie declared his paine, trauell, and diligence susteined in his said legation, as well for the taking and concluding an abstinence of warre, as in the making of the marriage; remembering them also that the said truce expired the first of Aprill next, except a final peace, or a further truce were concluded in the meane season: and therefore he aduised them to prouide and foresee things necessarie for the warre (as though no concord should succeed) least happlie the Frenchmen perceiving them vnprouided, would take their advantage, and agree neither to peace nor amitie; seeing vnto them further, that sith he had admonished the king and them according to his dutie, if anie thing happened otherwise than well, he was thereof innocent and guiltlesse, and had acquitted himselfe like a true and louing subiect, and a faithfull counsellour, praieng the lords to haue it in remembrance.

Likewise on the morow after, he descended into the common house, accompanied with certeine lords, and there declared the same matter to the knights, citizens, and burgesses, praieng the commons for his discharge, that as well all his doings and proceedings in the kings affaires beyond the sea, as also his aduertisement and counsell opened to the lords and commons now together assembled, might be by the king and them inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement. Whereupon the next daie after, the speaker William Burghleie, and the companie of the lower house, repaired vnto the kings presence, sitting amongst the lords of the upper house, & there humbly required that the request of the marquess might be granted. And so likewise the lords made the like petition kneeling on their knees, inasmuch that the king condescended to their desires: and so the labours, demeanours, diligences, and declarations of the said marquess, together with the desires not onelie of the lords, but also of the commons, as well for the honour of him and his posteritie, as for his acquittal and discharge, were inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement.

The marquess of Suffolk, chiefe in favour and authority vnto the king and queene.

By the queenes meanes hostile after also was the said marquess aduanced so in authority, that he ruled the king at his pleasure, and to his high preferment obtained the wardships both of the bodie and lands of the countesse of Warwike, and of the ladie Margaret sole hette to John duke of Summerset, which ladie was afterwarde mother to king Henrie the seauenth: and besides that, caused the king to create John de Foix, sonne vnto Gaston de Foix, earle of Longuille, and the Capdau de Beuse earle of Kendall, which John had married his niece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter the said Gaston, and John his sonne, giuing to the sonne towards the maintenance of his degree, lands and castles, amounting to the summe of one thousand pounds, which lands, name, and stile the issue and line of the said earle of Kendall at this daie haue and inioy.

These things being thus in doing, the French king, seeing that the towne of Mans was not deliuered according to the appointment taken by force of the marriage, raised an armie for to recouer the same. Whereof the king of England being aduertised (least the breach of the truce should come by him) caused the towne to be deliuered without anie force.

A commotion in Norwiche.

This yeare was a great commotion in Norwiche against the prior of the place. At length the citizens opened the gates to the duke of Norfolke, who came thither to appease the matter, though at the first they would not suffer him to enter. The chiefe offenders were (according to their demerits) grauously punished and executed, and the mayor was discharged of

his office, and sir John Clifton was made gouernour there, vntill the king had restored the citizens to their ancient liberties. This commotion was begun for certeine new exactions which the prior claimed and took of the citizens, contrarie to their ancient freedom. But herein a wrong taken for getting of right was worthilie corrected.

In the foure and twentieth yeare of this kings reigne, the prior of Balmayne appeached the earle of 10 Ormond of treason. For triall thereof the place of combat was assigned in Smithfield, & the barriers for the same there readie pitcht. Wherbet, in the meane time a doctor of diuinitie, named maister Gilbert Worthington, parson of saint Andrews in Holborne, and other honest men, made such sute with diligent labour and paines-taking to the kings counsell, that when the daie of combat approached, the quarrell was taken into the kings hands, and there ended. In the same yeare also, a certeine armourer was appeached of treason by a seruant of his olone. For proue thereof a daie was given them to fight in Smithfield, inasmuch that in conflict the said armourer was ouercome and slaine; but yet by misgouerning of himselfe. For on the morow, when he should come to the field fresh and fasting, his neighbours came to him, and gaue him wine and strong drinke in such excessive sort, that he was therewith disempered, and reeled as he went, and so was slaine without guilt. As for the false seruant, he liued not 30 long unpunished; for being conuict of felonie in court of assise, he was iudged to be hanged, and so was at Tiburne.

Whilist the warres betwene the two nations of 40 England & France ceased (by occasion of the truce) the minds of men were not so quiet, but that such as were bent to malicious reuenge, sought to compasse their prepened purpose, not against foren foes and enemies of their countrie, but against their owne countrie men, and those that had deserued verie well of the common-wealth: and this speciallie for ouermuch mildnesse in the king, who by his authoritie might haue ruled both parts, and ordered all differences betwixt them, but that in deed he was thought to looke for gouernour of a kingdome. The queene contrariwise, a ladie of great wit, and no lesse courage, desirous of honour, and furnished with the gifts of reason, policie, and wisdome; but yet sometime (according to hir kind) when she had bene fullie bent on a matter, suddenlie like a weather cocke, new 50 table and turning.

This ladie disdaining that hir husband should be ruled rather than rule, could not abide that the duke of Gloucester should doe all things concerning the order of weightie affaires, least it might be said, that she had neither wit nor stomach, which would permit and suffer hir husband being of most perfect age, like a yong pupill to be gouerned by the direction of an other man. Although this toy entered first into hir braine thorough hir owne imagination, yet was 60 she pricked forward to the matter both by such of hir husbands counsell, as of long time had borne malice to the duke for his plainnesse vsed in declaring their vntuth (as partly ye haue heard) and also by counsell from king Reiner hir father, aduising that she and the king should take vpon them the rule of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, as wards and mised orphans.

What needeth manie words? The queene persuaded by these meanes, first of all excluded the duke of Gloucester from all rule and gouernance, not prohibiting such as she knewe to be his mostall foes to inuent and imagine causes and grieues against him and his, inasmuch that by hir procurement, diuerse noble men conspired against him. Of the which diuerse wretches

The liberties of aduersed kings have Inuice meane to reforme sayings.

Abraham Fabianus Polychronicon Combats in cases of appeals touching treason.

Dymoneste the countess of right and marriage.

Anno Reg. 25.

The despoison of the queene.

The quest which began for the procurement and delivery of the king.

ters affirme the marquesse of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe, not vnprocured by the cardinall of Winchester, and the archbishop of Yorke. Diuerse articles were laid against him in open counsell, and in especiall one; That he had caused men abhoyed to die, to be put to other execution, than the law of the land assigned. Suerlie the duke verie well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishing offenses in severity of iustice, gat him hatred of such as feared condigne reward for their wicked doings. And although the duke sufficientlie answered to all things against him objected: yet because his death was determined, his wisdome and innocencie nothing auailed.

But to avoid danger of tumult that might be raised, if a prince so well beloued of the people should be openlie executed; his enemies determined to worke their ends in his destruction, yet he should haue anie warning. For effecting whereof, a parliament was summoned to be kept at Berrie, whither resorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester; which on the second daie of the session was by the lord Beaumont, then high constable of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his seruants sequestred from him, and thirtie two of the chiefe of his retinue were sent to diuerse prisons, to the great admiration of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to prison, being the foure and twentieth of Februarie, was found dead in his bed, and his bodie shewed to the lords and commons, as though he had died of a palseie, or of an imposthume.

But all indifferent persons (as saith Hall) might well vnderstand that he died of some violent death. Some iudged him to be strangled, some affirme that an hot spit was put in at his fundament, other write that he was smothered betwene two featherbeds, and some haue affirmed that he died of verie greife, for that he might not come openlie to his answer. His dead corpe was conueied to saint Albons, and there buried. After his death, none of his seruants suffered: although fine of them, to wit, sir Roger Chamberlaine knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arsele esquires, and Richard Bebbam gentleman, were arrested, condemned, and draynen to Tisborne, where they were hanged, let downe quicke, and stripped to haue bene bowelled and quartered; but the marques of Suffolke comming at that instant brought their pardons, shewed the same openlie, and so their liues were saved.

Some thinke that the name and title of Gloucester hath bene vnluckie to diuerse, which for their honours haue bene created by creation of princes to that title and dignitie, as Hugh Spenser, Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne to king Edward the third, and this duke Humfreie: which three persons by miserable death finished their daies; and after them king Richard the third also duke of Gloucester in ciuill warre slaine. So that this name duke of Gloucester is taken for an unhappie title, as the proverbe speaketh of Seiers horse, whose rider was euer unhorsed, & whose possessor was euer brought to miserie. But suerlie, by the pittifull death of this noble duke and politike gouernour, the publike wealth of the realme came to great decay, as by sequelle here may more at large appeare.

[Of times it hapneth that a man in quenching of smoke, burneth his fingers in the fire:] so the queene in casting how to keepe hir husband in honoz, and hir selfe in authoritie, in making awaie of this noble man, brought that to passe, which she had most cause to haue feared, which was the deposing of hir husband, & the decaye of the house of Lancaster, which of

likelihood had not chanced if this duke had liued: for then durst not the duke of Yorke haue attempted to set forth his title to the crowne, as he afterwards did, to the great trouble of the realme, and destruction of king Henrie, and of manie other noble men beside. This is the opinion of men, but Gods iudgements are vnsearchable, against whose decre and ordinance preuaileth no humane counsell.

But to conclude of this noble duke: he was an bright and politike gouernour, bending all his induements to the aduancement of the common-wealth, verie loving to the poore commons, and so beloued of them againe; learned, wise, full of courtesie, void of pride and ambition (a vertue rare in personages of such high estate) but where it is most commendable. But sith the praise of this noble man deserueth a large discourse, and meet for such as haue cunning how to handle the same (sith the ornaments of his mind were both rare & admirable, the feats of chivalrie by him commended and atchined valiant and fortunate, his grauitie in counsell, and soundnesse of policie profound and singular, all which with a traine of other excellent properties linked together, requires a man of manifold gifts to aduance them according to their dignitie) I refer the readers vnto maister Foxes booke of Acts and Monuments. Onelie this I ad, that in respect of his noble indowments, and his demeanour full of decencie, which he daile vsed, it seemeth he might well haue giuen this prettie poesie,

Virtute duce non sanguine nitor.

In this sixt and twentieth yeare of the reigne of this king, but in the first of the rule of the queene, I find nothing done worthy of reherfall within the realme of England; but that the marquesse of Suffolke, by great fauour of the king, & more desire of the queene, was created to the title and dignitie of duke of Suffolke, which he a short time inioied. For Richard duke of Yorke being greatlie alied by his wife to the chiefe peeres and potentates of the realme, beside his owne progenie, perceiuing the king to be no ruler, but the whole burthen of the realme to rest in direction of the queene, & the duke of Suffolke, began secretlie to allure his friends of the nobilitie; and priuilie declared vnto them his title and right to the crowne, and likewise bid he to certaine wise gouernours of diuerse cities and townes. Which attempt was so politikelie handled, and so secretlie kept, that prouision to his purpose was readie, before his purpose was openlie published; and his friends opened themselves, yet the contrarie part could them espie: for in conclusion all hostlie in mischief burst out as ye may hereafter heare.

During these doings, Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and called the rich cardinall, departed out of this world, & buried at Westminster. He was son to John Duke of Lancaster, descended of an honorable linage, but borne in hast, more noble in blood than notable in learning, haucie in stomach, and high of countenance, rich aboue measure, but not verie liberall, disdainfull to his kin, and deadly to his lozers, preferring monie before friendship, manie things beginning and few performing, sating in malice and mischief; his insatiable couetousnesse and hope of long life made him both to forget God, his prince, and himselfe. Of the getting of his goods both by power legantine, and spirituall bribery, I will not speake; but the keeping of them, which he chiefelie gathered for ambitious purpose, was both great losse to his naturall prince and native countrie: for his hidden riches might haue well holpen the king, and his secret treasure might haue relieved the communalitie, when monie was scant and charges great.

[Of this catholike clerke such were the deeds, that

Anno Reg. 26.

Marquesse of Suffolke made duke.

The duke of Yorke reme-
ring about his
title to the
crowne.

I 4 4 8

The death of
the bishop of
Winchester &
his description.

W. P.
that

Lib. 2.º that wily king and ech estate else (saith Polydor) the lighter was the losse, because as for his hat he was a pꝛeclate proud enough, so for a bishop was there a better stone set in his rōme. One William Patin, son and heire to Richard his father, and eldest brother to John that decessed beane of Chichester, and to Richard that liued and died at Walslo in Derbishire. This William was a person by parentage bozne a gentleman, for vertue and learning first consecrate bishop of Winchester, then anon after for wisdom and integritie chosen lord chancelloꝝ of England: wherein his pꝛudence made eminent, in warlike weilding the weight of that office at those daies, which were so dangerous for all estates to liue in.

His vertuous disposition was right apparant, and it were but by this the godlie erection of that worthe worke, apogadale college in Wyrdow, a plot right aptlie chosen out for studie at first, with strength and workmanship sone after builded according, in proportion beautifull outward, and for his vertie commodious within, fostered into a faire mansion for the president, severall and meet for a man to that office of worship and grauitie, and also into other rooms for the fellows, officers, and yonger students. Not without a vertuous remembrance of the vertie benefactors, who might appeare to be toward and ready; whereof part to be trained vp in the diuine science of musike inslie reported in a distinction, that

*Gaudia si superum res sit mortalibus ulla,
Integra quæ referat; musica sola refert:*

the vse of it commendable serving by sweet harmonie to praise God in church, and for delectable recreation to a gentlemanlike mind any where else: and part of these young ones to be taught the grammar in a faire schoole well appointed therefore, out of which as out of a nurserie of it owne, for supplement certeyne to keepe full the number, these budlings at need from time to time to be dillie devined and daven.

Now somewhat in casting vpon this deuout mans
 deuils and compasse; to consider the companie of
 students there, that in severall sciences and sundrie
 professions are, not a few; then their assigned studies
 and exercises in them, their steps in rising & reward
 for diligence, from the lowest logician to the highest
 degrees of doctrine in scholes, their officers in house,
 their orders for governance in manners, in safeguard
 of health and helpe in sicknesse: and that chieftest is,
 the revenues certeine for poullion & maintenance
 of all, it may be a question not easie to answer: whe-
 ther at first in this founders meditation vpon such a
 worke were a mind more magnifick, or a more am-
 plitude of abilitie after in so absolute a forme to per-
 forme it, or else a profounder wisdome for perpetu-
 tie into so perfect an order in all points to haue first it.

It was a fashion at those daies, long also after, & since, from a learned spirituall man to take alwaie the fathers surname (were it neuer so worshippingfull or ancient) and give him for; so the name of the towne he was borne in: and so was Richard Notingham a learned frer minoꝛite in king Edward the seconds daies called of Notingham where he was borne; John Blinche a learned monke in those daies also, named of an Iland wherein he was borne nie Gloucester; of Barton in Lincolnshire one William Barton in Richard the seconds reigne; for that time a famous doctor and chancelor of Oxford; Walter Dillse, of Dillse in Suffolke a learned Carmelite frer, confessor to the duke and duchesse of Lancaster in king Henrie the fourths reigne; Richard Hampole of a towne in Yorkshire, a zealous doctor, and after a vertuous heremit in king Henrie the sixths daies.

And after this sort many hundreds more that had their names so altered; as even in like manner unto this reverend prelat in the prime of his towardnesse

was changed his fathers surname Paten to Wat-
slett of the towne where he was borne in Lin-
colne-shire : a matter right proueable aswell by the
records of the house there extant, as by a faire deduc-
tione maineing among other his proper euidences, in the
hands of the worshipfull maister Thomas Finsburgh
esquier, the quenes maiesties rememb'ancer in
the chesker at Welsminster. And as the names
of Germin, German, Germi, are but for one name
though diuerslie twisted, and all to remember Ger-
manie, the countrie their ancestors came from; and
also as Jute, Iud, and Chute, are all but for the
race of Jutes, one of the three first Germanic nations
that came in with Hozfus and Hengist; and Caltrap,
Caltrap and Calthrope was all but for Calthrope; that
signifieth a cold towne; how euer it be otherwise twi-
ed : euen so Paten, Patin, Patten, or Paten, is but
a mention of the old Saron name, that trulie at first
was Patan; of Pate, the sole of the foot, and thereof
Patan to signific flat footed, as among the Latines
they were called Plautus or Plancus: so Cicero of a
chiche or fare; Palones, Labiones and Labieni,
well nosed and lipst; & manie moze after that lost in
manie tonges elsse so deriued.

That right manie students skilfull in the profoundest sciences and learned tongues, manie venerable clerks, who in most weightie causes with singular wisdom, successe and faith, haue serued their prince and countrie this college hath brought forth: hereto that manie toward wits it fill to haue, hath had the good hap (which happilie yet to it doth reteine) may here with modestie a litle be touched, neither to comparison that 'were contentious folke, no; yet to lache glorie that cannot be but baine, but onlie in stozie to mind, howe vnto purposes vertuoulie deuised and wisely pursued, Gods goodnesse alwaies giueth diuining and thrist according.

¶ In this seuen and twentieth yeare of king Hen-
 40 rics reigne, as witnesse the English chronicles, a
 knight of France called sir Leues de Beuill chal-
 lenged an esquier of England, named Gaue Chal-
 lons, to triall of certeine feats of warre. Whereupon
 (as was thought conuenient) a date was appointed
 them to make proofe thereof; the place also was assig-
 ned of their meeting, to wit, at a towne in France
 called Maunt o; Maunce, where the French king at
 the saune time was personallie present. But fortune
 (saith mine autho^r) was to Challons so favourable,
 and leaned so much to his side, that he ran the French
 50 knight through with the point of his fatal spear:

Hunc illi finem lingua superba dedit.

The Englishesquier seeing the unfortunate event of this trial to fall to the shame of the challenger, was so far from reioysing at his overthrow, that he was touched with christian compassion, & moyned for his ennemie, for whome also he kept an obsequie as if he had bene his owne naturall brother, and descended of the same parents. For whiche mercifull motions of mind inwardlie working, and outwardlie appearing, he was of the king greatlie commended. But doubtfull it is, whether the other, if he had survived, and got the upper hand, would haue had the like reuerend care of the Englishmans dead bodie, as to haue vouchsafed it a solemne interment.

As the affaires in France now were neither well looked to, nor the gouernours there well aduised, an English capteine called sir Francis Surienmes, here named the Aragonois, of the countrie where he was borne, a man for his wit and activitie admitted into the order of the garter, took by scaling foudencie in the night of the euen of our ladic daie in Lent, a towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to the duke of Britaine called Fougiers, spoiling the same, and killing the inhabitants. The duke of Britaine,

tainie, being hereof aduertised, sent word by the bishop of Meines to the French king, beseeching him of his aid and counsell in the matter.

The French king forthwith sent his caruer John Hauart, and John Cosinct one of the maisters of his requests to the king of England: and to the duke of Summerfet he dispatched Peter de Fontaines the maister of his house. To which messengers answer was made aswell by the king as the duke, that the fact was done without their knowledge. And for the truce to be kept, and not onelie restitution, but also amends to be made to the duke of Britaine, a daie of diet was appointed to be kept at Louiers, where the commissioners on both parts being assembled, the Frenchmen demanded amends, with no small recompense. The Englishmen answered, that without offense, nothing by iustice ought to be satisfied; affirming the doing of sir Francis Surinnes to be onelie his act, without consent either of the king of England, or of the duke of Summerfet his lieutenant and regent.

But while with long delaie they talked of this matter at Louiers, certaine Frenchmen by aduertisement of a wagoner of Louiers, vnderstanding that the towne of Pont de Larch was but slenderlie manned; the wagoner laded his wagon and passed forward, hauing in his companie two strong varlets clad like carpentars, with great ares on their shoulders. And hereto is seigneur de Bresse with a chosen companie of men of armes, lodged himselfe in ambushment nere to the gate of S. Andreu, and capteine Floquet, accompanied with sir James de Clermont, and another great companie prailie lurked vnder a wood toward Louiers. When all things were appointed for the purpose, earlie in a morning about the beginning of October, the wagoner came to the gate, and called the porter by name, praiesing him to open the gate, that he might passe to Rone, and returne againe the same night.

The porter (which well knew the voice of his customer) toke little heed to the other two companions, and so opened the one gate, and sent another fellow of his to open the foremost gate. When the chariot was on the draw-bridge betwene both the gates, the chariot-maister gaue the porter monie, and for the nonce let one pece fall on the ground: and while the porter stooped to take it vp, the wagoner with his dagger stroke him in at his throat, so that he cried for no helpe, and the two great lubbers slue the other porters, and with their ares cut the axeltre of the wagon, so that the draw-bridge could not be shottlie drawen vp. This done they made a signe to capteine Floquet, which with all speed entered the towne, slue and toke all the Englishmen: and amongst other, the lord Fauconbridge capteine of the said towne was taken prisoner. The losse of this place was of no small importance, being the verie keie and passage ouer the riuer of Seine, from France into Normandie, being distant from Rone onelie foure leagues.

When request was made to haue it restored againe to the Englishmen, answer was made, that if they restored, to the duke of Britaine, the towne of Fougieres with conbigne amends for the damages done there, the towne of Pont Larch should then be againe deliuered, or else not. And thortlie after, in hope of like successe the French king assembled an armie, and diuiding the same in three parts, got by surrender (after sundrie assaults, and losse of diuerse of his men) the townes of Louiers, & Gerbois, whereof William Harper was capteine. Also the towne, castell, and great tower of Verneucill in Perche were rendered into the French kings hands, after twentie daies of respit granted, to see if rescues

would haue come. The French writers affirme the towne to be taken by assault.

This was the warre renewed before the terme of truce fullie expired, & the English captiues brought to their wits end, what with appealing daile rumors within the townes; and what with studie how to recouer castels lost and taken: for while they studied how to keepe and defend one place, foure or five other turned to the French part. The chiefe cause of which reuolting was, for that it was blowen abroad thorough France, how the realme of England, after the death of the duke of Glocester by the seuerall factions of princes was diuided in two parts; and that William de la Pole latelie created duke of Suffolke, and diuerse other, which were the occasion of the said duke of Glocesters death, bered and oppressed the poore people, so that mens minds were not intentiue to outward affaires: but all their studie giuen to keepe off wrongs offered at home.

The king little regarding the matter, & the queene led by euill counsell, rather furthered such mischiefes as daile began to grow by ciuill discord, than sought to reforme them: so that the Normans and Gascoignes vnderstanding in what state things stood here, turned to the French part, as hereafter it may appeare. About the same time also, began a new rebellion in Ireland; but Richard duke of Yorke being sent thither to appease the same, so asswaged the furie of the wild and sauage people there, that he wan him such fauour amongst them, as could neuer be separated from him and his linage, which in the sequelle of this historie may more plainelie appeare.

The Frenchmen, hauing perfect vnderstanding of the vncertainesse of the realme of England, displayed their banners, and set forth their armies, and in short space got (by yielding) Constance, Cisors, castell Galliard, Montean de Mere, saint Lo, Feslampe, Newcastell, Tonque, Mauleon, Argenton, Lisseur, and diuerse other townes and places within the countrie of Normandie. Likewise in Guien was the towne of Haulisson rendered to the earle of Foix. These townes were not yielded voluntarielie by the English souldiers: but they were compelled thereto by the inhabitants of the townes, which hauing intelligence of the feeble estate of the realme of England, rose against the captiues, opened the gates to the enemies, or constrained them to render vpon composition. By which inforcement was the rich citie of Rone deliuered: for suerlie the duke of Summerfet and the earle of Shrewsburie had well kept that citie, if they had bene no more bered with the citizens, than they were with their enemies.

For after that the French king had giuen summons to the citie, the inhabitants straightwaies did not onelie deulie which waies they might betraie the citie, but also put on armes, and rebelled openlie against their captiues: who perceiving the vnruth of them, and their owne danger, retired into the castell or palace, where (for a certaine space) with arrowes & handguns they sore molested the vnrue citizens. But at length, vnderstanding the great puissance of the French king at hand, and despairing of all aid and succour, they yielded vpon condition; that with all their goods and armour they should safelie depart to Caen, and that certaine townes should be deliuered by a day. And till the same townes were rendered, the earle of Shrewsburie and the lord Butler, sonne to the earle of Dymond, were left behind as pledges, which were sent to the castell of Cursur, because they sore feared the malice of the citizens of Rone.

The Frenchmen, following the successe in hand, came to Harfue, and fiercelie assaulted the walles: but by the high prowesse and vndanted beliancie of the capteine, sir Thomas Curson, they were to their

The warres renewed before the end of the truce.

A rebellion in Ireland.

The English loste all in France.

Rone yielded to the French men.

Harfue besieged, Sir Thomas Curson.

Hunsloe paid
to the
French.

Anno Reg. 28.

1450

Sir Thomas
Kiriell with a
new band in-
to France.

The English
men over-
throwne at
Fornigine.

Or rather
Goche.

Caen besieged
and yielded
to the French.

great losse manfullie by him repelled, and beaten. The Frenchmen learning witt by this great perill, lest their sealing, and deuised daile how to batter the walles, & make the breaches reasonable for them to enter. This siege long continued to the great losse of both parties. When sir Thomas Curson saw no likelihood of gaine, but great apperance of present losse, he fell at composition with the enimies, and so departed with all his goods. After which towne rendered, the fortreffe of Hunsloe was vpon like composition yielded. And beside these townes surrendered in Normandie, the duke of Britaine recovered a gaine Fougiers, saint James de Beuuron, and diuerse other.

In the meane season the king of England sent into Normandie (with a new supplie of a thousand five hundred men) a right valiant capteine called sir Thomas Kiriell, who ioining himselfe with other English capteins recovered the townes of Lisieure and Talongnes, and hauing with him power sufficient (as he toke it) to keepe the fields, he departed the twelue of Aprill from Talongnes, meaning to passe towards Baieur, and after to Caen. But the eighteenth daie of the same moneth, he was incountried at a place called Fornigine betwixt Carenten and Baieur, by the earle of Cleremont, & other Frenchmen with Scots. At the first onset, the Englishmen receiued their enimies with such manhood, that the Frenchmen were driuen backe, and the Englishmen toke from them two culuerings.

But yet in the end, by the coming of the constable of France, Arthur de Britaine earle of Richmond, who brought with him two hundred or twelue score men of armes, and an eight hundred archers or demilances, the Englishmen were discomfited, put to flight, and slaine, to the number of thre thousand, seauen hundred, thre score and thirtene, as Engueran noteth, beside prisoners, of whome there were diuerse personages of account, as the said sir Thomas Kiriell himselfe, sir Henrie Roherie, sir Thomas Dyeu, sir Thomas Kirklie, Christopher Auberton, Arpell, Helice, Alengour, Zenniquin, Clacquier, Gobart, Caleuille, and sundrie other. Sir Robert Aier, and sir Matthew Cough that valiant Welshman, and manie other escaped so well as they might, some to Baieur, some to Caen, and other to other places as best they could.

After this ouerthrow obtained, the French king assembled an armie roiall, and coming before Caen, besieged it on all sides: and after making his approaches, fiercelie assailed the walles. But the duke of Summerfet, and the other capteins within the towne, manfullie withstood their enimies, shewing both force and great policie in defending and beating backe the assailants. The French king, perceiuing he could not preuaile that waie, sent for all his great ordinance to Paris, which being brought, he daile shot at the wals, and did some hurt: but to the castell which stood on a rocke, and in it a dungeon vnable to be beaten downe, he did no harme at all.

Though the duke of Summerfet was the kings lieutenant, yet sir Dauid Hall, as capteine of this towne for his maister the duke of Booke owner thereof, toke vpon him the chiefe charge. Sir Robert Aier was capteine of the castell, and sir Henrie Radford capteine of the dungeon. Daile the shot was great, but moze terrible than hurtfull: fauing on a daie a stone shot into the towne, fell betweene the orichesse of Summerfet, and his children, which being amazed with this chance, besought hir husband kneeling on hir knees, to haue mercie and compassion of his small infants, and that they might be deliuered out of the towne in safegard. Which intretie made with teares and submission, that eare could but listen to,

what heart but yerne at; vnlesse both eare and heart were made of flint or marble, or betwen out of a hard rocke, and so void of all passions, of all remorses, of all affections belonging to humanitie?

The duke pittifull, moued with the sorrow of his wife, and loue of his children, rendered the towne against the mind of sir Dauid Hall, whose counsell and faithfull diligence (in acquitting himselfe to answer the trust committed to him by his maister) if others had followed; the French had sustained more trauell and losse, yet they should haue so easilie attained their purpose. The conditions of the surrender were, that the duke of Summerfet and his might depart in safegard with all their gods and substance. Sir Dauid Hall with diuerse of his trustie friends departed to Chierburgh, and from thence sailed into Ireland to the duke of Booke, making relation to him of all these doings, which thing kindled so great a ranco in the dukes heart and stomach, that he neuer left persecuting the duke of Summerfet, vntill he had brought him to his fatall end & confusion. Such is the nature of ranco and malice, of wrath and anger, which furthereth the hands euen of weaklings, on them to weake their teene, with whome they are offended & pricked to reuengment, as the poet saith:

Quislibet infirmus adiuvat ira manus.

After the obtaining of Caen, the earle of Cleremont besieged the citie of Lisieure, whereof was capteine Matthew Cough with thre hundred Englishmen, who in the end deliuered that towne, vpon condition, that he and his people might depart to Chierburgh. Then was Jalais besieged, whereof were capteins for the earle of Shrewsburie (that was the owner) Andrey Rollop, and Thomas Cotton esquires, who being in despaire of all succors, agreed to deliuer it vpon two conditions. The one was, that the earle their maister, which remained in pledge for the performance of certeine appointments, concluded at the deliuerie of Rone (as ye haue hard) should be set at libertie. The other, that if they were not rescued within twelue daies, that then they and theirs should depart with armes, and all their gods mouable, whither it pleased them.

At the daie appointed, the towne was rendered, and so likewise was the towne of Dampfont vpon the semblable agreement. Now rested onlie English the towne of Chierburgh, whereof was capteine one Thomas Conuillie, which suerlie as long as victuels and munition serued, defended the towne right manfullie: but without hope of repaire, consumed, and he els destitute of all comfort and aid, vpon a reasonable composition, yielded the towne, and went to Calis, where the duke of Summerfet and manie other Englishmen then sojourned. Thus was Normandie lost cleerlie out of the Englishmens hands, vntill after it had continued in their possession the space of thirtie yeares by the conquest of Henrie the sixt.

In this duchie were an hundred strong townes and fortresses, able to be kept and holden, beside them which were destroyed by the warres; and in the same is one archbishoprike, and six bishoprikes. Some saie that the Englishmen were not of puissance either to man the townes, as they should haue bene; or to inhabit the countrie, which was the cause they could not keepe it. Other saie, that the duke of Summerfet for his owne peculiar lucre, kept not halfe the number of souldiours for which he was appointed and allowed, but put the wages in his purse. But the chiefe and onlie cause vndoubtedlie, was the diuision within the realme, euerie great man desiring rather to be reuenged on his foe at home, than on the common enimie abroad, as by that which followeth you may plainelie perceiue.

[For whilst the French thus triumphed in Normandie,

The terrible
crueltye here
betwixt the
two dukes.

The dukes
offit.

The causes
of the losse.

The diuision
within the
realme.

Anno Reg. 28.
W. H.

manie, the cruell enimies among manie (as by ciuill warre and sedition insuing appeared) soe viced the utter ruine of this reame at home. One was presumption in gouernance, by some that were most vnmeet to rule, as the queene with hir priuie counsellors and minions; then the deablie malice and pride, with insatiable couetise in the states both spirituall and temporall: and lastlie the generall grudge of the people, for the vniuersall smart that through misgouernment euerie where they suffered; who thus foruered with the pesse of burthens too heauie for them anie longer to beare.]

Wherewith perceiving how (through want of prouident wisdom in the gouernour) all things went to wracke, as well within the realme as without; they began to make exclamation against the duke of Suffolke, charging him to be the onelie cause of the deluetie of Anion, and Spaine, the chiefe procuror of the duke of Glocesters death, the verie occasion of the losse of Normandie, the swallower vp of the kings treasure, the remouer of god and vertuous counsellours from about the prince, and the aduancer of vicious persons, and of such as by their doings shewed themselves apparant aduerfaries to the common-wealth.

The queene hereat doubting not onelie the dukes destruction, but also hir owne confusion, caused the parliament before begun at the Blackfriers, to be adourned to Leicester, thinking there, by force and rigour of law, to suppress and subdue all the malice and euill will conceiued against the duke & hir. At which place few of the nobilitie would appeare: wherefore it was againe adourned to Westminster, where was a full appearance. In the which session the commons of the nether house put vp to the king and the lords manie articles of treason, misprision, and euill demeanour, against the duke of Suffolke: the effect whereof with his answers here insaeth.

Articles proponed by the commons against the duke of Suffolke.

First they alleged that he had traitorously excited, prouoked, and counselled John earle of Dunois, Bertram lord Presigne, William Cusinet, enemies to the king, and friends and ambassadours to Charles, calling himselfe French king, to enter into this realme; and to leaue warre against the king and his people, to the intent to destroye the king and his friends, and to make John his sonne king of this realme, marieng him to Margaret, sole heire to John duke of Summerfet, pretending and declaring hir to be next heire inheritable to the crowne, for lacke of issue, of the kings bodie lawfullie begotten.

Item, the said duke, being of the kings priuie and nere counsell, allured by great rewards and faire promises, made by the said earle of Dunois, caused the king to deliuer and set at libertie, Charles duke of Orleans, enimie to the king, and the kings noble father: which deliuerance was prohibited by express words, in the last will of the kings most victorious father.

Item, that before the departing of the said duke of Orleans, the aforesaid duke of Suffolke traitorously fast cleauing to Charles called the French king, counselled, prouoked, and intised the said duke of Orleans, to moue the same king to make warre against England, both in France and Normandie. According to which procurement & counsell, the said French king hath recouered the whole realme of

France, and all the duchie of Normandie, and taken prisoners the earle of Arquesburie, the lord Fauconbridge, and manie other valiant capitains. These three articles aforesaid he denied, either for fact or thought.]

Further it was alleged, that he being ambassadour for the king of England, to Charles calling himselfe the French king, promised to Reiner king of Sicill, and to Charles d'Angiers his brother, enimies to the king, the release of Anion, with the deliuerance of the countie of Spaine, and the citie of Gaunt or Paris, without the knowledge of the other ambassadours with him accompanied. Which promise, after his returne, he caused to be performed, to the kings disinheretance and losse irrecoverable, and to the strength of his enimies, and feblishment of the duchie of Normandie. To this article he answered, that his commission was to conclud, and doe all things according to his discretion, for the obtaining of a peace: & because without deliuerie of those countries, he perceived that the truce could not be obtained, he agreed to the release and deliuerance of them.]

Also they had great cause to iudge by the sequel, that the said duke being in France in the kings seruice, and one of the priuie of his counsell there, traitorously declared and opened to the capitains and conductors of warre, appertaining to the kings enimies, the kings counsell, purtuance of his armies, furniture of his townes, & all other ordinnances, whereby the kings enimies (instructed aforesaid by his traitorous information) haue gotten townes and foytresses, and the king by that meanes depriued of his inheritance.

Item, the said duke declared to the earle of Dunois, to the lord Presigne, and William Cusinet ambassadours for the French king lieng in London, the priuies of the kings counsell, both for the prouision of further warre, and also for the defense of the duchie of Normandie: by the disclosing whereof, the Frenchmen knowing the king secrets, defeated the kings appointments, and they obtained their purpose.

Item, that the said duke, at such time as the king sent ambassadours to the French king, for the intreating of peace, traitorously before their coming to the French court, certified king Charles of their commission, authoritie, and instructions: by reason whereof, neither peace nor amitie succeeded, and the kings inheritance lost, and by his enimies possessed.

Item, the same duke said openlie in the Star-chamber before the lords of the counsell; that he had as high a place in the counsell-house of the French king, as he had there: and was as well trusted there as here, and could remove from the French king the priuieest man of his counsell, if he would.

Item, when armies haue bene prepared, and souldiers readie to passe over the sea, to deale with the kings enimies: the said duke, corrupted by rewards of the French king, hath restreined & staied the said armies to passe anie further.

Item, the said duke being ambassadour for the king, compassed not in the league (as the kings allies) neither the king of Aragon, neither the duke of Britaine: but suffered them to be compassed on the contrarie part. By reason whereof, the old amitie of the k. of Aragon is estranged from this realme, and the duke of Britaine became enimie to the same: Giles his brother, the kings sure friend, cast in strong prison, and there like to end his daies.]

All these objections he vtterlie denied, or faintlie auoided: but none fullie excused. Diuerse other

crimes were laid to his charge, as enriching himselfe with the kings goods and lands, gathering together and making a monopolie of offices, fees, wards, and farmes, by reason whereof, the kings estate was greatly diminished and decayed, and he and his kin highly exalted & enriched: with manie other points, which because they be not notable nor of great force or strength, I omit and overpasse.

The duke of
Suffolke com-
mitted to the
Tower.

The quene, which interlie loved the duke, doubting some commotion and trouble to arise, if he were let go unpunished, caused him for a colour to be committed to the Tower: where he remained not past a moneth, but was againe deliuered and restored to the kings fauour, as much as euer he was before. This doing so much displeased the people, that if politike prouision had not bene, great mischefe had immediatlie ensued. For the commons in sundrie places of the realme assembled together in great companies, and chose to them a capteine, whome they called Blewbeard: but per they had attempted anie enterprise, their leaders were apprehended; & so the matter pacified without anie hurt committed.

Blewbeard
capteine of
the rebels.

After this outrage thus asswaged, the parlement was adiourned to Leicester, whither came the king and quene in great estate, and with them the duke of Suffolke as chiefe counsellour. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their old grudge, besought the king, that such persons as assented to the release of Anion, and deliuerance of Maine, might be duly punished. And to be priuie to that fact, they accused as principall, the duke of Suffolke, with John bishop of Salisbury, and sir James Fines, lord Sate, and diuerse others. When the king perceived that there was no remedie to appease the peoples furie by anie colourable waies, shortlie to pacifie so long an hatred, he first sequestred the lord Sate being treasurer of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices and romes, and after banished the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred rodd and common noiance of the whole realme, for tearme of five yeares, meaning by this exile to appease the malice of the people for the time, and after (when the matter should be forgotten) to reuoke him home againe.

The suspected
death of
the duke of
Suffolke.

But Gods iustice would not that so ingratious a person should so escape: for when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to transport himselfe over into France, he was encountered with a ship of warre, appertaining to the duke of Gloucester, constable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower. The capteine of that barke with small fight entered into the dukes ship, and perceiving his person present, brought him to Dover road, and there on the one side of a cocke bote caused his head to be stricken off, and left his bodie with the head lying there on the sands. Which corps being there found by a chapleine of his, was conuied to Wilingfield college in Suffolke, and there buried. This end had William de la Pole duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods prouidence; for that he had procured the death of that good duke of Gloucester, as before is partly touched.

Cocke Cades
rebellion in
Kent.

Some after an other disquiet befell here. Those that favoured the duke of Yorke, and wished the crowne vpon his head, for that (as they iudged) he had more right thereto than he that ware it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner. A certeine young man of a goodlie stature and right pregnant of wit, was intitled to take vpon him the name of John Northmer cosine to the duke of Yorke (although his name was John Cade, or (of some) John Spend-all [an Irishman as Polychronicon saith] and not for a small policie, thinking by that surname, that those which favoured the house of the earle of March would

be assitant to him. And so in deed it came to passe (as in such cases there is no breeder of a boile but he shall find adherents enow, no lesse forward to further his pernicious enterprise by their folhardines, than himselfe was in the plot of his deuisse) though in fine (as it is the unluckie lot of such tumults) their attempts were withstood, and their offense duly rewarded, as in proceesse of the storie shall more at large appeare; according to the wisemens sentence:

Sape in magistrum scelera redeunt sua.

This capteine assembling a great companie of tall personages, assured them, that the enterprise which he toke in hand, was both honourable to God and the king, and profitable to the whole realme. For if either by force or policie they might get the king and quene into their hands, he would cause them to be honourable vsed, and take such order for the punishing and reforming of the midemeanours of their bad counsellours, that neither officers should hereafter be demanded, nor once anie impositions or tares be spoken of. The Kentish people moued at these persuasions & other faire promises of reformation, in good order of battell (though not in great number) came with their capteine vnto the plaine of Blackheath, betwene Eltham and Crayke, and there kept the field more than a month, pilling the countrie about; to whome the citie of London at that time was verie fauourable. And the said capteine (as I find recorded saith John Stow) sent for such citizens of London as it pleased him to command to repaire vnto him, vnder letters of safe conduct, as followeth.

Abc. Fl. c.
L. S. 63.

The safegard and signe manuell of the
capteine of Kent, sent to Thomas Cocke draper
of London, by the capteine of the great
assemblee in Kent.

By this our writing insealed, we grant & will permit trulle, that Thomas Cocke of London draper, shall come in god suertie and in safegard to our presence, without anie hurt of his person; and so auoid from vs againe at his pleasure, with all other persons assigned at his denomination with him comming in likewise.

The commandement by the capteine
of Kent, sent vnto Thomas Cocke
aboue said.

We your instruction, first ye shall charge all Lumbards and strangers, being merchants, Genowais, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this daie to draw them together; and to ordeine for vs the capteine, twelue harnesses complet of the best fashion, foure & twentie brigandins, twelue battell axes, twelue glaues, six hoeses with saddle and bridle completlie harnessed, and a thousand markes of readie monie. And if this our demand be not obserued & done, we shall haue the heads of as manie as we can get of them.

And to the intent the cause of this glorious capteins comming thither, might be shadowed vnder a cloke of god meaning (though his intent nothing so) he sent vnto the king an humble supplication, affirming that his comming was not against his grace, but

but against such of his counsellours, as were louers of themselves, and oppressors of the poore commonal-
rie; flatterers of the king, and crinicks to his honor;
suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subiects;
partiall to their friends, and extreame to their ene-
mies: thorough bydes corrupted, and for indifferen-
cie doing nothing. ¶ Here, because a full report of
this infurcation maie passe to the knowledge of the
readers; it is necessarie to set downe the articles of
the commons complaints touching the premises, 10
whereof a copie was sent to the parlement then hold-
en at Westminster, with their bill of requests con-
cerning abuses to be reformed.

The complaint of the commons of
Kent, and causes of their assemblie
on the Blackheath.

In pmissis, it is openlie nossed that Kent 20
should be destroyed with a roiall power,
made a wild forrest, for the death of the
duke of Suffolke, of which the commons
in Kent thereof were neuer giltye.

Item, the king is stirred to lue onelie on his
commons, and other men to haue the reuenues of
the crowne, the which hath caused pouertie in his ex-
chequer, and great payments of the people, now
late to the king granted in his parlement.

Item, that the lordes of his roiall bloud beene 30
put from his baillie presence, and other meane per-
sons of lower nature exalted and made chiefe of his
privie counsell, the which stoppeth matters of wrongs
done in the realme from his excellent audience, and
maie not be redressed as law will; but if bydes and
gifts be messengers to the hands of the said coun-
sell.

Item, the people of this realme be not paid of
debts owing for stiffe and puruicance taken to the
use of the kings household, in vndowing of the said peo- 40
ple, and the poore commons of the realme.

Item, the kings mensall seruants of household,
and other persons, asken baillie goods and landes, of
impeached or indicted of treason, the which the king
granted anon, yet they so indangered be consulted.
The which causeth the receivers thereof to inforce la-
bours and meanes applied to the death of such people,
so approached or indicted, by subtill meanes, for coue-
lits of the said grants: and the people so impeached or
indicted, though it be vnttrue, maie not be committed
to the law for their deliuerance, but held still in pri-
son, to their vttermost vndowing & destruction, for co-
uettise of goods.

Item, though diuerse of the poore people and
commons of the realme, haue neuer so great right,
true, and perfect title to their land: yet by vnttrue
claime of inuicement made vnto diuerse states,
gentles, and the kings mensall seruants in mainte-
nances against the right, the true owners dare not
hold, claime, nor pursue their right.

Item, it is noised by common voices, that the
kings lands in France beene aliened and put awaie
from the crowne, and his lordes and people there de-
stroyed with vnttrue meanes of treason; of which it is
desired, inquiries thorough all the realme to be made
how and by whome; & if such traitors maie be found
giltye, them to haue execution of law without anie
pardon, in example of others.

Item, collectors of the fifteenth penie in
Kent be greatlie bered and hurt, in payeing great
summes of monie in the exchequer, to sue out a writ
called *Quorum nomina*, for the allowance of the barons
of the ports, which now is desired, that hereafter in
the lieu of the collectors, the barons aforesaid maie

sue it out for their ease at their owne costs.

Item, the shiriffes and vnder-shiriffes let to
farme their offices and bailliwicks, taking great
suertie therefore, the which causeth extortions done by
them and by their bailliffes to the people.

Item, simple and poore people that vse not
hunting, be greatlie oppressed by indictments feined
& done by the said shiriffes, vnder-shiriffes, bailliffes,
and other of their assent, to cause their increase for
payeing of their said farme.

Item, they retorne in names of inquests in
writing into diuerse courts of the king not summo-
ned nor warned, where through the people dailie lese
great summes of monie, well nigh to the vttermost
of their vndowing: and make leuie of amercements
called the greene towar, moze in summes of monie
than can be found due of record in the kings books.

Item, the ministers of the court of Douer in
Kent bey and arrest diuerse people thorough all the
shire out of Castle ward, passing their bounds and li-
bertie vied of old time, by diuerse subtill and vnttrue
meanes and actions falselie feined, taking great fees
at their lust in great hurt of the people on all the
shire of Kent.

Item, the people of the said shire of Kent,
maie not haue their free election in the choosing of
knights of the shire: but letters beene sent from di-
uerse estates to the great rulers of all the countrie,
the which imbrace their tenants and other people by
force to chose other persons than the commons will is.

Item, whereas knights of the shire should
chose the kings collectors indifferentlie without any
byde taking, they haue sent now late to diuerse per-
sons, notifying them to be collectors; whereupon gifts
and bydes be taken, & so the collectors office is bought
and sold extortionously at the knights lust.

Item, the people be soze bered in costs and
labour, called to the sessions of peace in the said
shire, appearing from the furthest and vttermost part
of the west vnto the east; the which causeth to some
men five daies iournie: whereupon they desire the
said appareance to be diuided into two parts; the
which one part, to appeare in one place; an other part,
in an other place; in releuing of the greauances and
intollerable labours & berations of the said people.

The requests by the capteine of the
great assemblie in Kent.

In pmissis, desireth the capteine of the
commons, the welfare of our soueraigne
our king, and all his true lords spiri-
tuall and temporall, desiring of our said
soueraigne lord, and of all the true lords of his coun-
cell, he to take in all his demaines, that he maie
reigne like a king roiall, according as he is bozne
our true and christian king annointed: and who so
will saie the contrarie, we all will liue and die in the
quarrell as his true liege men.

Item, desireth the said capteine, that he will auoid
all the false progente and affinitie of the duke of Suff-
olke, the which beene openlie knowne, and they to be
punished after the custome and law of this land, and
to take about his noble person the true lords of his
roiall bloud of this his realme, that is to saie, the high
and mightie prince the duke of Yorke, late exiled
from our said soueraigne lords presence (by the mo-
tion and stirring of the traitorous and false disposed
the duke of Suffolke and his affinitie) and the mightie
princes & dukes of Excester, Buckingham, and
Suffolke, and all the earles and barons of this land:
and then shall he be the richest king christian.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons
punishment vnto the false traitors, the which contri-
ued

ued and imagined the death of the high, nightfull and excellent prince the duke of Gloucester, the which is too much to rehearse; the which duke was proclaimed as traitor. Upon the which quarrell, we purpose all to live and die upon that that it is false.

Item, the duke of Cerester, our holie father the cardinall, the noble prince the duke of Warwicke, and also the realme of France, the duchie of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Gufon, Amou, and spaine, were deliuered and lost by the meanes of the said traitors; and our true lords, knights, and esquires, and manie a good peoman lost and sold per they went, the which is great pitie to heare, of the great and gracious losse to our soueraigne lord and his realme.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons, that all extorsions used daillie among the common people, might be laid downe, that is to saie, the greene war; the which is falselie used, to the perpetuall destruction of the kings true commons of Kent. Also the kings Bench, the which is too greifefull to the thire of Kent, without prouision of our soueraigne lord and his true counsell. And also in taking of wheat and other graines, beefe, mutton, & all other vittels, the which is importable to the said commons, without the breife prouision of our said soueraigne lord and his true counsell, they maie no longer beare it. And also vnto the statute of labourers, and the great extorsioners, the which is to saie the false traitors, Sleg, Cromer, Jle, and Robert Cll.

These billes when the counsell had well perused, they did not onelie disallow and condemne them and the authors, as proud and presumptuous; but also persuaded the king rather to suppress those rebels by force, than by faire promises. Whereupon the king remoued from Westminster vnto Cheneuich, from thence he would haue sent certeine lords with a power to haue distressed the Kentishmen, but the men said to their lords they would not fight against them that laboured to amend the common-weale: therefore the lords were driuen to leaue their purpose. And because the Kentishmen cried out against the lord Saie the kings chamberline, he was by the king committed to the Tower of London. Then went the king againe to London, & within two daies after went against the Kentishmen with sixtene thousand men well prepared for the war: but the said Kentishmen fled the night before his comming into the wood countrie nere vnto Senocke. Whereupon the king returned againe to London.

The queene (that bare rule) being of his retrait aduertised, sent sir Humfreie Stafford knight, and William his brother, with manie other gentlemen, to follow the Kentishmen, thinking that they had fled: but they were deceived, for at the first skirmish both the Staffords were slaine, & all their companie discomfited. The kings armie by this time comen to Blackheath, hearing of this discomfiture, began to murmur amongst themselves: some wishing the duke of York at home to aid the capteine his counsell: some busidfullie coueting the ouerthrow of the king and his counsell: other openlie crying out on the queene and his complices.

This rumor published abroad, caused the king and certeine of his counsell (for the appeasing thereof) to commit the lord Saie treasurer of England to the Tower of London; and if other (against whome like displeasure was borne) had bene present, they had bene likewise committed. Jacke Cade upon victorie against the Staffords, apparelled himselfe in sir Humfries bugardine set full of guilt nailles, and so in some glorie returned againe toward London; diuerse idle and bagarant persons out of Suffe, Surrie and other places, still increasing his number.

Thus this glorious capteine, garded with a multitude of rustical people, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, & there stronglie incamped himselfe: to whome were sent from the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, and Humfreie duke of Buckingham, to common with him of his graces and requests.

These lords found him sober in talke, wise in reasoning, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to the things he would require. The king upon the presumptuous answers & requests of this villanous rebell, beginning almuch to doubt his cōone mentall seruants, as his vnknewen subjects (which spared not to speake, that the captains cause was profitable for the common-weale) departed in all hast to the castell of Killingworth in Warwichehire, leaving onlie behind him the lord Scales to keepe the Tower of London. The Kentish capteine being aduertised of the kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robberie; by which colour of well meaning, he the more allured to him the harts of the common people.

After that, he entred into London, cut the ropes of the draw bridge, & stroke his sword on London stone; saying, Now is Mortimer lord of this citie. And after a glosing declaration made to the maior touching the cause of his thither comming, he departed againe into Southwarke, and upon the third daie of Julie he caused sir James fines, lord Saie, and treasurer of England, to be brought to the Guildhall, and there to be arraigned: who being before the kings iustices put to answer, desired to be tried by his peers, for the longer delaie of his life. The capteine perceiving his dilatorie ple, by force took him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there (before his confession ended) caused his head to be stricken off, and pitched it upon an high pole, which was openlie bozne before him thorough the streets.

And not content herewith, he went to Spileend, and there apprehended sir James Cromer then shiriffe of Kent, and sonne in law to the said lord Saie, causing him likewise (without confession or excuse heard) to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a pole: and with these two heads this bloudie wretch entred into the citie againe, and as it were in a spite caused them in euerie stræt to kisse together, to the great detestation of all the beholders. After this succeeded open rapine, and manifest robberie in diuerse houses within the citie, and speciallie in the house of Philip Malpas alderman of London, and diuerse other; ouer and beside ransoming and fining of diuers notable merchants, for the suretie of their liues and goods; as Robert Horne alderman, which paid five hundred marks. He also put to execution in Southwarke diuerse persons, some for breaking his obedience, and other being of his old acquaintance, lest they should betwixte his base linage, disparaging him for his vsurped surname of Mortimer.

The maior and other the magistrates of London, perceiving themselves neither to be sure of gods, nor of life well warranted, determined to repell and keepe out of their citie such a mischieuous castie and his wicked companie. And to be the better able so to do, they made the lord Scales, and that renowned capteine Hatthelm Cough priue both of their intent and enterprise, beseeching them of their helpe and furtherance therein. The lord Scales promised them his aid, with shooting off the artillery in the Tower; and Hatthelm Cough was by him appointed to assist the maior and Londoners in all that he might, and so he and other captains, appointed for defence

King Henrie
sore against
the Kentish-
men with a
great power.

The Staffords slaine at
Senocke by
Jacke Cade.

The lord
Saie broken
dead at the
standard in
Cheape

Operation
Sick.

sense of the cttie, toke vpon them in the night to kepe the bridge, and would not suffer the Kentishmen once to approach. The rebels, who neuer soundlie slept for feare of sudden assaults, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with great hast to open that passage, where betwene both parties was a fierce and cruell fight.

Matthew Cough, perceiving the rebels to stand to their tackling more manfullie than he thought they would haue done, aduised his companie not to aduance anie further toward Southwarke, till the daie appeared; that they might see where the place of scordie rested, and so to prouide for the same: but this little auailed. For the rebels with their multitude draue backe the citizens from the strops at the bridge foot to the draw bridge, & began to set fire in diuerse houses. Great ruth it was to behold the miserable state, wherein some desiring to eschew the fire, fled vpon their enemies weapon; women with children in their armes leapt for feare into the riuer, other in a deable care how to saue themselves, betwene fire water, and sword, were in their houses choked and smothered. Yet the capitaine not sparing, fought on the bridge all the night valiantlie: but in conclusion, the rebels gat the draw bridge, and drowned manie, and slue John Sutton alderman, and Robert Desland, a hardie citizen, with manie other, beside Matthew Cough, a man of great wit and much experience in feats of chualrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in seruice of the king and his father.

This sore conflict indured in doubtfull wise on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning: for sometime, the Londoners were beaten backe to saint Maganus corner: and suddenlie againe, the rebels were repelled to the strops in Southwarke, so that both parties being farrnt and wearie, agreed to leaue off from fighting till the next daie; vpon condition, that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor Kentishmen into London. Upon this abstinence, this rakehell captaine for making him more friends, brake by the gaules of the kings Bench and Marshalse, and so were manie mates set at libertie betwixt met for his matters in hand.

The archbishop of Canturburie being chancelor of England, and as then for his suertie lieng within the Tower, called to him the bishop of Winchester, who for some safegard late then at Haliwell. These two prelates, seeing the furie of the Kentish people, by their late repulse, to be somewhat asswaged, passed by the riuer of Thames from the Tower into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great scale, a generall pardon vnto all the offenders, and caused the same to be openlie published. The poore people were so glad of this pardon, and so readie to receive it, that without bidding farewell to their captaine they withdrew themselves the same night euerie man towards his home.

But Jacke Cade despairing of succours, and fearing the reward of his lewd dealings, put all his pilage and goods that he had robbed, into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water, and himselfe went by land, and would haue entred into the castle of Quinborough with a few men that were left about him: but he was there let of his purpose: wherefore he disguised in strange attire, pmiue fled into the wood country beside Leices in Suffre, hoping so to scape. The captaine & his people being thus departed, not long after proclamations were made in diuerse places of Kent, Suffre, and Southerie, that whosoever could take the foresaid captaine alive or dead, should haue a thousand markes for his trauell. A copie of which proclamation, touching the apprehension of the said Cade and his complices, hereafter followeth.

A copie of the said writ and proclamation by the king, for the taking of the said Cade and his fellowship.



Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglie & Francie, & dominus Hibernie, vniuersis & singulis custodibus, &c.

For so much as one John Cade borne in Ireland, which calleth himselfe John Portimer, in some writing calleth himselfe captaine of Kent, the which John Cade the last yeare tofore his dwelling in Suffre with a knight, called sir Thomas Dagre, slue there a woman with child, and for that cause toke the greeth of the church, and after for that cause forswore the kings land: the which John Cade also after this, was sworne to the French part, and dwelled with them; which hath now of late time (to the intent to enrich himselfe by robbing and despoiling of the kings liegemen, as it is now openlie knowne, to bring himselfe to great and high estate) falslie and vntruelie deceiued manie of the kings people, and vnder colour of holie and good intents made them to assemble with him against the kings regalitie & his lawes, a nought setting by the kings grace and pardons, granted nor enelie to him but to all the kings subiects, the which by his deceit haue assembled with him, the which he with great reuerence receiued on mondaie last passed, and so did all that were assembled with him. Notwithstanding all this, he labourerth now of new to assemble the kings people againe, and to that intent beareth them on hand, that the kings letters of pardon granted to him and them, be not auailable, nor of none effect, without authoritie of parlement: whereas the contrarie is true, as it is openlie knowne by that, that the king granteth from time to time his charters of pardon to such as him list, of all manner of crimes and offenses both generall and speciall.

The king therefore willet and commandeth, that none of his subiects giue faith nor credence to the said falsie informations of the said falsie traitor, nor accompanie with him in anie wise, nor comfort nor susteine him nor his with vittels, nor with anie other things: but will, whosoever of the kings subiects may take him, shall take him; and that who so euer taketh him, and bringeth him quicke or dead to the king or to his counsell, shall haue a thousand markes for his labour trulie paid him, without faile or delate by the prouision of the kings counsell. And who so euer taketh anie of those that from this daie forth accompanie with him, shall haue five markes for his reward, trulie to be paid in maner and forme aboue said. And ouer this, commanding all constables, ministers, and officers of the said shire, that none of them (on paine of death) take vpon them to execute anie commandement by word or writing sent or made vnto them by the said Cade, calling himselfe Portimer and captaine, be it to reare any people, or to any other intent: but to arrest and make so be arrested such, as take vpon them to bring anie such commandement by writing or by word. *Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. Teste me ipso apud Westm. 10 die Iulij, anno regni 28.*

After which proclamation thus published, a gentle man of Kent named Alexander Eden awaited so his time, that he toke the said Cade in a garden in Suffre: so that there he was slaine at Hothfield, and brought to London in a cart, where he was quartered; his head set on London bridge, and his quarters sent to diuers places to be set vp in the shire of Kent. After this, the king himselfe came into Kent, and there sat in iudgement vpon the offenders: and if he had not mingled his iustice with mercie; more than five hundred by rigo; of law had bene iustlie put to execution.

Captaine of Kent taken & beheaded.

Abbr. H. ex.
L. 5. c. 63,
664.

execution. Yet he punishing onlie the stubborn heads, & disordered ringleaders, pardoned the ignorant and simple persons, to the great reioysing of all his subjects. ¶ But saith another, the king sent his commissioners into Kent, and caused inquirie to be made of this riot in Canturburie, where for the same eight men were iudged and executed, and in other townes of Kent and Suffe was done the like execution.

This yeare the commons also in diuerse parts of England, as in Suffe, Salisburie, Wiltschire, and other places, did much harme to manie persons, among the which, on the nine and twentieth of June, William Ascoth bishop of Salisburie (after he had said masse at Coington) was by his owne tenants drawne from the altar, in his albe with his stole about his necke to the top of an hill, and there by them shamefullie murdered, and after spoiled to the naked skin: they renting his bloudie shirt, toke euerie man a peece, and made boast of their wickednesse. The daie before, his chariot was robbed, to the value of ten thousand markes. Soldiours made a fraie against the maior of London the same daie he toke his charge at Westminster, at night coming from saint Thomas of Acres, after he had bene at Pauls.]

The bishop of
Salisburie
murdered.

A fray in L.
don against
the maior.

The French king vnderstanding all the ciuill discord and rebellious sturs in England, made therof his foundation, hoping to get into his hands and possession the duchie of Aquitaine: and thereupon sent the earles of Montieuure and Perigot to laie siege to the towne of Bergerat, situate vpon the riuier of Dourdou, of which towne was capteine John Gedding, who vpon reasonable conditions rendered the towne. But yet the lord Camois, sir George Semor, and sir John Arundell, with diuers other valliant captiues, hauing gouernance of the countrie, manned townes, gathered people, and recomforted the fainting hartes of the Gascoignes in all that they could, and withall sent letters ouer into England, certifieng to the kings maiestie, that without speeie aid, and readie succours, the whole countrie was like to be conquered and wonne out of the Englishmens possession.

Manie letters were sent, and manie faire answers were brought; but reliefe neither appeared, nor one man of warre was thither shipped: by reason whereof, the Frenchmen pursuing the victorie, got the fortresses of Janfacke, and S. Foie, with diuerse other peeces of importance thereabouts. Also, about the same time, the lord Dozuall, thirde sonne to the lord de la Beeth, with a great number of men, as well on horsebacke as on foot, departed from Basas, to conquer and despoile the Ile of Medoc. Whereupon the maior of Burdeaur issuing out, and incourting with his enemies, was banquished, losing sir hundred Englishmen and Gascoignes: albeit the Frenchmen gained not this victorie with clare hands, for there were slaine of them to the number of eight hundred persons.

After this, the bastard of Orleans, with his brother John earle of Angouleme, which had bene long prisoner in England, and manie other valliant captiues, besieged the castell of Montgacon, which to them was rendered. Afterwards, they besieged the towne of Blais, standing on the riuier of Garonne, the which in conclusion by verie force was conquered and wonne. The bastard of Kendall, capteine of the castell, seeing the towne lost, vpon certeine reasonable conditions deliuered his fortress to the bastard of Orleans, the French kings lieutenant. After this, the townes of Burgh and Liborne, after fine weekes siege, were likewise yelded to the Frenchmen. Then was the citie of Acques besieged by the

erle of Foie, and the viscount de La Roche his brother, and other noble men. So likewise was the strong towne of Kion by the earle of Arminache, extreme enemie to the realme of England, for breach of the marriage concluded betwene king Henrie and his daughter. The earle of Montieuure laid siege to Chatillon in Perigot, and the earle of Dunois surrounded with great puissance the towne of Fronfacke.

The Englishmen perceiuing in what state they stood within the towne, couenanted with the said earle, that if the towne were not succoured, and the Frenchmen fought with before the feast of the natiuitie of saint John Baptist next ensuing; that then the towne of Fronfacke should be yelded to them, which was the strongest fortress in all that countrie, and the berie keie of Guien. Whereof were pledges deliuered, and writings made & sealed. Which agreement once blowne through the countrie, the citie of Burdeaur, and all other townes (except Balon) made the like agreement. So did all the noble men and gentlemen which were subjects and vassals to the crowne of England. Euerie daie was looking for aid, but none came.

And this: Cuen because the diuelish diuision that reigned in England, so incombred the heads of the noble men there, that the honor of the realme was clerelie forgotten, so that (to conclude) the daie appointed came, but succour looked for came not. By reason whereof, all the townes of Aquitaine (except Balon) deliuered their heies, and became vassals to the French nation; yet the citizens of Burdeaur, in hope of rescue, required a longer daie of battell, which was granted. But at the daie appointed, when no reliefe came, they rendered themselves and the citie to their aduersaries, their liues and goods saued, with licence and safe conduct to all persons which would depart and saile into England. Then finally was the citie of Balon besieged, and with mines and batterie constrained to yeld it selfe into the Frenchmens hands.

Beside the agreements taken and made with the townes, diuerse noble men made seuerall compositions, as Gailon de Foie, & Capdau de Buel, whome king Henrie the sixt made earle of Longeuille, and knight of the garter; whose ancestors were euer true to England. Which agreed, that he and his sonne John de Foie, whome king Henrie the sixt made earle of Kendale, and also knight of the garter, should enjoy all their lands in Aquitaine, given to them by the kings of England, or by the dukes of Aquitaine. And sir, their intent was still to serue the king of England, they agreed to deliuer into the custodie of the earle of Foie, the sonne and heire of the said earle of Kendale, being of the age of thise peares; to the intent that if he at his full age denied to become subject to the French king, or before that time decessed; that then (after the death of his father and grandfather) all the said lands should wholly remaine to the next heire of their blood, either male or female, bring vnder the obedience of the French king or his heires.

Manie other noble men, whose hearts were good English, made like compositions, and some came in to England, and others went to Calis, and bare great offices there: as the lord Duras, which was marshall of that towne; and monsieur Claclere, which was deputie there vnder the earle of Warwick. Thus were the Englishmen clerelie displaced and lost the possession of all the countries, townes, castles, and places within the realme of France; so that onlie Calis, Hammes and Guines, with the marches thereof remained in their hands, of all those their dominions and seigniories which they sometime held

Englishmen
surrendered
the townes

Englishmen
surrendered
the townes

Englishmen
surrendered
the townes

held in the parties beyond the seas. Whereby Eng-
land suffered a partile but not a totall eclipse of hir
glozie, in continuall losing & nothing gaining of the
enemie. Which recouerie was of great facilitie
to the French, for that where they came, they found
little or no resistance, but rather a voluntarie submis-
sion & yielding as it were with holding vp of hands,
per they came to handstrokes. So that in such victories
and conquests consisted small renowne, sith without
slaughter & bloodshed hardie enterprizes are not at-
tained. Notable therefore speaketh *Anglorum praelia*
of these bloodlesse and sweatlesse victories, saieing :

*Delphinus totos (nullo prohibente) per agros
Francorum transiit, prius expugnata receptans
oppida: per facile est populum domuisse volentem,
Tendentemq; manus ultro; nec clarius ornas
Gloria Vincentis fuisse sine sanguine regna.*

Ann. Reg. 30.
The king re-
turned into
England.

[This yere the king made a generall progreffe
and came to the cite of Excester, on mondaie the
sixteenth of Julie at after none, being the feast daie
of saint Benelme; and was received from place to
place verie honorable through the whole countrie.
Before he came to this cite, he was met by all the
cleargie in their degrees, some thre miles, some two
miles, and some at the cite, all in their copes, censuring
all the waies as they went. As sone as he came to
this cite, he was first conducted to the cathedra-
ll church in all most honourable order. When he had
done his oblations, he was conueied and lodged in
the bishops house. During his abode here, there was
a sessions kept before the duke of Summerfet, and
certeine men condemned to die for treason, and had
iudgement to be executed to death.

The bishop &
his cleargie
against the bi-
shop of Sum-
merfet, in de-
fence of their
ecclesiastical
privileges.

The bishop and his cleargie vnderstanding hereof,
with open mouth complained vnto the king, that he
caused a sessions to be kept within his sanctuarie,
contrarie to the priuilege of his church: and that all
their doings (being done against law) were of no
effect. And notwithstanding the king and his coun-
cell had discouered vnto them the iust and orderlie
proceeding, the hainousnesse of the offenders, and the
necessitie of their punishment: yet all could not a-
uaile, for holie church nor the sanctuarie might be pro-
phaned (as they said) with the deciding of temporall
matters. Whereupon the king in the end yielding to
their reclamation, released a couple of arrant traitors,
and reuerfed all his former lawfull proceedings, and
so vpon the wednesdaie he departed and returned to
wards London.]

The duke of
Yorkes malice
against the
king.

The duke of Yorke pretending (as yee haue heard)
a right to the crowne, as heire to Lionell duke of
Clarence, came this yere out of Ireland vnto Lon-
don, in the parliament time, there to consult with his
speciall friends: as John duke of Northfolke, Ri-
chard earle of Salisburie, and the lord Richard his
sonne, which after was earle of Marwike; Thomas
Countie earle of Denonshire, & Edward Broke
lord Cobham. After long deliberation and aduise ta-
ken, it was thought expedient, to keepe their chiefe
purpose secret; and that the duke should raise an ar-
mie of men, vnder a pretext to remove diuerse coun-
cellors about the king, and to reuenge the manifest
injuries done to the common-wealth by the same
enemies. Of the which as principall, the duke of Sum-
merfet was namelie accused, both for that he was
greatlie hated of the commons for the losse of Yor-
mandie: and for that it was well knowne, that he
would be altogether against the duke of Yorke in his
challenge to be made (when time serued) to the crowne;
inasmuch that his goods by the commons were fou-
lie despoiled and borne awaie from the Blache fri-
ers. After which riot, on the next morrow, proclama-
tion was made through the cite, that no man should
speak of rob, on paine of death. But on the same daie

at the standard in Cheape was a man beheaded for
doing contrarie to the proclamation.

Therefore, when the duke of Yorke had thus, by
aduise of his speciall friends, framed the foundation
of his long intended enterprize, he assembled a great
hoast, to the number of ten thousand able men, in the
marches of Wales; publishing openlie, that the cause
of this his gathering of people, was for the publike
wealth of the realme. The king much astonished at the
matter, by aduise of his counsell raised a great pow-
er, and marched forward toward the duke. But he be-
ing thereof aduertised, turned out of that way, which
by espials he vnderston that the king held, and made
streight toward London: and hauing knowledge
that he might not be suffered to passe through the ci-
tie, he crossed ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge,
and so kept on towards Kent, where he knew that he
had both friends & well-willers, and there on Burnt
heath, a mile from Dertford, and twelue miles from
London, he imbatelled, and incamped himselfe verie
stronglie, inuironing his field with artillerie and
trenches. The king hereof aduertised, brought his
armie with all diligence vnto Blackheath, and
there pight his tents.

Wherchastled.
The duke of
Yorke raised
a power, for
recouerie of
his right to
the crowne.

Whilist both these armies laie thus imbatelled,
the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and Thomas
Bourchier, bishop of Elye, Richard Maudelle, lord
Aiuers, & Richard Andew, the keeper of his priuie
seale, to the duke: both to know the cause of so great
a commotion, and also to make a concord; if the re-
quests of the duke and his companie seemed conso-
nant to reason. The duke hearing the message of the
bishops, answered; that his coming was neither
to damnishe the king in honour, nor in person, neither
yet anie god man: but his intent was, to remoue
from him certeine euill disposed persons of his coun-
cell, blood-succours of the nobilitie, poliers of the
cleargie, and oppressours of the poore people.

Wherchastled

The dukes
answer to the
kings message

Amongst these, he chosed named Edmund duke
of Summerfet, whome if the king would commit to
ward, to answer such articles as against him in open
parlement should be both proponed and proued, he
promised not onelie to dissolue his armie, but also of-
fered himselfe (like an obedient subiect) to come to the
kings presence, and to do him true and faithfull ser-
uice, according to his loiall and bounden dutie. But
a further vnderstanding of the dukes meaning by
this his forceable entering of the realme (as him-
selfe pretended) made appeare by certeine letters by
him written to the king, and also the kings answers
vnto the same: both which I thinke good here to set
downe, as I find them recorded.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 666, 667,
in Quart.

Richard duke of Yorke his letter to king Henrie.

Rease it your highnesse to conserue, that
since my departing out of this your
realme, by your commandement, and be-
ing in your seruice in your land of Ire-
land, I haue bene informed, that diuerse language
hath bene said of me to your most excellent estate,
which should sound to my dishonour and reproch, and
charge of my person: howbeit, that I haue bene,
and ever will be, your true liegeman and seruant.
And if there be anie man that will or dare saie the
contrarie, or charge me otherwise; I beseech your
right wisenesse to call him before your high presence,
and I will declare me for my discharge as a true
knight ought to do. And if I do not, as I doubt not
but I shall, I beseech you to punish me as the worst
man of your land. And if he be found vntrue in his
suggestion and information, I beseech you of your
highnesse

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highnesse that he be punished after his desert, in example of all other.

Please it your excellencie to know, that as well before my departing out of this your realme, for to go into your land of Ireland, in your full noble service, as since, certeine persons haue lien in wait for to hearken vpon me, as sir John Talbot knight at the castell of Holt; sir Thomas Standiclie knight in Cheshire; Pulford at Chester; Elton at Worcester; Brooke at Glocester; and Richard, grome of your chamber at Beaumaris: which had in charge (as I am informed) to take me and put me into your castell of Conwaic, and to strike off the head of sir William Oldhall knight, and to haue put in prison sir William Deuereux knight, & sir Edmund Salso knight, withouten enlarging, vntill the time that your highnesse had appointed their deliuerance.

Item, at such time as I was purposed for to haue arrived at your haven of Beaumaris, for to haue come to your noble presence to declare me your true man and subiect, as my dutie is, my landing was stopped and forbarded by Henrie Poize, Thomas Poize, William Buckleie, William Crust, and Bartholomew Bould, your officers in Northwales, that I should not land there, nor haue vittels nor refreshing for me & my fellowship, as I haue written to your excellencie here before. So farre forth that Henrie Poize, deputie to the chamberlaine of Northwales, said vnto me, that he had in commandment that I should in no wise haue landing, refreshing, nor lodging, for men nor horse, nor other thing that might turne to my worship or ease: putting the blame vpon William Saie other of your chamber, saying and affirming that I am against your intent, and as a traitor, as I am informed. And moreover, certeine letters were made and deliuered vnto Chester, Shrewsburie, and to other places for to let mine entrie into the same.

Item, about all wrongs and iniuries about said done vnto me of malice, without anie cause, I being in your land of Ireland, in your honourable service, certeine commissions were made and directed vnto diuerse persons; which for the execution of the same, sat in certeine places, and the iuries impanelled and charged: vnto the which iuries certeine persons laboured instantlie to haue me indicted of treason, to the intent for to haue vndone me and mine issue, and corrupted my blood, as it is openlie published. Beseeching your maiestie roiall, of your rightousnesse, to doe examine these matters, and therevpon to doe such iustice in his behalfe as the cause requireth: for mine intent is fullie to pursue to your highnesse for the conclusion of these matters.

The answer of king Henrie to
the duke of Yorke.

Consider, we haue seene the bill that ye wrote vs late, and also vnderstand the godd humble obedience that ye in your selfe shew vnto vs, as well in word as in deed: therefore our intent is, the more humble to ease you of such things as were in your said bill. Howbeit, that at our more leasure we might answer you to your said bill, yet we let you wit, that for the causes aforesaid, we will declare you now our intent in these matters: which is that a long time among the people hath bene vpon you many strange language, and in especiall anon after your disobedient and unlawfull saying of the bishop of Chester, diuerse and manie of the vntreue shipmen and other said (in their manner) words against our estate, making manace to our owne person by your sayings, that ye should be fetched with manie thousands, and ye should take

vpon you that, which ye neither ought, nor as we doubt not, ye will not attempt: so farre forth that it was said to our person by diuerse, & especiallie were member of one Malnes, which had like words to be.

And also there were diuerse of such false people, that went on and had like language in diuerse of our towncs of our land, which by our subiects were taken and duly executed. Wherefore we sent to diuerse of our courts and places, to hearken and to take heed if anie such maner comming were; and if there had bene, for to resist it: but comming into our land our true subiect as ye did, our intent was not that ye, nor lesse of estate of our subiects, nor none of your seruants should not haue bene letted nor warned, but in godlie wise refused: howbeit that peradventure your sudden comming, without certeine warning, caused our seruants to doe as they did, considering the causes aboue said. And as to the indictment that ye spoke of, we thinke verelie, and hold for certeine warning, caused our seruants to doe as they did, considering the causes aboue said. And as to the indictment that ye spoke of, we thinke verelie and hold for certeine, that there was none such. And if ye may trulie proue that anie person was thereabouts, the matter shall be demeaned as the case shall require: so that he shall know it is to our great displeasure. Vpon this, for the easing of your heart in all such matters, we declare, repute, and admit you as our true and faithfull subiect, and as our faithfull cosine.

Richard duke of Yorke to king
Henrie againe.

Please it your highnesse tenderlie to consider, that great murmur and grudging is conuerfallie in this your realme, in that iustice is not duly ministred to such as trespass and offend against your lawes, and in especiall of them that be indicted of treason, and other being openlie noised of the same; whereby great inconueniences haue fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your said realme, which God defend: but if by your highnesse prouision conuenable be made for due reformation and punishment in this behalfe. Wherefore I your humble subiect and true liegeman, Richard duke of Yorke, willing as effectualle as I can, and desiring the suertie and prosperitie of your most roiall person, and the welfare of this your noble realme, counsell and aduertise your excellencie, for the conseruation of godd tranquillitie and peaceable rule among all other subiects, for to ordeine and prouide, that true iustice be had, against all such that so be indicted, or openlie named: wherein I offer my selfe, and will put my induerour for to execute your commandment in the premisses, for the punishing of such offenders, and redresse of the said misrules, to my might and power. And for the hastie execution hereof, like it your highnesse, to adresse these letters of piae seal and writs to your officers and ministers, to doe, take, and arrest, all such persons so noised and indicted, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your prisons, there to abide without baile or maineprie, vntill the time they be better tried, and determined after the course of your lawes.

The answer of king Henrie to the
duke of Yorke.

Consider, as touching your bill last put by to vs, we vnderstand well that ye (of godd heart) counsell and aduertise vs to the setting by of iustice,

injustice, and to the speedie punishing of some persons indicted or noised, offering your service to be readie at commandement in the same, sith it is that for manie causes moving vs to haue determined in our soule, to stablish a sad, and a substantiall counsell, giuing them more ample authoritie and power than euer we did before this, in the which we haue appointed you to be one. But sith it is not accustomed, sure, nor expedient, to take a conclusion & conduct by aduise or counsell of one person by himselfe for the conseruation, it is obserued that the greatest and the best, the rich and the poore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your voices be equall. We haue therfore determined within our selfe to send for our chancellour of England, and for other lords of our counsell, yea and all other, together within thort time ripelie to common of these and other our great matters. In which communication, such conclusion (by the grace of God) shall be taken, as shall sound to his pleasure, the weale of vs and our land, as well in these matters as in anie other.

After all this adu, it was so agreed vpon by aduise, for the avoiding of bloudshed, and pacifying of the duke and his people, that the duke of Summer- set was committed to ward, as some say, or else com- manded to keepe himselfe priuie in his owne house for a time. But it should seme by that which some haue written, that the duke of Yorke was deceived of the hope which he had, to be aided of the Kentish men; insomuch that when he saw himselfe ouermatched by the king in number of people, who had got to- gether thice as manie men as the duke had there with him, the duke was the more easie to be dealt with. And so comming to the king, and submitting himselfe by mediation of certeine of the nobilitie, he obtained pardon of that his former presumptuous enterprise. And within a few dates after his com- ming to London with the king, he openlie in the church of S. Paule (the king being present) receiued a solenne oth, that from thenceforth, he should no more commit any such offense, nor attempt anie thing, ei- ther against the king, or any other of his liege peo- ple, contrarie to the order of law and iustice.

Whosoeuer the matter went, truth it is, that the duke of Yorke, the first of March, dissolved his ar- mie, brake vp his campe, & came to the kings tent, where contrarie to his expectation, & against promise made by the king (as other write) he found the duke of Summer set going at large and set at libertie, whome the duke of Yorke bololie accused of treason, byberie, oppression, and manie other crimes. The duke of Summer set not onelie made answer to the dukes obiections, but also accused him of high trea- son, affirming, that he with his fautors and compli- ces had consulted together, how to come by the sce- per and regall crowne of this realme. By means of which words the king remoued streight to London, and the duke of Yorke (as prisoner) rode before him, and so was kept a while.

The king assembled together a great counsell at Westminster, to heare the accusations of the two dukes, the one obiecting to the other manie heinous and greuous crimes. But the duke of Summer set, which now concerned in his mind the thing that thortlie followed, incessantlie exhorted the counsell, that the duke of Yorke, by compulsion or otherwise, might be deuied to confesse his offense, that so being attainted of treason, he might suffer execution, and his children to be taken as aduersaries to their na- tive countrie; to the intent that by the extinction of him and his sequale, all ciuill warre and inward di- uision might cease and be repressed: beseeching al- mighty God, that so great an enimie to the king and

his bloud, might neuer escape punishment, nor con- tinue long in life.

The duke of Summer set set forth this matter the more vehementlie, because he knew perfectly, that the duke of Yorke dallie imagined with him- selfe, how to get the crowne, and to depose and de- stroie both the king and him. But destiny cannot by anie mans deuise be letted, and manie things (to apperance) declared the duke of Yorkes innocencie in this case. First, his free and voluntarie comming to the king, without constraint, when he was partlie of puissance able to haue incountred with the kings whole power. Secondlie, his humble submission, and reasonable requests, as well on his owne behalfe, as for the poore commons: which might argue that he sought for no soueraintie.

Whilist the counsell treated of sauing or disap- ching of this duke of Yorke, a rumoz sprang through London, that Edward earle of March, sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, with a great armie of Marchmen, was comming toward London: which tidings soze appalled the quene and the whole coun- cell. Beside this, the verie same daie came ambassa- dours from the cheefe citizens and magistrats of the citie of Burdeaur; whereof the cheefe were, the earle of Kendale, and the lord de Lesparre; which signified to the counsell, that if they would send an armie in- to Gascoigne, the people of the countrie would re- uolt from the French part, and eslonnes become English. These two things soze troubled the heads of the counsell, which, least inward sedition might hin- der outward conquests, set the duke of Yorke at li- bertie, and permitted him to go to his castell of Wigh- more, in the marches of Wales, by whose absence the duke of Summer set rose in such high fauour, both with the king and quene, that his word onelie ruled, and his voice alone was heard.

¶ Nevertheless the said duke of Yorke had first made his submission, and toke his oth to be true, faithfull, and obedient subiect to king Henrie the first king of England, in saint Pauls church at London, there being present the king, and most of his nobili- tie, that is to saie, the dukes of Buckingham, Por- thampton, and Summer set: the earls of Warwicke, Arundell, Salisburie, Shrophire, Devonshire, Wilshire, Northumberland, Stafford and Dorset, vicounts of Beaumont and Welles: barons, Fitz Warren, Sainmound, Cobham, Dowglas, and o- thers: bishops, the cardinall, archbishop of Yorke and Canturburie, Winchester, Elie, and London, in these words following.

The tenor of the duke of Yorks submis- sion to king Henrie, under his oth.

Richard duke of Yorke confesse and beknow, that I am thought to be humble subiect and liege- man to you my soueraigne lord king Henrie the first, and owe therefore to beare you faith and truth, as to my soue- reigne liege lord, and shall do all daies vn- to my liues end; and shall not at anie time will or assent, that any thing attempted or done against your most noble person: but where so euer I shall haue knowledge of anie such thing imagined or purposed, I shall with all speed and diligence possible to me, make that your highnesse shall haue knowledge thereof: and ouer that, to all that shall be possible to me, to the withstan- ding and let thereof, to the vttermost of my

Destinie can- not be avoided

1 4 5 2

Occasion that set the duke of York free.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 671, 672. in Quart.

Whiche said

The duke of Yorks recom- mission to the king.

The duke of Yorks accus- sation the duke of Summer set.

A mutual charge be- twene the two dukes, Yorke & Summer set of treason.

my life. I shall not anie thing take vpon me against your roiall estate or obeisance that is due thereto, nor suffer anie other man to doo, as farre forth as it shall be in my power to let it: and also shall come at your commandement when so euer I shall be called by the same, in humble and obedient wise: but if I be letted by anie sickness or impotence of my person, or by such other cause as shall be thought by you my souereigne lord reasonable. I shall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather anie rout, nor to make anie assemble of your people, without your commandement or licence, or in my lawfull defense. In interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull defense, I shall report me at all times to your highnesse, and if the case require, to my peres; nor any thing attempt against anie of your subiects, of what estate, degree, or condition that they be. But when so euer I find my selfe wronged and agreued, I shall sue humble for remedie to your highnesse: and proceed after the course of your lawes, and in none other wise: sauing in mine owne lawfull defense in maner aboue said, and otherwise haue to your highnesse as an humble and true subiect ought to haue him to his souereigne lord.

All these things aboue said I promise you trulie to obserue and keepe, by the holie euangelists contained in the booke that I laie my hand herevpon, and by the holie crosse I here touch, and by the blessed sacrament of our Lords bodie, that I shall now with his mercie receiue. And ouer I agree me and will, that if anie time hereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I neuer shall, anie thing attempt by waie of feare or otherwise against your roiall maiestie, and obeisance that I owe thereto, or anie thing take vpon me otherwise than is aboue expessed, I from that time forth be vnabled, held, and taken as an vntrue and openlie forsworne man, and vnable to all maner of worship, estate, and degree, be it such as I now occupie, or anie other that might in anie wise grow vnto me hereafter. And this I haue here promised and sworn, proceedeth of mine owne desire and free voluntie, and by no constraining or coaction. In witness of all the which things aboue written, I Richard duke of Yorke (aboue named) subscribe with mine owne hand and seale.

Anno Reg. 31.
1453

The counsell not forgetting the offer of the Calcoignes, and that they might now haue the citie of Burdeaur, with the countie round about, by request of the inhabitants, appointed the valiant capteine John lord Calbot earle of Shrewesburie, to go thither with an armie, who arriving in the Ile of Gadoe, passed forth with his power, being scant thre thousand men, and toke the strong towne of Fronfacke, and diuerse other townes & fortresses. The inhabitants of Burdeaur, hearing of the earles arrival, sent to him messengers in the darke night, requiring him with all speed to come and receiue the citie. The earle lost not one houre, but hastened forth, & came

before that citie, yet the Frenchmen within understood anie thing of the citizens purpose. When they were aduertised that there was a gate set open for the Englishmen to enter, they thought to haue escaped secretly by a posterne: but they were pursued, slaine, and taken by the lord de Lespar, and other of the English armie.

After the regaining of Burdeaur, there arrived at Blaie the ballard of Sumnerket, sir John Calbot, lord Lisle by his wife, sonne to the said erle of Shrewesburie, the lord Polins, the lord Harington, the lord Camois, sir John Howard, sir John Spontgonrie, sir John Wernon, with two & twentie hundred men, with vittels and munitions. When the earle was thus (according to his intent) of all things furnished, first he fortified Burdeaur with Englishmen, and store of vittels; and after that he rode into the countie abroad, where he obtained cities, and got townes without stroke or dint of sword, for the people already wearied of the French seruitude, and longing sore to returne to the English libertie, seemed to desire nothing more than to haue the earle to receive them into the English obedience. Amongst other townes, the towne and castell of Chastillon in Perigord was to him deliuered, the which he fortified with men and ordinance verie stronglie.

In the meane time, the French king, being aduertised of all these doings, raised an armie to resist this inuasion made by the erle of Shrewesburie. And first he appointed his capteins to besiege the towne of Chastillon, to the rescue whereof the earle hastened forward, hauing in his compaignie eight hundred horsemen, vnder the leading of his sonne the lord Lisle, the lord Polins, the lord Camois, sir Edward Hull, sir John Howard, and sir John Wernon. He appointed also five thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of the earle of Kendall, and the lord de Lespar, to follow him with all speed. In his waie, he took by fine force a tower which the Frenchmen had taken, and slew all that he found within it. And after by the waie, he met five hundred Frenchmen going a foraging, of whom he slew the more part, and chased the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that laie at the siege, perceiving by those good runners away that the earle approached, left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordinance. The earle aduertised how the siege was removed, hastened forward towards his enemies, doubting most, least they would haue bene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they fearing the displeasure of the French king (who was not far off) if they should haue fled, abode the earles comming, and so receiued him: who though he first with manfull courage, and sore fighting wan the entrie of their campe; yet at length they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with an handgun, slew his horse, and finally killed him lieng on the ground, whom they durst neuer looke in the face, while he stood on his feet.

It was said, that after he perceived there was no remedie, but present losse of the battell, he counselled his sonne the lord Lisle, to saue himselfe by flight, with the same could not rebound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first iournie in which he had bene present. Many wordes he vsed to persuade him to haue saued his life: but nature so wrought in the son, that neither desire of life, nor feare of death, could either cause him to shrink, or conueie himselfe out of the danger, and so there manfullie ended his life with his said father. There died also the earles ballard sonne Henrie Calbot, and sir Edward Hull elect to the order of the garter, and thirtie other men of name and right ballant personages of the English nation.

The French people were wearied of the French government.

The ballant earle of Shrewesburie was slain by his son with a handgun.

The

The lord Spolins was taken prisoner with thre score others. The residue of the English people fled to Burdeaur and other places, of whome in the flight were slaine above a thousand persons.

Thus at this battell of Chatillon, fought the thirtieth daie of Julie in this yeare, ended his life John lord Talbot, and of his progenie the first earle of Shrewesburie: after that he with much fame and most victorie, had valiantlie made warre, and serued his prince and countrie by the space of foure and twentie yeares, in the parties of beyond the seas, whose corps was left on ground, and after was found by his friends, and conuied to Whitchurch in Shropshire where it was interred. After this discomfiture diuerse lords fled to Bth. deaur, but the earle of Cambray entered into the castell of Chatillon, which by the space of ten daies they defended: but in the end despairing of all succours, they rendred the fortesse, and came safe to Burdeaur.

After this, the townes of saint Gillion, Liborne, and all other, which the erle of Shrewesburie had conquered, rendred themselves to the Frenchmen, Burdeaur onlie excepted. Which citie, being the last refuge of the English people, the French king in person besieged with all his puissance; and in conclusion constrained both the garrisons and inhabitants to yield, so that the Englishmen & Gascoignes might safely depart into England or into Calis, with all their substance; and that the lords de Lesparre, Durris, and thirtie others, should neuer (upon paine of death) be found within ante of the French kings dominions, which lord de Lesparre being after taken in Gascoigne disguised, was made shorter by the head. When this composition was agreed and sealed, the Englishmen were shortly transported ouer into England, in the moneth of October this present yeare.

Thus was the duchie of Aquitaine, which had continued in the English possession, from the yeare of our Lord 1155, unto this present yeare, which is nere hand thre hundred yeares, by the mariage of Clenor daughter and heire to William duke of Aquitaine, wisse to king Henrie the second, finally reduced and brought againe to the French obedience and seruitude. Within that onlie duchie be foure archbishops, foure and thirtie bishops, sixtine earldomes, two hundred and two baronies, and about a thousand capitainships and baliffdomes: whereby ye may consider, what a losse this was to the realme of England. On the thirtieth daie of October this yeare, was the queene deliuered at Westminster of a faire sonne, who was christened, and named Edward.

His mother sustained not a little slander and obloquie of the common people, who had an opinion that the king was not able to get a child; and therefore stretched not so faie, that this was not his sonne, with many slanderous words, greatlie sounding to the queenes dishonour; much part perchance vntrulie. After the birth of this child, he highlie advanced his brethren on his mothers side: for Edmund he made earle of Richmond, which was father to king Henrie the seventh, and Jasper he created erle of Penbrooke, which died without issue. This yeare, John Stafford archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and John Kempe archbishop of Yorke was removed from that see, to succeed in place of the said Stafford, being the thre score and second archbishop there, & John Booth bishop of Cowntrie and Lichfield was translated to Yorke, being the one and sixtith archbishop of that church.

On Bartholomew daie at the twelfth nere unto Clerkenwell, a gentleman belonging to the priour of saint Johns, made a rumour; or tumult, for the which

(by the commandement of the maior) he was arrested by Richard Allie one of the shiriffes, and deliuered to Paris a forgerant. But such resistance was made by parts taking, that the shiriffe was faine to craue helpe of the maior, who with his brethren the aldermen arose from the game, and strengthened the shiriffes. And for the rescue of the said gentleman, one named Calis, came out of saint Johns with a great strength of archers, to resist the maior, in the which fraie a peoman of saint Johns was slaine, and manie other sore hurt. The maior himselfe escaped hardlie, for his cap was smitten from his head with an arrow: but the maior with his citizens put the other to flight, sent the principall of them to Belegate, and then toke his place againe till the games were ended: by which time the citizens had gathered themselves in great number, and fetched him home, neuer maior so stronglie nor so honorablie.]

This yeare was Thomas Bourchier bishop of Ely (sonne to the countesse of Stafford, and brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) removed to the see of Canturburie; who in the yeare after the world became flesh and appeared in humane shape 1443, first obtained the see of Ely (although once before he was by the king put backe from thence after his election of the couent thereunto, and confirmation of the pope) being translated from Worcester to the said see of Ely, the twelfth daie of March in the said yeare 1443. This man (after that he had remained at Ely ten yeares, thre and twentie weekes, and sixe daies) was (as is before said) in this yeare 1454 removed to Canturburie by Nicholas the sixt then bishop of Rome. After this he was made chancellor, which office he obtained the seauenth of March, in the yeare 1455, being the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the sixts reigne. Lastlie he was advanced to the dignitie of cardinall by pope Paule the second, in the yeare of our Lord 1465, of whome is made a moze liberall discourse in a treatise of the liues of the chancellors of England: a place of no small authority and reputation.]

After the warres foule ended in foreign parties, civil dissention began againe at home, diuided spectallie into two factions. As is Henrie descended of the house of Lancaster possessed the crowne from his grandfather king Henrie the fourth (first author of that title) so Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionel duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, enforced. By reason whereof, the nobles as well as the common people were into parts diuided, to the utter destruction of manie a man, and to the great ruine and decaye of this region: for while the one partie fought to destroye the other, all care of the common wealth was set aside, and iustice and equitie carelesly ended.

The duke of Yorke (above all things) first sought means how to stir by the malice of the people against the duke of Summerfet, imagining that he being made awaie, his purpose should the sooner take effect. He also practised to bring the king into the hatred of the people, as that he should not be a man apt to the government of a realme, wanting both wit and strength sufficient to supplie such a rour. Manie of the high estates, not liking the world, and disallowing the doings both of the king and his counsell, were faine inough of some alteration. Which thing the duke well vnderstanding, chiefeleie sought the fauour of the two Penils, both named Richard, one earle of Salisburie, the other earle of Warwick, the first being the father, and the second the sonne.

This earle of Salisburie was second son to Hase Penill earle of Westmerland, whose daughter the duke of Yorke had married, and the said Richard was spoused to ladie Alice, the onelie child and sole heire of

The maior, shiriffes and aldermen, resisted and abused in a fraie nere Clerkenwell.

Fr. Thin, Anno Reg. 32, 1454

In a treatise hereafter following.

The duke of Yorke seeks the destruction of the duke of Summerfet.

He banded himselfe with the Penils.

The issue of Richard earle of Salisburie.

W.P.

of Thomas Montacute earle of Salisbury, slain at the siege of Orlance (as before is declared) of which woman he begat Richard, John, and George: Richard the eldest sonne choused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire blood to lord Henrie Beauchamp earle and after Duke of Warwick, in whose right and title he was created and named earle of Warwick. [Full fraught was this noble man with good qualities right excellent and manie, all which a certaine naturall grace did vnto all estates so farforth recommend, that with high and low he was in singular fauour and good liking, so as (unfought for) it seemed, in authoritie among them, he grew able to command all alone.]

Anno Reg. 33.

The duke of
Sommerfet
arrested.

1455

The king
sicke.

Whether heid.

The duke of
Sommerfet
set at libertie.Made depu-
tie of Calis.The duke of
Yorkes assem-
bled an armie.

Whether heid.

The king
with two
thousand.The duke
with three
thousand.

When the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine betweene these two strong pillars, he with his friends wrought so effectuously, and handled his businesse so politikelie, that the duke of Sommerfet was arrested in the quenes great chamber, and sent to the Tower of London, where he kept his Christmasse without great solemnitie. Against whom, some after in open parliament were laid diuerse and heinous articles of high treason, as well for the losse of Poymandie, as for the late mischaunce which happened in Guicn. The king at that time was sicke at Clarendon, and conuened to London, by reason whereof no finall determination proceeded in this weightie cause; but all was put in suspence, till the next assemblie of the high court of parliament. Some do write, that whilst the king was sicke, the duke of Yorke bare all the rule, and governed as regent or viceroy, by authoritie committed to him by the lords of the realme, then assembled in counsell; he to see to the preservation and good government of the common-wealth, during the kings sicknesse, which was so greivous (as it was said) that he late seneselle, and was not able for a time either to go or stand.

The duke of Yorke hauing aforehand obtained an absolution of the pope, in discharge of his oth before taken, did now discover his stomach against the duke of Sommerfet. But when the king was amended againe, and resumed to him his former government, either of his owne mind, or by the quenes procurement, the duke of Sommerfet was set at libertie, by which doing great enmie and displeasure grew. That notwithstanding, the quene (which then bare the chiefe rule) caused the duke of Sommerfet to be preferred to the captainship of Calis, therewith not onlie the commons, but also manie of the nobilitie were greatly greiued and offended, saying, that he had lost Poymandie, and so would he doe Calis.

The duke of Yorke and his adherents, perceiving that neither exhortation nor charging him with his crimes penalised against the duke of Sommerfet, they went to mend the matter by open war: a sone after he being in the marches of Wales, accompanied with his speciall friends, the earles of Salisbury, and Warwick, the lord Cobham, and others, assembled a power, and in warlike manner marched toward London. The king informed hercof, assembled likewise a great host, and meaning to meet with the duke, rather in the north parts than about London, where it was thought he had to manie friends, he accompanied with the dukes of Sommerfet and Buckingham, the earles of Derby, Stafford, Poymanderland, Devonshire, Dorset, and Wilshire, the lords Clifford, Sudley, Berneis, Ross, and others, being in all about two thousand men of warre, departed from Westminster the twentieth, or (as some haue) the one and twentieth of Maie, and laie the first night at Clarendon.

Of whose doings the duke of Yorke by espials hauing full aduertisement, with all his power being not past three thousand men (as some write) coasted

the countrie, and came to saint Albons the third daie next ensuing. The king there had pight his standard in a place called Coselot, otherwise Sandford, in saint Peters street: the lord Clifford kept the barriers of the towne, to stop, that the duke being assembled in his field, should not enter the towne. The duke of Yorke (saith one moderne chronographer) knowing the strength made against him, abiding in the field aforesaid, from seuen of the clocke in the morning untill it was almost ten of the clocke without anie stroke smitten on either part, by the aduise of his counsell sent vnto the king vnder these words following.

Words in writing by the duke of
Yorke to the king.

Please it vnto your excellent grace, Richard duke of Yorke, to take him as your true liege man and humble subiect; and to consider and tender at the reuerence of God, and in the waie of charitie, the true intent of my comming, and to be good and gracious souereigne vnto me, & all other your true liege men, which, that with all their power and might will be ready to liue and die with you in your right, and to do all things as shall like your maiestie roiall to command vs, if it be to the worship of the crowne of England, and the welfare of this your noble realme. For as much as, gracious lord, please it vnto your maiestie roiall, of your great goodnesse and rightwisenesse, to incline your will to heare & seeke the rightwise part of vs your true subiects and liege men. First, prayeng and beseeching to our souereigne, Christ Iesus, of his high and mightie power, to giue you vertue of prudence, and that through the prayer of the glorious martyrs. S. Albons giue you verie knowledge of our truths, and to know the intent of our assembling at this time: for God that is in heauen knoweth, our intent is rightfull and true. And therefore we praye vnto that mightie Lord in these words: *Domine secundum defensionem nostram.* Wherefore gracious lord, please it your maiestie roiall, to deliuer such as we will accuse, and they to haue like as they haue deserved: and this done, you to be honorable worshipper as most rightfull king and our true gouernour. And if vs should now at this time be promised, as afore this time (is not vnknown) haue bene promises broken which haue bene full faithfullie promised, and thereupon great othes swoorne, we will not now cease for no such promises, nor oth, till we haue them which haue deserved death, or else we to die therefore.

The answer by the king to
the duke of Yorke.

King Henrie charge and command, that no manner person, of what degree, estate or what condition soeuer he be, abide not; but that they auoid the field, and not be so hardie to make resistance against me in my owne realme. For I shall know what traitour dare be so bold to raise anie people in mine owne land, where though I am in great disease and brauines. By the faith I owe vnto S. Edward, and vnto the crowne of England, I shall destrote them euerie mothers sonne, and eke they to be hanged, drawne, and quartered, that may be taken afterward of them, in example to make all such traitors to beware for to make anie rising of people within mine owne land, and so traitorouslie to abide their king and gouernour. And for a conclusion, rather than they shall haue anie lord, that here is with me at this time, I shall this day for their sake in this quarell my selfe liue and die.

The

The words of the duke of Yorke
to all gentlemen and other assem-
bled with him.

Sirs, the king our soueraigne lord will not be reformed at our beseeching ne prayer, nor will not in no wise vnderstand the intent wherfore we be here assembled and gathered at this time, but onelie is in full purpose to destroye vs all. And therupon a great oth hath made, that there is none other waie, but that he with all his power will pursue vs; and if we be taken, to giue vs a shamefull death, leaving our liuelod and goods, and also our heires thaimed for ever. Therefore sirs, now sith it will none otherwise be, but that we shall either die; better it is for vs to die in the field, than cowardly to be put to an vtter rebuke and shamefull death, for the right of England standeth in vs. Considering also in what perill it standeth at this time, and for to redresse the mischefe thereof, let euery man helpe to his power this date, and in that quarell to quite vs like men, to the crowne of England; praising and beseeching vnto that Lord, the which is eternall, th'it reigneth in the glorious kingdome celestially, to keepe and saue vs this date in our right, and through the gifts of his holie grace we may be made strong to withstand the great, abhominable, and horrible malice of them that purpose to destroye vs and the realme of England, and put vs to a shamefull death. Prate we therefore to the Lord to be our comfort and our defendour, saieing these words, *Domine iustitiam defensionis nostre.*

Wherewith
the duke of
Buckingham
saith to the duke
of Yorke.

The duke of
Summerfet
saith vnto
the duke of
Buckingham
saith.

But another historie-writer saith, that the king, when first he heard of the duke of Yorke's approach, sent to him messengers, the duke of Buckingham, and others, to vnderstand what he meant by his coming thus in manner of warre. The duke of Buckingham to his message was answered by the duke of Yorke and his complices, that they were all of them the king's faithfull liege subiects, and intended no harme to him at all: but the cause of our coming (saie they) is not in meaning anie hurt to his person. But let that twiche and naughtie man the duke of Summerfet be deliuered vnto vs, who hath lost Normandie, and taken no regard to the preservation of Calcoigne; and furthermore, hath brought the realme vnto this miserable estate; that where it was the floure of nations, and the princesse of provinces (now is it haled into desolation & spoile, not so dreadfull by malice of forren enimie, that indeed vtterlie (as ye know) seeketh our ruine, as by the intolerable outrages of him that so long ago & euen still appeares to haue sworne the confusion of our king and realme.) If it therefore please the king to deliuer that bad man into our hands, we are readie without trouble or breach of peace, to returne into our countrie. But if the king be not minded so to do, because he cannot misse him; let him vnderstand, that we will rather die in the field, than suffer such a mischefe vnto our selfe.

The first bat-
tle of Saint
Peters.

The king aduertised of this answer, more wilfull than tollerable, appointed him rather to trie battell, than deliuer the duke of Summerfet to his enemies. Whereof they ascertained made no longer staie, but straightwaie sounded the trumpet to battell: or rather (as Hall saith) while king Henrie sent forth his ambassadours to treat of peace at the one end of the towne, the earle of Warwicke with his Marchmen entred at the other end, and fiercelie setting on the king's foreward, within a small time discomfited the same. The place where they first brake into the towne, was about the middle of Saint Peters street. The fight for a time was right sharpe and cruel, for the

duke of Summerfet, with the other lords, committing to the succours of their companions that were put to the worse, did what they could to beat backe the enimies: but the duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men to succour the wearie, and to supplie the places of them that were hurt, whereby the king's armie was finally brought low, and all the chieftains of the field slaine and beaten downe.

Edw. Hall.

For there died vnder the signe of the castell, Edmund duke of Summerfet, who (as hath bene reported) was warned long before to auoid all castles: and beseech him laie Henrie the second of that name earle of Northumberland, Humfre earle of Stafford sonne to the duke of Buckingham, John lord Clifford, sir Barthram Antwile knight, a Norman borne (who forsaking his native countrie to continue in his loiall obedience to king Henrie, came ouer to dwell here in England when Normandie was lost) William Zouch, John Bontreux, Rafe Bapthorp, with his sonne William Corwin, William Cotton, Gilbert Faldinger, Reginald Griffon, John Dawes, Elice Wood, John Cuth, Rafe Woodward, Gilbert Sharlock, and Rafe Willoughbie esquires, with manie other, in all to the number of eight thousand, as Edward Hall saith in his chronicle: if there escaped not a fault in the impression, as 8000 for 800, sith hundreds in verie deed would better agree with the number of the king's whole power, which he brought with him to that battell, being not manie as about two thousand, as by writers appeareth.

The duke of
Summerfet
saith.

Thomas lord
Clifford, saith
Wherewith.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham, being wounded, and James Butler earle of Ormond and Wilshire, and Thomas Thorpe lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, seeing fortune thus against them, lest the king alone, and with a number fled awaie. Those that thus fled, made the best shift they could to get awaie through gardens and backesides, through shrubs, hedgges and woods, seeking places where to hide themselves, untill that dangerous tempest of the battell were ouerblowne. Diuerse of the king's house also that could better skill to plaie the courtiers than warriors, fled with the first; and those of the cast parts of the realme were likewise noted of too much lacke of courage, for their speedie withdrawing themselves, and leauing the king in danger of his aduersaries: who perceluing his men thus fled from him, withdrew into a poore mans house to saue himselfe from the shot of arrowes, that flue about him as thicke as snow.

The king's
part vanquished.

This done, saith one historie, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwicke, and Salisburie, came vnto the king where he was, and besought him on their knees of grace and forgiveness for that they had done in his presence, and besought him of his highnesse to take them to grace, and as his true liege men. The king desiring them to cease their people, that there should be no more hurt done, and to obeie his commandement, did cause to be proclaimed in the king's name, that all manner of people should cease off their malice, and not to smite one stroke more, and so ceased the battell. And upon the day next after, the king and the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwicke & Salisburie, came all to London; and were lodged in the bishops palace of London, where they kept their Whitsuntide with great ioy and solemnitie, concluding there to hold a parlement, the same to begin on the ninth daie of Julie next following.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 678, 679.
in Quart.

Another historie saith, that the duke of Yorke, aduertised of the place into the which the king was withdrawn for the safetie of himselfe, and taking him into his power, comforted him in the best wise he could; assuring him, that now that the common enimie of the realme was dispatched, to wit, the duke

pp. 6 of

of Summerfet, he had cause rather to reioyse, than to be soie, with his destruction was the kings preservation. And for himselfe and all his adherents he undertooke, that they were and would remaine, during life, his most faithfull liege people, ready in all points to serue him, as his trustie and obedient subiects. After he had said such words, as wherewith best to comfort him, he brought the king forth of that simple house with all due reverence thewed toward him first to the chynne, and after to his chamber.

Whilist the duke of Yorke was about thus to comfort the king, the soldiers that had the victorie now in their hands, applied the spoile, namelye the spoorthorne men, stripping not onelie those that had borne arms against them, but also the townsmen and other, with whom they might meet. So that it was thought, if the king had taken by his lodging at his first coming thither, within the abbete, as he did not (but in the middell of the towne, to prouide the better to resist his enemies) the abbete had bene spoiled also. This was the end of the first battell at saint Albons, which was fought upon the thursdaie next before the feast of Penthecost, being the thre and twentieth day of Maie, in this thre and thirtieth yeare of the kings reigne. The bodies of the noble men were buried in the monastirie in our ladies chappell, and the meane people in other places. This Edmund duke of Summerfet left behind him three sonnes, Henrie, Edmund and John, which to the extremitie of death toke part with the line of king Henrie.

[There was this yeare a great fight & fraie upon Clift heath, distant about two miles from Crester, betwene Thomas Courtneie earle of Denonsheire, against William lord Bonville of Shute, and sundrie men of both parts were slaine. But yet the lord Bonville preuailed & had the victorie, who forthwith came to this citie, and the gates before being shut, were opened and he receiued; which thing so grieved the earle, that he continuallie sought thenceforth to be reuenged. But not long after in the quarell betwene king Henrie the first, and king Edward the fourth, he ended his daies, and was beheaded at Yorke, and was the last of that line.]

The duke of Yorke, hauing gotten the victorie, remembered well, that he had published abroad how the onelie cause of this warre was, for the advancement of the common-wealth, and therefore vsing all courtesie, would not touch the kings person after any violent sort; but with all honour and due reuerence conuoced him to London, and so to Westminster. To which place was summoned a parlement, which began the ninth daie of Iulie, in the which session, the late duke of Gloucester was openly declared a true subiect, both to the king and to the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no person should either iudge or report any point of vntruth of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Salisburie and Warwicke, or of any knight, esquier, archer, or other, for coming in warlike array against the king, at saint Albons; considering their enterprise was onelie to see the kings person in safegard.

But all the blame was put upon the duke of Summerfet, Thomas Chorp, baron of the eschequer, and William Iosep esquier, the kings collaterall companion; because that they, upon malicious purpose, kept a certefie letter from the kings knowledge, and would in no wise suffer it to be deliuered unto him, notwithstanding the same made to the advancement of some good peace, had it bene thoughtlie and aduisedlie read, weied & considered. In which letter they declared, that as faithfull and humble subiects, they required onelie, that it would please the king, whose honour, health, suertie, and preservation, they chiefly wished, not to giue credence to their ad-

uersaries malicious suggestions, till their coming to his presence, unto the which they humblye brought him that they might be admitted as his faithfull liege people, to shew the intent and purpose of their commings; which was to none other end, than to declare their fidelitie and allegiance towards his most roiall person, intending to put themselves with as much diligence and trauell in all things that might aduance his honour, health, and safegard, as any subiect he had liuing.

The keeping backe of this letter from the kings sight and knowledge, did minister matter sufficient unto the parlement, to colour and iustifie for well done all transgressions committed in the late battell and chase at saint Albons. In this parlement also, the duke of Yorke was made protector of the realme, and the earle of Salisburie was appointed to be lord chancellor, and had the great seale to him deliuered, and the earle of Warwicke was elected to the office of the captainship of Calis, and the territories of the same; and thus the rule of the realme rested in the orders of the duke and chancellor, and all warlike affaires remained principallie in the earle of Warwicke. And so amongst them it was agreed, that king Henrie should reigne still in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in authoritie; not minding to destroye him, least they might suddenlye prouoke the furie of the common people against them, because that of the simple sort of people he was for his holinesse of life, and abundant clemencie, much favoured and highlie esteemed.

In this parlement also it was enacted, that the king should resume, take into his hands againe, haue and reteine into his possession, all honours, castles, lordships, townes, villages, manours, lands, tenements, waiks, forests, chases, rents, reuerfions, fees, farmes, seruices, fines, profits, counties, aduoufons of priories, churches, hospitals, and free chapels, and all other reuenues with their appurtenances, the which had passed from him since the first daie of his reigne unto that present; either by his letters patents, or authoritie of parlement, and manie other meanes, whether by grant, confirmation, or release from him made in fee simple, or fee taile, for tearme of life or yeares, to any manner of person and persons in England, Wales, Scotland, or the marches; in Ireland, or in the townes of Calis, & Guines, & the marches there. And likewise all grants made of such things as are aboue mentioned, being parcel of the duchie of Lancaster; and further all grants of offices, romes, fees, wages, or commodities, not accustomed to belong to any office or charge before the said first daie of the kings reigne, were likewise reuoked.

Diverse other things were also contained within this reuocation and generall resumption; with certeine exceptions yet and prouiſes had, as were thought conuenient, and as by the same act it doth appeare. Moreover, now that the duke of Yorke and his adherents had wrested the whole rule & gouernment into their hands; all such persons as the king either loued, or the queene favoured, were put beside the priuie counsell; and such put in their places, as were knowne to fauour the house of Yorke. Also the officers were changed throughout the realme, at the will and disposition of the protector, chancellor, and captain of Calis; so that they constituted as it were a triumvirat, ruling all things at discretion of these thre. And yet in all their rule & find not that any mention is made of their deferring of iustice, or of any polling or bribery: as was openly proued by such as gouerned before their time. Onlie they were noted of diuerse spiritual persons, and namelye of the abbat of Westminster and his monks, for a

Battell of St. Albons on thursdaie the 23 of Maie. Anno Reg. 33.

Four of the to wit, the duke of Summerfet, the earle of Chesham, and the lord Clifford, were buried in our ladye chappell. Wherhamsted John Hooker, alias Vowell.

A parlement.

Wherhamsted Collaterall. A letter kept from the king of purpose.

The duke of Salisburie was appointed to be lord chancellor, and had the great seale to him deliuered, and the earle of Warwicke was elected to the office of the captainship of Calis, and the territories of the same; and thus the rule of the realme rested in the orders of the duke and chancellor, and all warlike affaires remained principallie in the earle of Warwicke.

The king is reigned in name but not in authoritie.

Wherhamsted In as for the to wit, the earle of Chesham, and the lord Clifford, were buried in our ladye chappell. Wherhamsted John Hooker, alias Vowell.

The shining of the officers.

Henrie duke
of Summerset
sit.The duke of
York's children
god of his of-
fice.

1456

In prison in
the cage of
London.The duke of
York's children
god of his of-
fice.A common
council call-
ed.

great offense: because they took out of the sandua-
rie at Westminster, John Holland duke of Exce-
ster, all against the order taken in the last parle-
ment, and sent him to the castle of Pomfret.

But now the lord Henrie Beauford, nephew duke
of Summerset by the death of duke Edmund his fa-
ther, slaine at the battell of saint Albons (as aboue
is rehearsed) and Humfrie duke of Buckingham
(who then & there lost his sonne and heire) and other
of estate taking the part of king Henrie, whose case
they did much bewaile & doubt, as perceiving where
to the courtesie of the duke of Yorke did draw: they
therefore thinking it necessarie to purueie for a re-
medie yer the mischance happened, consulted with the
quene. By whose aduise was a great counsell called
at Grenewich, where the duke of Yorke was dis-
charged of his protectorship, & the earle of Salisburie
deprived also of his office. ¶ This sudden change a-
mongst the nobilitie caused alterations, and sedi-
tious attempts in the commonaltie, and in especiall
within London: whereof this was one. A yong mer-
chant, which before time had bene in diuerse cities of
Italie, and there forbidden by the magistrats (as the
law and maner is) to weare any weapon, now chal-
lenged an Italian in Cheapside for wearing a dag-
ger, telling him it was against his owne countrie
lawes: wherefore because the Italian answered some-
what disdainfullie, the merchant not onelie took by
force from him his dagger, but also with the same
broke his pate.

This Italian in great hast complained to the ma-
ior, so that at the next court holden at the Guildhall,
the merchant was sent for, and upon charge of his of-
fense, he was commanded to ward. Whereupon di-
uerse other light persons within the citie, assembled
together in great plumps, by force constrained the
maior to deliuer the prisoner out of the petygate: and
not so satisfied, like mad men ran to the severall hou-
ses of diuerse Venetians, Lucases, and Florentines,
and them spoiled, robbed, and rifled without reason
or measure. The maior, perceiving this enormous
dowling, assembled a number of substantiall and graue
citizens: who (not without bloodshed and maiming
of sundrie) appeased the rage, and caused the misruled
people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this
vppore got him to Westminster, and there registred
himselfe for a fancie man.

The quene, which now againe ruled all, being ad-
uertised of this unlawfull misdeemeanour, sent the
dukes of Excester and Buckingham, with other
noble men to London, with a commission oier and
terminer, for the inquirie and punishment of so sedi-
tious an offense. But when the maior, the two dukes,
and the two chiefe iustices were set in the Guildhall
upon their commission, intelligence was giuen, that
a number of light persons were approaching in armor
to rescue the prisoners apprehended for the late rob-
berie and riot, as they were carried to their arraigne-
ment. The two dukes and the other commissioners
quickelie thence departed, and lest their inquirie for
that daie, though in deed in no such danger as they
doubted: for certeine discreet and sage citizens so
handled the matter, that no misorder followed of that
furie.

The maior on the next daie called a common coun-
cell, whereof the number was an hundred fourescore
and six, who ordeined that all wardens of mysteries
shuld assemble their companies in their halles, where
exhortation shoulde be to the obseruation of peace; and
if they spied any man either ready to stirre a rumor,
or make to the deliuerance of such as were in prison,
their names shoulde be secretlie written, and so deli-
uered to the maior: which policie well appeased this
outrage. Whereupon after the commissioners sat in

Guildhall, where manie of the robbers were attain-
ted & put to execution, beside diuers great fines set on
the heads of diuerse merchants, & paid, for wink-
ing at the matter. ¶ This yeare John Kempe archbishop
of Canturburie departed this life, & Thomas Bur-
lier bishop of Ely remoued to his place, being the
threescore and thirde archbishop of that see.

¶ In the moneth of Nouember, in the Ile of Wozt:
land not farre from the towne of Weimorth, was
sene a cocke comming out of the sea, hauing a great
crest vpon his head, and a great red beard, and legs
of halfe a yard long: he stood on the water & crowed
foure times, and euerie time turned him about, and
beckened with his head, toward the north, the south,
and the west, and was of colour like a fasant, & when
he had crowed thre times, he vanished awaie. And
shortlie after were taken at Crith within twelue
miles of London, foure great and wonderfull fishes
whereof one was called *Mors marina*, the second a
20 sword fish, the other two were whales.]

The French nation, hearing of the ciuill dissen-
tion within the realme here, and for an old grudge
seeking our annoie, two nauies appointed they to in-
uade the shoules standing vpon the riuaige of the sea.
The capteins of the one fleet was William lord Po-
miers, and of the other sir Peter Wesslie, a great ru-
ler in Normandie. These two capteins, taking their
course out of the mouth of Saine, scuered themsel-
ues, the one westward, and the other eastward, which
30 was sir Peter Wesslie, who sailing alongst the coasts
of Souler and Kent, durst not yet take land, but
staid in the Downes: and there hauing by espiall
perfect notice that Sandwich was neither peopled
nor fortified (because that a little before, the rulers
of the towne were from thence departed, for to a-
uoid the plague, which soze there afflicted and slue
the people) he entered the haven, spoiled the towne,
and after such poze stufte as he there found rifled and
taken, he fearing an assemble of the countrie, short-
40 lie gat him awaie.

The lord Pomiers likewise took his course west-
ward, & by night burning certeine houses in Fulnate:
with a little pillage retired into Britaine. The Scots
also (busie like flies where no flap to fraie them) en-
tered into Northumberland (king James the second
being there in person) & burned certeine poze houses,
and little cottages: but in the verie midst of their
great enterprize, they hearing of the duke of Yorke's
marching toward them with a great host, with much
50 paine and no gaine in all hast returned to their coun-
trie. But now to passe ouer outward inuasions, & to
intreat of the daillie disorder amongst the nobles at
home. So was it, that a great conflict fell betwene
the lord Egremond, & the sonnes of the erle of Salis-
burie, in which manie persons were slaine, & a great
number hurt. The lord Egremond, seeking to get a-
waie but could not, by force was taken & brought be-
fore the counsell: where the king and the quene, to
shew themselves indifferent, adiudged him to paie
60 to the earle of Salisburie a great summe of monie;
and for his heinous offense against the lawes, was
committed to the petygate in London, out of which he
escaped, to the great trouble of the shiriffes,

The quene nothing more seeking than the ouer-
throw of the duke of Yorke and his friends, and per-
ceiving she could attempt nothing against him
nere to London, because the duke was in more esti-
mation there, than either the king his husband, or his
selfe: therefore she caused the king to make a pro-
gress into Warwike shire for his health and recrea-
tion. And so in semblance of batoking and hunting,
came to Couentræ, where diuerse waies were stu-
died to fulfill the quenes desire: for the accompli-
shing whereof, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Sa-
lisburie

Abr. Fl. ex
L. S. 681.I 457
Fabian.

Anno Reg. 35.

Sandwich
spoiled by the
French.

Fulnate:

The Scots
inuaide Enga-
land.The lord E-
gremond com-
mitted to
Newgate.He made an
escape.

It pertaineth to
haie intrap-
sed the duke
of York.

liburie, and Warwicke (whose destructions was
chieftie sought) were sent for to Couentre by the
kings letters, vnder his priuie seale, to which place
the said lordes without suspicion of danger obedient-
lie resorted.

But being admonished by secret friends, what
was intended against them, they by sight auoided
that danger, where otherwise their liues had bene
lost without all remedie. And so without bidding a-
nie farewell, they departed from the court; the duke
vnto Wignmore in the marches of Wales, the earle
of Salisburie to his castell of Spobleham in the
north, and the earle of Warwicke sailed to Calis.
The bodies of which thre noble personages though
thus separated, yet their hearts knit in one, and still
went messengers & letters betwixt them, to commu-
nicat their deuises, and glue signification of their
minds and purposes.

Anno Reg. 36.
1458
The bishop
abjured for
mourning as
gainst the
popes extor-
tion.

In this yere Reginald Pecocke bishop of Chiche-
ster, abjured at Pauls crosse, all his booke burnt,
and he himselfe commanded to keepe his owne house
during his naturall life: because that he (verie well
learned, and better stomached) began to moue ques-
tions, not priuie but openlie, in the vniuersities,
concerning the annates, Peter pence, and other iur-
isdiccions & authorities, which the pope vsurped; and
not onelie put forth such questions, but declared his
mind and opinion in the same. Some saie he held
that spirituall persons by Gods law ought to haue
no temporall possessions, nor that personall tithes by
Gods law were due (nor that christian men were to
believe in the catholike church, nor in the communi-
on of saints, but to believe that a catholike church and
a communion of saints there is) and that he held
both the vniuersall church might erre in matters of
faith; and that it is not of necessitie to believe all
that which is ordeined by generall counsels, nor all
that which they call the vniuersall church ought to
be allowed and holden of all christian people.

Moreouer, that it was meet to euerie man to in-
terstand the scriptures in the true and plaine sense, &
none bound to glosses of anie other sense, vpon anie
necessitie of saluation. ¶ But because I find a larger
report hereof elsewhere, and as more methodicall, so
also (as it seemeth) in such forme as it was *res gesta*, a-
doed done, it shall not be amisse to insert the same.
This bishop was a secular doctor of diuinitie, that
had labored manie yeres to translate the holie scrip-
ture into English, & was accused to haue passed the
bounds of diuinitie and christian beleefe in certeine
articles, of the which he was conuict before the archbi-
shop of Canturburie, and other bishops and clearks,
and after bitterlie abjured, reuoked, and renounced
those articles openlie at Pauls crosse in his mother
tong on the fourth day of December, as followeth.

The forme of his abiuration.

In the name of the trinitie, father, sonne,
and holie-ghost, I Reginald Pecocke bi-
shop of Chichester vniuersitie, of mine
owne power and will without anie ma-
ner coercion or dread, confesse and knowledg that I
here, before this time, presuming of my naturall
wit, and preferring my iudgement and naturall rea-
son before the new and the old testament, and the au-
thoritie & determination of our mother holie church,
haue held, written and taught otherwise than the ho-
lie Romane and vniuersall church teacheth, preach-
eth, or obserueth. And one is against the true catho-
like and apostles faith, I haue written, taught, and
published manie & diuerse perillous doctrines, booke,
works, and writings, containing heresies and er-
rors, contrarie to the faith catholike, and determina-
tion of holie church; and speciallie these heresies

and errours following, that is to saie in particular.

In primis, quod non est de necessitate fidei credere quod do-
minus noster Iesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos.

Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in sancti-
rum communionem.

Item, quod ecclesia vniuersalis potest errare in his que
sunt fidei.

Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere & tenere
illud, quod consilium generale & vniuersale ecclesia statuit,
approbat, seu determinat, in fauorem fidei, & ad salutem ani-
marum, est ab vniuersis Christi fidelibus approbandum & te-
nendum.

Wherefore I miserable sinner, which here before
long time haue walked in darkenesse, and now by
the mercie and infinit goodnesse of God reduced into
the right wate, and light of truth, and considering my
selfe greuouslie haue sinned and wickedlie haue in-
formed and infected the people of God, retorne and
come againe to the vnitie of our mother holie church,
and all heresies and errors written and contained in
my said booke, works and writings, here solemnlie
and openlie reuoke & renounce. Which heresies and
errors, and all other spices of heresies I haue before
this time before the most reuerend father in God, and
my good lord of Canturburie, in diuerse and lawfull
forme publicallie abjured, submitting my selfe, being
then and also now at this time verie contrite and pen-
itent sinner, to the correction of the church and of my
said lord of Canturburie.

And ouer this, exhorting & requiring in the name
& vertue of almighty God, in the saluation of your
soules and mind, that no man hereafter giue faith
and credence to my said pernicious doctrines, here-
sies and errors; neither my said booke keepe, hold, or
read in anie wise; but that they all such booke, works,
and writings suspect of heresies, deliuer in all god-
lie hast vnto my said lord of Canturburie, or to his
commissioners and deputies, in escheewing of manie
inconueniences and great perils of soules, the which
else might be cause of the contrarie. And ouer this
declaration of my conuersion and repentance, I
here openlie assent, that my said booke, works, and
writings, for declaration and cause aboue rehearsed,
be deputed vnto the fire, and openlie burnt in exam-
ple and terrore of all other, &c.

After this, he was deposed of his bishopricke, ha-
uing a certeine pension assigned vnto him for to liue
on in an abbey, and some after died. His booke were
intituled: 1 Of christian religion, and a booke pertain-
ing therevnto. 2 Of matrimonic. 3 Lust expressing
of holie scripture, diuided into three parts. 4 The
doner of christian religion. 5 The follower of the do-
net. 6 The booke of faith. 7 The booke filling the
four tables. 8 The booke of worshipping. 9 The
prouoker of christian men. 10 The booke of counsell.

In the moneth of Januarie died the earle of Der-
byschire in the abbey of Abindon, poisoned (as men
said) being there at that time with quene spargaret,
to appeale the malice betwene the yong lordes, whose
fathers were slaine at Saint Albons, and they that
held with the duke of York. The thirtieth of April
there was a great fraie in Fleetstreet, betwene men
of court and the inhabitants of the same street, in
which fraie the quenes attorney was slaine. For this
fact the king committed the principall gouernours
of Iurnials, Cliffords, and Barnards in to prison
in the castell of Hertford; and William Tailor alder-
man of that ward, with manie other were sent to
Windsoxe called the seventh of Maie. On Thursday
in Whitsuntwke, the duke of Summertset with An-
thonie Kiners and other sours kept iustices before the
quene in the Tower of London, against thre el-
quiers of the quenes. And in like maner at Grenewich

Abt. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 682, 683,
684, 685, 686,
in Quart.



The general
assent was

John is
the son of
London

with the sundae following.]

king Henrie and his counsell, perceiuing the duke of Poike late still and fiered not, returned to London, and there called a great counsell, openlie declaring how the French and Scots (imbolstered by the euill discord within this realme) attempted to annoy the same, as of late they had shewed apparant tokens, and likelie not ceasse vpon occasions to doe further displeasures, till a perfect concord were concluded betwene him and his friends, and those of the contrarie part and confederacie. And to the intent that he would be the cheefe author of peace, he promised of his dignitie so to intertaine the duke of Poike and his friends, that all old grudges should be not onelie inwardlie forgotten, but also outwardlie forgiven, which should be cause of perpetuall loue and assured amitie.

This deuise was of all men iudged for the best. Where vpon diuerse grane persons were sent to the duke of Poike, and all other the great estates of the realme, who since the battell of saint Albons neuer met nor communed together, commanding them for great causes to repaire to the kings court without delaye. At his commandement came to London Richard duke of Poike, with foure hundred men, and was lodged at Wainards castell being his owne house; and after him came the earle of Salisburie with five hundred men, and was likewise lodged at his owne house called the Herbour. Then came the dukes of Excester and Summerfet with eight hundred men, and were lodged without Temple barre; and the earle of Northumberland, the lord Egremond, and the lord Clifford came with fiftene hundred men, and lodged without the citie. The earle of Warwike also came from Calis with six hundred men in red iackets, imbodered with white ragged stauens behind and before, and was lodged at the graie friers.

Thus were all those of the one part lodged within the citie, and those of the other without, in Holborne towards Westminster, and in other places of the suburbs, all vpon iuste consideration: for that the Poike faction and the Lancastrians could not well haue bene mingled without danger of discord. After that these lords were thus come vnto London, the king and the queene thexxlie followed, comming thither the seventeenth daie of March, and lodged in the bishops palace. Because no riotous attempt or bickering should be begun betwene anie of the parties or their retinues, the maiors and aldermen of the citie kept great watch, as well by daie as by night, riding about the citie by Holborne, and Fleetstreet, with five thousand men well armed and arraigned, to see good order and peace on all sides kept.

The lords which lodged within the citie held a dallie counsell at blacke friers: the other part sojourning without the walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house at Westminster. At length by the diligent trauell and good exhortation of the archbishop of Canturburie, and other prelates; both parties were persuaded to come to communication, and so did. Where, after long debating of grieuances on both sides, they promising to forget all old rancors, and to be friends each to other, & both obedient to the king, were accorded by award, wherof wytings were sealed, signed, and deliuered to effect as followeth.

The award made at Westminster
on the three and twentieth of March,
Anno regni regis 36.

The clerkie
herefore in
these lines to
be nothing



First, that at the costs, charges, and expenses of the duke of Poike, the earles of Warwike, and Salisburie, fourtie & five pounds of yearelie rent should be

assured by waite of a mortifement for ever, vnto the monasterie of S. Albons, for suffrages and obits to be kept, and almes to be imploied for the soules of Edmund late duke of Summerfet, Henrie late erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late lord Clifford late slaine in the battell of saint Albons, and buried in the abbey church, and also for the soules of all other slaine in the same battell. The said duke of Summerfet, the earle of Northumberland, and lord Clifford, by vertue of the same award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, and so to be holden and reputed in the daie of their deaths, as well as the said duke of Poike, the earles of Warwike and Salisburie.

Whereouer it was decreed, that the duke of Poike should giue to Glenor duchesse of Summerfet, and to Henrie duke of Summerfet his sonne, the summe of five thousand markes of good assignements of debts, which the king owght him for his wages, due during the time of his seruice in Ireland, to be distributed as the king should thinke conuenient, betwixt the brethren & sisters of the said duke of Summerfet. Also that the earle of Warwike should giue vnto the lord Clifford, the summe of a thousand markes, in good and sufficient assignements of debts, which the king owght him, to be distributed betwixt the said lord Clifford his brethren and sisters.

Also where Thomas Persie knight, lord Egremond, and Richard Persie his brother, sonnes of the ladie Glenor countesse of Northumberland, had been in a fellons holden within the countie of Poike before Richard Bingham, and Rafe Pole the kings iustices and other commissioners, condemned vnto the earle of Salisburie in the summe of eight thousand markes; and to the same earle, and to his wife Alice in the summe of five thousand markes; and to Thomas Peuill knight, son to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of a thousand markes; and to the said Thomas and his wife, in the summe of two thousand markes; and to John Peuill knight, sonne to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of eight hundred markes: for transgressions and trespasses there found to be done by the said lord Egremond, and Richard his brother, vnto the said earle of Salisburie, Alice, Thomas Peuill, his wife, and John Peuill, as by the record appered.

It was ordeined, that the said earle and his sonnes should release all the said summes of monie, and the executions thereof, and likewise release vnto Rafe Werneie, and John Steward late thiriffes of London, vnto whose custodie the said lord Egremond had bene for the same condemnations committed, and from them escaped, all actions which they or anie of them might haue against the said Werneie and Steward for the same escape. Yet it was decreed by this award, that the said lord Egremond should be bound by recognisance in the Chancerie, to keepe the peace toward the said erle and his wife, children, seruants, and tenants.

Also where diuerse knights, esquiers, and other seruants and tenants to the said earle of Northumberland, and to the said lord Egremond, were by their seuerall obligations bound, by occasion of the said debates, vnto the said duke of Poike, earle of Salisburie, or anie of their children, to stand to their order and gouernement; it was ordeined that the same obligations should be deliuered to them that so stoo bound, before the feast of saint Peter ad vincula next ensuing at the citie of Poike; else that the parties so bound, should haue sufficient acquittances in discharge of the same obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variances, discords, debates, controuersies, appeales, and actions personals, that were or had bene betwixt any of the

by these contentions how sooner the world went.

The lord Egremond.

They were thiriffes, an, 1456.

the said persons, or any of their servants, or tenants, should be for ever determined & ended, saving to euerie one his title, action and right, which he had by any evidence of arrearages of rents or seruices, accounts, detinues, or debts due by reason of any lawfull contract or deed, had and made for any reasonable considerations, other than the variance before said.

And for the more assurance of both parties, it was ordeined that either should release to other all manner of actions, that were mere personals and appeales, which any of them might have against the other, by reason of the variances and discords before mentioned.

Also it was decreed, that if any action, sute or quarrell charged betwixt any of the servants or tenants of any of the parties, for matter or title supposed to be had, occasioned or moued before this time; that from thenceforth, none of the said parties should mainteine, support, or aid any of them that will so sue and moue strife and debate: but should rather so deale, as the matter may be brought to peace and quietnesse.

It was further alwarded, that if any man complained, pretended, or surmised, that this alward was not kept, but in some point broken by any of the parties, for the which breach he would haue a Scire facias, or some other action prosecuted in the kings name vpon any recognisance made to the king for the performance of this alward: yet should not the same Scire facias or action be prosecuted, till the kings counsell might be thoroughlie certified of the matter by the complainant, and vpon consideration see iust cause why the same Scire facias, or action ought to be had and prosecuted in the kings name.

And if any variance rose betwixt the counsell of both the parties in making of the recognisances, releases, acquittances, or other writings; the same variance should be determined by the two lords chiefe iustices, that should be fullie instructed of the kings intention in this behalfe.

And besides this, it was notified and declared by the same alward, that the parties being severallie bound in the Chancerie in great sums to obeie and performe this alward, ordinance & iudgement made by the king; it was the kings will and pleasure, that the same recognisances should stand in force, and no parcels of the summes therein contained to be pardoned in any wise, without the agreement and consent of the parties, for whose assurance the same recognisance was taken.

And if any of the said summes, or any parcell thereof should be recovered by action or execution taken and prosecuted in the kings name, vpon any of the said recognisances; the parties to whose hindrance the alward was broken, should haue the one halfe of the monie so recovered; and the other moitie should be assigned to the treasure of the kings house. This ordinance, alward and agreement, was giuen by vnder the kings great scale, at the kings palace of Westminster, the foure and twentieth daie of March in the six and thirtieth yeare of his reigne.

For the open publishing of this sofull agreement, there was (vpon our ladie daie in March) a solemne procession celebrated within the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, at the which the king was present in habit roiall, with his crowne on his head. Before him went hand in hand the duke of Summerset, the earle of Salisburie, the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of Warwick; and so one of the one faction, and another of the other: and behind the king the duke of Yorke, and the queene with great familiaritie in apperance leading hand in hand. But what shall be said: As goodlie apples corrupted at coze,

(how faire coated so euer they seme) can neuer be made to become sound againe: nor rotten walles new plastered without, can euer the more staie their moldering inward, till the putrified matter first through the cruell laie all in the mire: so fared it on all parts in this dissembled and counterfet concord. For after this apparant peace (but inward discords) diuerse of the nobles smallie regarding their honours, forgot their oth, and brake their promise holdie.

Not long after this, of pretended purpose (as it was thought) a fraie was made vpon a yeoman of the earle of Warwicks, by one of the kings seruants, in the which the assaillant was sore hurt; but the earles man fled. Wherevpon the kings meniall seruants, seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, assembled together and watched the earle, when he returned from the counsell chamber toward his barge, and suddenlie set on him, the yeomen with swords, the blacke gard with spits and fier-foxes. After long fight, and manie of the earles men maimed and hurt, by helpe of his friends he gat a wherrie, and so escaped to London. The queene aduertised herof, instantlie commanded that he should be apprehended, and committed to the tower, where (if he had bene taken) he had shortly ended his daies.

By this unhappie fraie, there arose anon after such trouble and terrible warre, that the whole realme was thereby disquieted. For after this displeasure done to the earle, and the queens good mind towards him by his secret friends revealed; he with all diligence toke his iournie to Warwicke, and after into Dorsetshire, where he found the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Salisburie, declaring vnto them the assault made vpon him by the kings seruants, and the pretended euill purpose of the queene. After which complaint made, he fearing to be dispossessed of his roome at Calis, with great speed imbarched himselfe and sailed thither. He was not onelie deputie or lieutenant of Calis, but also high admerall of the seas, which office was to him confirmed for the space of five yeares. Wherevpon, whether before his arrival now at Calis, or shortly after, I cannot say; but this yeare about the middell of summer, the said earle, hauing with him a fourtene well appointed ships, sailed abroad to scowle the seas, and by chance met with five great ships, whereof three were caracks of Genoa, and the other two were of Spaine, bigger in heighth and length than the caracks.

The earle, though he was scarce able to deale against them, yet he valiantlie incountred them. There was a verie sore and long continued battell fought betwixt them, for it lasted almost the space of two daies. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the English, so that two of those ships being forced to saue themselves by flight, the other three were taken, which the earle brought vnto Calis, with all the merchandise aboard the same; the value whereof in wine, oile, war, iron, cloth of gold, and other riches, was esteemed to the summe of ten thousand pounds & above. By reason whereof, that was sold now for twelue pence, which would not haue bene bought before for two shillings. There were taken a great number of prisoners, beside a thousand of the enemies slaine in fight. Of the earles part there were fiftie slaine. The earles same hereby increased not a little, and manie a blessing he had for this peece of seruice.

The noble science of Printing was about this time found in Germanie at Spagunce by one John Guttembergus a knight: one Conradus an Almaine brought it into Rome: William Caxton of London mercer brought it into England about the yeare 1471: and first practised the same in the abbie of saint Peter at Westminster; after which time it was likewise practised in the abbies of S. Augustine at

A solemne
procession at
Pauls.
I 459

Anno Reg. 37.
W. P.

The earle
warwicks
sailed.

The queene
grieved.

Which
the earle
warwicks
admerall

richly

Abt. Pl. 15
pag. 666
Printing
instituted

at Canturburie, saint Albons, and other monasteries of England. In a little towne in Bedfordshire there fell a bloodie raine, whereof the red drops appeared in sheets, the which a woman had hanged out for to drie.]

But now to the former purpose. After that the earle was gone over to Calis, the duke of Yorke and the earle of Salisburie, falling in consultation together, it was at length agreed betwixt them, with advice of their friends, that the said earle of Salisburie with a warlike companie should march toward the king; and signifie to him by waie of complaint, both the manifest iniurie done to his sonne, and also the uncourteous breach of the swoorne amitie and late agreement. In which sute if he prevailed, he should not then let passe the occasion given for reuenge of displeasures to him done, both by the queene and his sinister counsellors. After conclusion of this deuise, the earle of Salisburie remoued from Middleham castle, accompanied with foure or five thousand men, and toke his waie through Lancashire, to passe that waie towards London.

In the meane season, the queene, assisted and ruled by the dukes of Summerfet and Buckingham, hauing a vigilant eye to all his businesse, imagined that the earle of Marwike had kindled this fire, to the intent to set the crowne on the duke of Yorke's head. Wherefore she appointed James Towcket lord Audelie (because his power laie in those parties by the which the earle of Salisburie must passe) to raise an host of men with all speed, and to giue battell to the same earle, if he saw cause and place conuenient. She had deuised a cognisance of the white swan, which she willed all such (as she knew to beare fauor vnto her sonne) to weare, for a signification of their good minds and hartie loue towards him: which cognisance she had giuen to manie gentlemen of Cheshire, and other countries thereabout.

The queene her selfe late the same time at Ecclesale in Shropshire, but the R. remained at Colleshill in Warwike-shire, whither the earle of Salisburie meant to come, in pretense to haue communed with him for a reformation of matters depending in conference betwixt himselfe, the duke of Yorke, and others. But the queene construing that they ment no good, neither to her nor her husband, requested the lord Audelie to apprehend him, if by any means he might. The lord Audelie (according to his commission) assembled about ten thousand men of Cheshire and Salopshire, and knowing by his espials which waie the earle kept, approached nere to him vpon a faire plaine called Blozeheath, within a mile of a towne called Draiton in Shropshire. The earle, perceiuing in what icopardie he stood, determined to abide the aduenture with fame and honour, rather than to flie with shame and reproach; and so incamped himselfe all the night on the side of a little brooke, not verie brode, but somewhat deepe.

In the morning earlie, being the daie of saint Michael, he caused his souldiers to shoot their sights towards the lord Audelies companie, which laie on the other side of the said water, and then he and all his people made a signe of retreat. The lord Audelie, supposing his aduersaries had fled in daie, raised his trumpets quicklie to blow vp, and setting forth his boldard, speedilie passed the water. The earle of Salisburie, which knew the sleights of warlike policie, suddenlie returned, and set vpon the lord Audelie and his chiefe captains, per the residue of his armie could passe the water. The fight was fore and deadly. The earle desiring the sauing of his life, and his aduersaries coneting his destruction, fought fore for the obtaining of their purpose: but in conclusion, the earles armie, as men not looking for other succours

nor meane to escape, but by their owne manhood, so egerlie assaulted their foes, that they slue the lord Audelie and all his captains, and discomfited all the remnant of his people.

In this battell were slaine foure and twentie hundred persons, but the greatest losse fell vpon the Cheshire men, because one halfe of the shire was on the one part, and the other halfe on the other: of which number were sir Thomas Dutton, sir John Dounce and sir Hugh Denables, sir Richard Polinour, sir William Crotwiche, sir John Legh of the Both, and sir John Egerton, knights; John Done, and John Dutton esquires. But the earles two sonnes, the one called sir John Penill, and the other sir Thomas Penill, were fore wounded, the which soberlie fornieng into the north countrie, were apprehended by the queenes friends, and together with sir Thomas Harington that was likewise taken, were conueied to Chester, but their keepers deliuered them shortly after, or else had the Parchmen destroyed the goales. Such fauour bare the commons of Wales to the duke of Yorke's band, that they could not suffer anie wrong to be offered, or euill word to be spoken against him or his friends.

After this battell at Blozeheath, the said duke of Yorke, perceiuing the destruction of him and his friends was intended, and that his deuises were already disclosed to the king and the queene, he thought now no longer to linger his businesse, but with all diligence to set forward the same. And therefore sending for his chiefe friend the earle of Salisburie, after long conference of their weightie affaires, they determined to raise an armie, and by fine force either to win their purpose, or end their liues in the same. Wherevpon were men forthwith assembled, friends sent for, and a puissant armie gathered, both of Northerne and Welshmen, who in good order came into the marches of Wales adioining to Shropshire, determining there to abide their enemies, or to meet them, if occasion serued.

There came to him from Calis the earle of Marwike, bringing with him from that towne a great number of expert men in martiall feates, whereof two were captains knowne for men of great experience and approued policie, as they had well declared the same in the warres of Normandie and Guien, the one called Andrew Crollop, and the other John Blunt. The king, hauing aduertisement of the dukes doings, sent forth commissioners to leuie a power in all parts of the realme, where he thought to haue any faithfull friends or fauourers: by reason whereof a great number of men of warre was assembled. Manie for the loue they bare to the king resorted to his side, but more for feare of the queenes displeasure, whose frowning countenance was their vndoeing, and her indignation their death.

To be bræfe, the king accompanied with the dukes of Summerfet and Excester, and other of the line of Lancaster, determined either by force or by policie to bring the duke of Yorke to confusion; and therevpon marching forward they came vnto Worcester, where as well to refresh his people, as to take further aduise what was best to be done, he staid for a time. And at length it was determined, that the R. should first send vnto the aduersaries, a messenger of good account, as the bishop of Salisburie Richard Beauchampe, to offer vnto them a cleere and free generall pardon of all trespasses, offenses, and transgressions whatsoeuer, if they would giue ouer their enterprise, and become true and obedient subjects.

When the bishop was come vnto them, and had declared his message, they first withdrew to themselves apart, and fell together in counsell: and after they gaue answer by the mouth of the erle of Marwike, which

The lord Audelie slaine.

The number slaine in the battell of Blozeheath.

The earle of Salisburie sonne apprehended.

The duke of Yorke assembled an armie.

Andrew Crollop, John Blunt.

The king raised an armie.

Whereas the bishop of Salisburie sent to the duke of York and others.

Their answer
touching the
pardon offered.

which consisted in three points. First, that as concerning the pardon, they durst not trust unto it, considering they had diuerse pardons before, and the same confirmed by parlement, and yet nothing auailable to their assurance. Secondlie, that notwithstanding such pardons, those that were about the king, were presumptuous and unruly, that they cared not at all to breake the kings commandments, nor were any thing abashed to be noted for the breach thereof.

Thirdlie, although by law of the land, and right of the statute, euery lord by vertue of the kings writ, being called to the parlement, ought safely to come, safely there to remaine, and safely to depart and returne home: this notwithstanding, the said earle of Marlowe himselfe, at a certaine councill holden at Westminster, by vertue of the kings writ of priuie seale, being there in person, & labouring to his knowledge to giue god aduise and counsell for the profit of the common wealth, was yet in danger of death, if the Lord above had not the better provided for his escape, more than anie humane power or force of the kings pardon. For the which cause (quoth he) sith the kings pardon maie be likened in these daies to a buckler of glasse, or to a staffe of reed, in which is no trust, we dare not commit our selues unto the defence of anie such pardons: But if anie other waie might be deuised for their suerties, whereunto they might safely trust (he said) they were ready to come to his grace, and to sue for his fauour.

A letter from
the lords to
the king.

The king receiuing such answer in these words, or other to the like effect, was nothing contented therewith, and so commanded his standards estcones to aduance. But yet before he came nere to the place where they were incamped, the said lords wrote to him a letter in their owne excuse, protesting they meant no harme in the world against his person, as by their demeanours and proceedings it might well appeare, who had euer fled & withdraue themselves from place to place, from towne to towne, from village to village, and from countie to countie. Which might serue for an euident token, that they sought for nothing but onelie their owne safegard & quietnesse of the realme, with so much fauour, as in god and safe suertie they might come to his presence, to declare certaine things which in their opinions might turne to the wealth of the realme: and further to make answer to all things that had bene objected against them. And now (said they) we are here remaining in the uttermost parts of the land (that is) in the marches towards Wales, not farre from Ludlow, not upon anie presumptuous meaning, but rather in all humble lowlinesse of mind and bodie to abide his graces comming: which they besought of God might be in some peaceable manner and fauorable in their behalfe.

A proclama-
tion.

The king hauing receiued this letter, and considering that some bitter meaning laie vnder so sweet a speech, commanded his armie againe to march forth; and comming within halfe a mile of the aduersaries campe, pitched downe his field, and forthwith caused proclamation to be made, that who so euer of his aduersaries would giue ouer his leuod begun enterprise, and repaire to his presence to sue for mercie, he would pardon him of all offenses. This proclamation, comming to the vnderstanding of them in the duke of Yorkes host, caused a great number that were there with him against the king, to get a waie & come to the kings side. Moreover, there rose among the residue great murmuring: so as they seemed verie like to grow to a greuous mutinie.

Andrew
Trollop for-
sake the
lords.

Amongst other of those that came to the kings campe, Andrew Trollop was chiefe, who with the other Calissians, which had long serued the king, and liued a long time by his wages, perceiuing now that

they should fight against their soueraigne lord himselfe (whose true subiect they esteemed before that time the earle of Marlowe euer to haue bene, and in no wise his enimie) in the dead of the night before the daie of the battell secretly departed from the dukes campe, and submitted themselves to the king, admitting him of all things deuised against him. Whereof part was, that the duke of York by his expert captains appointed vpon a waie how to set vpon his enimies, & easilie to discomfit them; so as on the next morning he meant to haue assailed the king and his people, yet they could haue bene readie or warie of his comming.

But now by the going a waie thus of his captains and people, that purpose was disappointed. And Andrew Trollop thus departed, he was now as much discomfited, as before by trust in him he was encouraged: for all his counsell and purpose by Andrew disclosed, he thought it better for him & his to depart in suertie, than to abide the imminent danger. Whereupon he with his yonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, secretly fled into Wales, and so passed into Ireland, where he was with all joy and honore gladly receiued, all the Irish offering to liue and die with him; as if they had bene his liege subiects, and he their lord and prince naturallie borne.

The earle of March sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, accompanied with the earles of Salisburie and Marlowe, and sir John Manners, got a waie the same night, and came into Devonshire: where, by the meanes of John Dinham squier (which after was high treasurer of England, in the daies of king Henrie the seauenth) they bought a ship which cost a hundred and ten marks at Exmouth, and sailed into Cornewall, after came to Calis, where being let in at the posterne, they were iustlie welcomed of their friends, namelie of sir William Perrell lord Fauconbridge, that was the earle of Marlowes vnkle, and brother to the earle of Salisburie, who had the towne and castell in keeping. All these being assembled cast their heads together, and euery one feuerallie had his deuise for the perfecting of their purpose, whereto there wanted in them neither will nor hardinesse.

But now to returne to the king. When in the morning he was aduertised that the duke of York and his partakers were fled and gone, he caused all his horsemen to follow them; although in vaine: for they were got farre enough out of danger (as before ye haue heard). The king pardoned all the poore soldiers, sauing certaine ringleaders of the which some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this he remoued to Ludlow, and there brake vp his host, and spoiling the towne and castell, he sent the duchesse of York with hir two yonger sonnes to be kept in ward with the duchesse of Buckingham hir sister. This done, he proclaimed these lords, traitors to him, enimies to their countrie, and rebels to the crowne, confiscating their lands, goods, and offices: and committed the gouernance of the north parts to the earle of Northumberland, and to the lord Clifford, as to his trustie and most faithfull friends, & of his towne of Calis he made capitaine Henrie the new duke of Summerfet.

This duke reioysing much in his new office, chose forth diuerse valiant and hardie soldiers, and with great pompe hostlie after toke the seas, and sailed towards Calis. But when he thought to haue entered the haven, the artillerie shot so hotlie, both out of the towne, and from Rifebanke, that he suffering there a sore reuulse, was faine to land at Whitlandbaie; and sent word to the captains of the towne to receiue him as the kings lieutenant, shewing to them his letters patents. But neither he nor his

The escape
of Andrew
Trollop.
The duke of
York and his
company.

The lords
proclaimed
traitors.

The duke of
Summerfet
made capitaine
of Calis.

writing was once regarded : and so of necessitie he resorted to the castell of Guines, daile skermishing with the garrison of Calis, more to his losse than gaine. Diuerse of the mariners of those ships that went ouer with him, after his arriual, owing more good will to the earle of Marwike than to this young duke, conuicted their ships into the haven of Calis, and in them diuerse of the earle of Marwikes entymes, as Jamin Findill, John Ffelow, and diuerse others, the which being presented vnto the earle of Marwike, he caused their heads forthwith to be stricken off.

Shortlie after, Richard lord Riuers, and sir Anthony Woodville his valiant sonne that was after lord Seales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persons, were appointed to passe ouer to Calisnes, to aid the duke of Summerfet against his aduersaries, which laie in Calis. But as they sojourned at Sandwich abiding for wind and weather to trauele thence ouer, the earles of March and Marwike had knowledge thereof, and sent John Dinham with a small number of men (but a multitude of valiant hearts) vnto the towne of Sandwich, which suddenly entered the same, and took the lord Riuers and his sonne also in their beds, robbing houses, and spoiling ships. And beside this, they took the principall ships of the kings nauie, and had them awaie with them to Calis, one excepted called *Grace de Dieu* which might not be had awaie because she was broken in the bottome, and there presented them to the earle of March, of whome he was fullie receiued. For though in the fight he was fore hurt & malined in the leg, so as he halted euer after, yet he bare himselfe so well in that enterprise, that his praise was great amongst all men.

¶ Sir Baldwine Fulford undertooke on paine of losing his head, that he would destroe the earle of Marwike : but when he had spent the king a thousand marks in monie, he returned againe. After this god fortune thus chanced to the lords, diuerse of the best ships taken in the haven of Sandwich, were well vittelled and manned, and with them the earle of Marwike sailed into Ireland, to common with the duke of Forke of their great affaires and businessse. The weather and wind were so fauourable to the earles purpose, that within lesse than thirtie daies he passed and repassed from Calis to Dublin, and backe againe.

The duke of Orcester, being chiefe admerall of the sea, laie in the west countrie, and durst not once meddle with the earle of Marwikes nauie, as he came by, by reason of the mistrust which he had in the capteins and mariners of his owne nauie : who by their murmuring well shewed that they wished the earle of Marwikes good successe. ¶ But here is to be remembred, that after the great discomfiture of the lords (as before you haue heard) and proclamation made against them as traitors, the duke of Forke and the earles of Salisburie and Marwike had conference; and thereupon concluded with one assent, to write a letter excusatorie (supposing thereby to salue by the force) in all their names to the king : and so did, as followeth.

A copie of the said letter excusatorie written by the said duke and earles.

Most christian king, right high and mightie prince, and our most dread soueraigne lord, after as humble recommendations to your high excellencie as will suffice. Our true intent to the prosperitie and augmentati- on of your high estate, and to the common-weale of

this realme, hath bene shewed vnto your highnesse in such writing as we make thereof. And ouer that, an indenture signed by our hands in the church cathedraall of Worcester, comprehending the proue of the truth and dutie that (God knoweth) we beare to your said estate, and to the prebeminence and prerogatiue thereof, we sent vnto your god grace by the prior of the said church, and diuerse other doctors, and among other, by maister William Linwood doctor of diuinitie, which ministred vnto vs seuerallie the blessed sacrament of the bodie of Iesus, whereupon we and euerie of vs depose for our said truth and dutie, according to the tenor of the said indenture.

And since that time we haue certified at large in writing and by mouth, by Carter king of armes, not onelie to your said highnesse, but also to the god and worthie lords being about your most noble presence, the largenesse of our said truth and dutie, and our intent and disposition, to searce all the motions that might serue conuenientlie to the affirmation thereof, and to our perfect suerties from such inconuenient and breuerent leoparides as we haue bene put in diuerse times here before. Whereof we haue cause to make, and ought to make such exclamation and complaint, not without reason, as is not vnknown to all the said worthie lords, and to all this land; and will offer vs to your high presence, to the same intent, if we might so do, with our said suertie, which onelie causeth vs to kepe such fellowship as we do in our lesfull manner.

And hereto we haue forborne, and auoided all things that might serue to the effusion of christians blood, of the dread that we haue of God, and of your rotall maiestie : and haue also eschued to approach your said most noble presence, for the humble obeisance and reuerence wherein we haue, and during our life) will haue the same. And yet neuertheless we heare, that we be proclaimed and defamed in our name vnrighthie, vnlawfullie, and (sauiug your high reuerence) vnturle, and other wise (as God knoweth) than we haue giuen cause; knowing certeinlie, that the blessed and noble intent of your said god grace, and the righteounesse thereof is, to take, repute, and accept your true and lawfull subiects; and that if accordeth neither with your said intent, nor with your will or pleasure, that we should be otherwise taken or reputed. And ouer that, our lordships and tenants bene of high violence robbed and spoiled, against your peace and lawes, and all righteounesse.

We therfore, as we suffice, beseech your said god grace, to take, repute, and reueue therevnto our said truth and intent, which to God is knowne, as we shew it by the said tenor of the same indenture. And not applie your said blessednesse, ne the great righteounesse and equitie wherewith God hath euer indured your high nobilitie, to the importune impatience and violence of such persons, as intend of extream malice to proceed (vnder the shadow of your high might and presence) to our destruction, for such inordinate couetise (whereof God is not pleased) as they haue to our lands, offices, and goods, not letting or sparing therefore, to put such things in all lamentable and so sorowfull leoparide, as might in all wise take effect, by the myserie of Gods will and power.

Not having regard to the effusion of christians blood, ne anie tenderesse to the noble blond of this land, such as serue to the tuition and defense thereof, ne not waicng the losse of your true liege men of your said realme, that God defend, which knoweth our intent, and that we haue auoided therefrom as farre as we may with our suerties, not of anie dread that we haue of the said persons, but onelie of the dread of God and of your said highnesse, and will not vse our said defense vntill the time that we be prouo- ked

hed of necessitie, whereof we call heauen and earth vnto witnesse and record, and therein beseech God to be our iudge, and to deliuer vs according to our said intent, and our said truth & dutie to your said highnesse, and to the said common-weale.

Most chullian king, right high and mightie prince, and most dread souereigne lord, we beseech our blessed Lord to preserve your honour and estate in toy and felicitie. Written at Ludlow the tenth daie of October: R. Pothe, R. Warwike, R. Salisburie.

A parlement at Couentre.

Duke of Yorke and others attainted.

Ludlow spoiled.

Whethamsted.

The kings inclination to mercie.

Abt. Fl.

Ouid. de Ponto. lib. 1.

Olbert Montford esquier faith Whethamsted. who should also haue gone oner to Glines with five hundred loubiers to the aid of the duke of Summerfet. The lord Fauconbridge was chiefe of this enterprise faith Whethamsted. Churche beheaded at once.

Abt. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 692, 693.

During this time the king called a parlement in the citie of Couentre, which began the twentieth of September, in the which were attainted of high treason, Richard duke of Yorke, Edward erle of March his sonne and heire, Richard earle of Warwike, Edmund earle of Rutland, Richard earle of Salisburie, John lord Clifford, lord Clinton, sir Thomas Harrington, sir John Wenlock, Thomas Peuill & John Peuill sons of the earle of Salisburie, James Dickering, John Coniers, Thomas Par, William Diddall, and Henrie Ratford knights, John Bowser, Thomas Coke, John Claie, Richard Citon, Robert Wolone, Edward Bowser, Thomas Naughtan, John Roger, Richard Greie, Walter Denoreur, Walter Hopton, Roger Linderton, Will. Bowles, Joulke Stafford, the lord Polwis, and Alice countesse of Salisburie, their goods and possessions escheated, and their heires disinherited vnto the ninth degree, their tenants spoiled of their goods, maimed and slaine, the towne of Ludlow, belonging to the duke of Yorke, was robbed to the bare wals, & the outchies of Yorke spoiled of hir goods.

But (saith another) when the king should come to giue his consent vnto the acts passed in the same parlement, and that the clerke of the parlement had read that statute of the attainder of those lords; such was the kings modeste and great zeale vnto mercie, that he caused a prouiso to be put in, and added vnto the same statute, that it might be lawfull vnto him at all times fullie without authoritie of anie other parlement, to pardon the same noble men, and restore them againe to their former estates, degrees, and dignities in all things, so they would come in vnto him, and in the spirit of humblenesse beseech him of grace and fauour. Wherein the king gaue euident testimonie, that he was indued with those qualities of mind which the poet ascribed vnto Cesar, (namelie slow to punish, & sad when he was constrained to be seuerer: fith the one commended his lenitie, the other fauoured of tyrannye) in this distinction of like termination:

*Est piger ad poenas princeps, ad premia velox,
Cuius dolet quoties cogitur esse ferax.*

Wherewith also order was taken for the defense of the hauens & landing places alongst the sea coasts. Sir Simon Pontford, with a great crew of men, was appointed to keepe the downes, and the fine ports; and all men passing into Flanders were vpon paine of death prohibited to passe by Calis, least the lords there should begeth of them anie prest monie, as they did latelie before of the merchants of the staple the summe of eightene thousand pounds. The lords were not ignorant of all the kings provisions made against them, but were ascertained daillie what was done euen in the kings priue chamber: therefore first they sent a companie to Sandwith vnder the gouernance of the lord Fauconbridge, who toke the towne, & sir Simon & Olbert Pontford within it, and sent him with all his mates to Calis, where incontinentlie he with twelue of his chiefe fellows lost their heads on the sand before Kissebanke.

The earles at Calis sent to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the commons of England at large

certaine articles in writing, beginning thus: Maye grace be shewed vnto you, the duke of Yorke, the earles of March, Warwike, and Salisburie, such and offered to haue come to the king our souereigne lords most noble presence, to haue declared there afore him for our dutie to God and to his highnesse, and to the prosperitie and welfare of his noble estate, and to the common-weale of all his land as true liege men, the matters following.

10 Articles sent from the duke of Yorke, and the earles, to the archbishop of Canturburie and the commons.



In primis, the great oppression, extortion, robbrie, murther, and other violences done to Gods church, and to his ministers thereof, against Gods and mans law.

2 Item, the pouertie and miserie that to our great heavinesse our souereigne lord standeth in, not hauing anie liuelod of the crowne of England whereof he may keepe his honorable household, which causeth the spoiling of his said liege men by the takers of his said household, which liuelod is in their hands that haue bene destroyers of his said estate, and of the said common-weale.

3 Item, how his lawes be parcialle and unrightfullie guided, and that by them that should most lone and tender his said lawes, the said oppression and extortion is most fauoured and supported; and generally, that all righteounesse and iustice is excluded out of the said land, and that no man dreads to offend against the said lawes.

4 Item, that it will please his said god grace to liue vpon his owne liuelod, wherevpon his noble progenitors haue in daies heretofore liued as honorable and as worthilie as anie christian princes, and not to suffer the destroyers of the said land, and of his true subjects, to liue therevpon, and therefore to lache the sustentances that should be belonging to his said estate, and find his said household vpon his poore commons, without payement, which neither accordeth with Gods nor mans law.

5 Item, how oft the said commons haue bene greatlie and maruellouslie charged with taxes and tallages to their great impouerishing, whereof little god hath either geoune to the king or to the said land, and of the most substance thereof the king hath left to his part not halfe so much; and other lords and persons, enemies to the said common-weale, haue to their owne vse, suffering all the old possessions that the king had in France and Fozmandie, Anou and Spaine, Gascoine and Guen, wone and gotten by his father of most noble memorie, and other his noble progenitors, to be shamefullie lost or sold.

6 Item, how they can not cease therewith, but now begin a new charge of imposition and tallages vpon the said people, which neuer afore was sent; that is to saie, euerie towne to find men for the kings gard, taking example therein of our enemies and aduersaries of France. Which imposition & tallage, if it be continued to heire, heires, and successors, will be the heauiest charge and worst example that ever grew in England; and the foresaid subjects, and the said heires and successors in such bondage, as their ancestors were neuer charged with.

7 Item, where the king hath now no more liuelod out of his realme of England, but onelie the land of Irelund, and the towne of Calis, and that no king chaffened hath such a land and a towne without his realme; diuerse lords haue caused his highnesse to write letters vnder his priue seale, vnto his Irish enemies, which neuer king of England did heretofore,

one, whereby they may haue comfort to enter into the conquest of the said land, which letters the same Irish enimies sent vnto me the said duke of Yorke, and maruelled greatlie that anie such letters should be to them sent, speaking therein great shame and villanie of the said realme.

8 Item, in like wise the king by exercitation and labour of the same lordes, wrote other letters to his enimies and aduersaries in other lands, that in no wise they should shew anie fauour or god will to the towne of Calis, whereby they had comfort inough to proceed to the winning thereof. Considered also, that it is ordeined by the labour of the said lordes, that no where vittels nor other thing of refreshing or defense should come out of England, to the succour or reliefe of the said towne, to the intent that they would haue it lost, as it may openlie appeare.

9 Item, it is deemed and ought greatlie to be deemed, that after the same lordes would put the same rule of England, if they might haue their purpose and intent, into the hands and gouernance of the said enimies.

10 Item, how continuallie since the pittous, shamefull, and sorrowfull murder to all England, of that noble, worthy, and chistian prince Humfrie duke of Gloucester the kings true vncle, at Burie, it hath bene laboured, studied, and conspired, to haue destroyed and murdered the said duke of Yorke, and the issue that it pleased God to send me of the roiall blood, and also of vs the said earles of Marlowe and Salisburie, for none other cause but for the true hart that (God knoweth) we euer haue borne, and beare to the profit of the kings estate, to the common-welfare of the same realme, and defense thereof.

11 Item, how the earles of Shrewesburie and Wilshire, and the lord Beaumont, our mortall and extreme enimies now, and of long time past, hauing the guiding about the most noble person of our said soueraigne lord, whose highnesse they haue restrained kept from the libertie & freedom that belongeth to his said estate, & the supporters & fauourers of all the premises, would not suffer the kings said god grace to receive and accept vs, as he would haue done, if he might haue had his owne will, into his said presence, regarding the charge that would haue bene layd vpon them, of the miserie, destruction, and wretchednesse of the said realme, whereof they be causes, and not the king, which is himselfe as noble, as vertuous, as righteous and blessed of disposition, as a prince earthly.

12 Item, the earles of Wilshire and Shrewesburie, and the lord Beaumont, not satisfied nor content with the kings possessions and his goods, stirred and excited his said highnesse to hold his parliament at Couentre, where an act is made by their prouocation and labour, against vs the said duke of Yorke, my sonnes March and Rutland, and the earles of Marlowe and Salisburie, and the sonnes of the said earle of Salisburie, & manie other knights and esquires of diuerse matters falselie and vntrolic imagined, as they will answer afore almighty God in the daie of iudgement, the which the said earles of Shrewesburie & Wilshire, and the lord Beaumont prouoked to be made, to the intent of our destruction and of our issue; and that they might haue our liuelod and goods, as they haue openlie robbed and despoiled all our places and our tenements, and manie other true men, and now proceed to hanging and drawing of men by tyrannie, and will therein shew the largenesse of their violence and malice as vengeable as they can, if no remedie be prouided at the kings highnes, whose blessednes is neither assenting nor knowing thereof.

Wherefore, seeing all the said mischieses, bea-

ring also that the French king maketh in his land great assemblie of his people, which is greatlie to be dread for manie causes, purpose yet againe with Gods grace to offer vs to come againe to the said presence of our said soueraigne lord, to open and declare vnto him there, the mischieses aboue declared; and in the name of the land to sue, in as reuerent and lowlie wise as we can, to his said god grace, to haue pittie and compassion vpon his said true subiects, and not to suffer the same mischieses to reigne vpon them. Requiring you in Gods behalfe, and praesing you in our owne, therein to assist vs, doing alwaie the due tie of liege men in our persons to our soueraigne lord, to his estate, prerogative, and prebeminence, and to the suertie of his most noble person, whereunto we haue euer bene and will be as true as anie of his subiects alieue, whereof we call God, our ladie saint Marie, and all the saints in heauen to witnesse.

13 In the meane time, the earle of Wilshire treasurer of England, the lord Scales & the lord Hungerford went to Newberie, which belonged to the duke of Yorke, and there made inquisition of all them that in anie wise had fauoured the said duke, whereof some were found guiltie, and were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and all the inhabitants of the towne were spoiled of their goods. From thence the earle of Wilshire went to Southampton; where, vnder colour to take the earle of Marlowe, he armed five great caracks of Fene with souldiers, taking vittels of the kings pryce without payment, and put a great part of his treasure into the said caracks, and after sailed about in the sea, and at last staid into Dutchland, sending backe againe his souldiers into England. Then were the kings priuie scales directed to all bishops, abbats, priors, and other states, to lend the king monie, therewith to wage souldiers to keepe the sea coasts.

After the kings nauie was gained, and his capteins (as before we haue heard) on the sea taken; the lordes steng at Calis, being aduertised from the lord Fauconbridge (who after the taking of Pontford laie still in Kent) that the people of that countrie and other parts were altogether bent in their fauour; and no lesse addited to do them seruice both with bodie and goods, than the Irishmen seemed to be at their receiving of the said duke of Yorke, and his younger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, whom they so highly honoured, that they offered to line and die in their quarell] they conceived therevpon so great hope in their friends within the realme, that they determined to passe the sea, and therewith entring their ships with fiftene hundred men landed all at Sandwiche.

[But it is to be read in a late writer, that the commons of Kent dreading the like vengeance towards them, as fell vpon them of Newberie, sent priuie messengers to Calis to the foresaid earles, beseeching them in all hast possible to come to their succour. Wherevpon the said earles sent ouer into Kent the lord Fauconbridge, to know if their hands would accord with their words: so that anon the people of Kent and the other shires adioining, resorted to the said lord Fauconbridge in great number. Wherefore when the earles knew the willing harts of those people, they prepared to come into this land. Against whose comming, a long ballet was fired vpon the gates of Canturbarie, made in fauour of the duke of Yorke and the said earles, beginning thus: In the daie of fast and spirituall affliction, the celestiall influence of bodies transitorie, &c.]

Now as they passed through Kent, there came to them the lord Cobham, John Cillford, William Pedh, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen; so that before they approached to London, their number

The earle of wilshire and other spoiled Newberie.

The earle of wilshire staid ouer the seas.

Printhe scales for monie.

Abr. Flem.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S. pag. 697.

The men of Kent sent to Calis for the earles.

Wherhamsted 1460

ber was examined about fourtie thousand fighting men, for the same of their landing being once knowen, gentlemen and yeomen resorted to them out of all the south parts of the realme. Upon which rumor, Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour with the king & quene, accompanied with the earle of Kendall a Gascoigne, and the lord Louell, resorted to London with a great companie of armed men, declaring to the maior, that their repaire onlie was to defend and keepe the citie from spoile of such traitors as the king was crediblie informed were thither comming. To whom the maior answered, that he needed no fellow helper, either to defend or gouerne the citie to him committed in charge. With which answer the lord Scales and his associats nothing contented, entred into the Tower, daillie deniung waies how to grieue the citizens, whom he percelued to fauour rather the duke of Yorkes part, than the kings.

But shortly after the earles of March and Warwick, and other of their affinitie, came to London, and were of the maior and citizens ioioully receiued, to whome resorted Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Lincolne, Salisburie, Ely, and Excester, with manie other prelates and religious persons: amongst whome also was the popes legat to treat of peace, if need so required. Upon good deliberation and aduise had and taken amongst these lords how to go forward with their weightie enterprise, the earles of March and Warwick, William lord Fauconbridge, Henrie lord Bourchier, called earle of Eu, with a great number of men which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrie, and Suffex, to the number (as some writers affirme) of fife and twentie thousand persons, departed from London toward the king lieng at Couentrie, then called the quenes secret harbour, leauing behind them to keepe the Londoners in their promised friendship, the earle of Salisburie, the lord Cobham, and sir John Wenlocke, which toke such order, and watched the gates and entrees on eche side so diligentlie, that no succour might come to the lord Scales lodging in the tower; who toke therewith such displeasure, that he shot out his great ordinance against them within the citie, and they likewise shot at him againe, to the hurt and no pleasure of both parts.

The king hauing knowledge of all these doings, assembled a great armie, and accompanied with the duke of Somerset (latelie come from Guines) and the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse other great lords that toke his part, came to Northampton, where the quene perceluing his puillance to be able to match in fight with the aduersaries, toke vpon hir to encourage hir friends and well-willers: for the king studied of nothing but of peace, quietnesse, and solitarie life. When the whole host of the kings part was assembled, the same issued south of the towne, and passing ouer the riuer of Tine, lodged in the new field betwene Harfington and Sandiford, stronglie fencing themselves about with high banks, and deepe trenches. On the other part, the lords being herewith aduanced verie nere the place where the kings people laie without Northampton; the bishops that were there with them, by the aduise and consent of the said lords, sent vnto the king the bishop of Salisburie, to vnderstand his mind, and to moue him vnto some treatie of peace, and to admit the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other bishops there present, to be mediators in the matter, that some good accord might be concluded betwixt the parties, so as an vnfallible peace might be restored in all parts through the whole realme.

The bishop of Salisburie doing this message not so circumspectlie as had bene convenient, returned without bying any answer; but rather

words of high despise and bitter defiance. For the lords that were about the king, trusting in their warlike engines and strength of place, in which they were incamped, though otherwise inferior in number of men, purposed to abide the brunt of battell; and so led with the spirit of rashnesse, sent none other answer backe againe by the bishop, but continualous words sounding greatlie to the reproch of their aduersaries; who being fore offended therewith, determined to seeke reuenge with dint of sword. The earle of March as then being in the floure of his lustie and most couragious youth, lieng betwene Courteor and Northampton, determined to set on the kings armie without longer delate: and thereupon in the night season removed his campe toward Northampton, and in marching forward set his men in order of battell: wherof the vanguard was led by the earle of Warwick, which either by strength or stealth wan a streit which the lord Beaumont kept, going toward the kings campe; and here with entring freshlie with his people, began the battell about seauen of the clocke the ninth daie of Iulie. After him folloved the earle of March with the banner of his father. Others write, that the earle of March led the foreward, the erle of Warwick the middleward, and the lord Fauconbridge the reerward.

Howeuer, that Edmund lord Greie of Ruthen, who was on the kings side, failed in the trust committed to him: for where the enemies could not with out great danger enter vpon the kings campe, by reason of a mightie trench and rampire pight full of piles and sharpe stakes, wherewith the campe was compassed about: the said lord Greie came with his men, and with helping hands pulled the enemies by, and receiued them into the field, where the battell was begun with great force & violence. For being now entred the field, they set vpon the kings people so fiercelie, that it seemed they ment either to obtaine the victorie, or to die for it, euen all the whole number of them. The fight continued right fierie and cruell, with vncerteine victorie, till the houre of nine: at which time the kings armie was discomfited, and of the same slaine and drowned in the riuier, few lesse than ten thousand; and the king himselfe left comfortlesse alone was taken by the aduersaries, as a man in great miserie.

At this battell fought at Northampton, were slaine Humfreie duke of Buckingham, John Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, a valiant person, and not degenerating from his noble parents, Thomas lord Egremont, John viscount Beaumont, and sir William Lucie, which made great hast to come to part of the fight, and at his first appoach was stricken in the head with an ar. Besides these that were slaine, manie were taken prisoners, because they left their horses, alighting to fight on foot. The duke of Somerset, and other, which narrowly escaped, fled with the quene and prince into the bishopricke of Durham. The earles, hauing got the victorie in this bloodie battell, conueied the king to London, and lodged him in the bishops palace. After whose comming to the citie, the Tower was deliuered to the erle of March, vpon a certeine composition; but the lord Scales suspecting the sequelle of the deliuerie thereof, toke a wherrie priuillie, intending to haue fled to the quene; but he was espied by diuerse watermen belonging to the earle of Warwick (which waited for his forth comming on the Thames) and suddenly taken, was shortly slaine with manie darts & daggers, and his bodie left naked and all bloodie at the gate of the clinke, and after was buried in the church adjoining.

Then were diuerse persons apprehended, and indicted of treason, wherof some were pardoned, and some executed. Thomas Thoype second baron of the clinke, ber,

Concentric the
queenes secret
harbour.

The quene
the better
captaine.

Whethamsted

The battle
Northampton

Whethamsted

The L. Greie
of Ruthen

Edw. Hall.
The kings
part discomfited.

The L. Greie

The Tower
deliuered to
the erle of
March

The lord
Scales

Thoype
baron of the
clinke

ber, was committed to the Towre, where he remained long after, for that he was knowne to be great friend to the house of Lancaster. ¶ When queene Margaret heard that the R. was taken, she with hir sonne, and eight persons fled to the castell of Harbrough in Wales, and was robbed by the waie in Lancashire of all hir goods, to the value of ten thousand markes: from thence she went into Scotland. Thus you see what fruits the tree of ciuill discord doth bring forth; that euill tree, which whilste some haue taken paine to plant, and sonne to prouine and nourish, for others confusion (to whome they haue giuen a taste of those apples which it bare, far more bitter than colquintida) themselves haue bene forced to take such share as befell them by lot. If so as it is not possible that a comon fier, whose heat & flame is vniuersallie spread, should spare any particular place (for so should it not be generall) no more is it likelie that in ciuill commotions, rebellions, insurrections, and partakings in conflicts and pitched felos (speciallie under ringleaders of great countenance and personage, such as be the peres and states of kingdoms) anie one should, though perhaps his life, yet (a thousand to one) not saue his blood vnspilt, nor his goods vnspilled. ¶ During this trouble, a parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster, in the moneth of October next following.

In the meane time the duke of Yorke, aduertised of all these things, sailed from Dublin towards England, and landed at the red banke nere to the citie of Chesser, with no small companie: and from Chesser by long iournies he came to the citie of London, which he entred the fiftaie before the feast of S. Edward the Confessor, with a sworde borne naked before him, with trumpets also sounding, and accompanied with a great traine of men of armes, and other of his friends and seruants. At his comming to Westminster he entred the palace, and passing forth directlie through the great hall, staied not till he came to the chamber, where the king and lords used to sit in the parlement time, comonlie called the upper house, or chamber of the peres, and being there entred, stept vnto the throne roiall, and there lauing his hand vpon the cloth of estate, seemed as if he meant to take possession of that which was his right (for he held his hand vpon that cloth a good while) and after withdrawing his hand, turned his face towards the people, beholding their preassing togither, and marking what countenance they made.

Whilste he thus stood and beheld the people, supposing they reioised to see his presence, the archbishop of Cantuarbie (Thomas Bourcher) came to him, & after due salutations, asked him if he would come and see the king. With which demand he seeming to take disdain, answered brauelie, and in few wordes thus: I remember not that I know anie within this realme, but that it befemeth him rather to come and see my person, than I to go and see his. The archbishop hearing his answer, went backe to the king, and declared what answer he had received of the dukes owne mouth. After the archbishop was departed to the king that late in the quenes lodging, the duke also departed, and went to the most principall lodging that the king had within his palace, breaking vp the lockes and doores, and so lodged himselfe therein, more like to a king than a duke, continuing in the same lodging for a time to the great indignation of manie, that could not in anie wise like of such presumptuous attempts made by the duke, to thrust himselfe in possession of the crowne, and to depose king Henrie, who had reigned ouer them so long a time.

Maister Edward Hall in his chronicle maketh mention of an oration, which the duke of Yorke uttered,

sitting in the regall seat there in the chamber of the peres, either at this his first comming in amongst them, or else at some one time after, the which we haue thought good also to set downe: though Iohn Whethamsted the abbat of saint Albons, who liued in those daies, and by all likelihood was there present at the parlement, maketh no further recitall of anie wordes, which the duke should utter at that time in that his booke of records, where he intreateth of this matter. But for the oration (as maister Hall hath written thereof) we find as followeth. ¶ During the time (saith he) of this parlement, the duke of Yorke with a bold countenance entered into the chamber of the peres, and sat downe in the throne roiall, vnder the cloth of estate (which is the kings peculiar seat) and in the presence of the nobilitie, as well spirituall as temporall (after a pause made) he began to declare his title to the crowne, in this forme and order as insueth.

Edw. Hall. in
Hen. 6. fol.
clxxvij. &c.

The duke of Yorke's oration made to
the lords of the parlement.

M singular good lords, maruell not that I approach vnto this throne: for I sit here as in the place to me by verie iustice lawfullie belonging; & here I rest, as to whom this chaire of right apperteineth, not as he which requireth of you fauour, parcialitie, or bearing, but equall right, friendlie indifferencie, and true administration of iustice. For I being the partie grieved, and complainant, can not minister to my selfe the medicine that should helpe me (as expert leeches & cunning surgians maie) except you be to me both faithfull aiders & also true counsellors. For yet this noble realme and our naturall countrie shall neuer be vnbackled from hir daillie feuer, except I (as the principall physician, and you as the true and trustie apothecaries) consult togither in making of the porton, and trie out the cleane and pure stuffe from the corrupt and putrified drugs.

For vndoubtedlie, the root and bottome of this long festured canker is not yet extirpate, nor the feeble foundation of this fallible building is not yet espied, which hath bene and is the daillie destruction of the nobilitie, and the continuall confusion of the poore communitie of this realme and kingdom. For all you know (or should know) that the high and mightie prince king Richard the second, was the true and vndoubted heire to the valiant conqueror and renowned prince king Edward the third, as sonne & heire to the hardie knight and courageous capteine Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornewall, eldest sonne to the said king Edward the third: which king was not onelie in deed, but also of all men reputed and taken for the true and infallible heire to the wise and politike prince king Henrie the third, as sonne and heire to king Edward the second, sonne and heire to king Edward the first, the very heire and first begotten sonne of the said noble and vertuous prince king Henrie the third.

D q q. ii.

Which

Which king Richard of that name the second, was lawfullie & iustlie possessed of the crowne and diadem of this realme and region, till Henrie of Derby duke of Lancaster and Hereford, sonne to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne to the said king Edward the third, and yonger brother to my noble ancestoz Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of the said king Edward, by force and violence, contrarie both to the dutie of his allegiance, and also to his homage to him both done and swozne, raised warre and battell at the castle of Flint in North-wales, against the said king Richard, and him apprehended, and imprisoned within the Tower of London: during whose life and captiuitie, he wrongfullie usurped and intruded vpon the roiall power, and high estate of this realme and region, taking vpon him the name, stile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the same.

And not therewith satisfied, and contented, compassed and accomplished the death and destruction of his naturall prince, and most worthy soueraigne lord, not as a common homicide and butcherlie murtherer, but as a regicide, and destroyer of his king. After whose pitious death, and execrable murther, the right and title of the crowne, and superioritie of this realme was lawfullie reuerted & returned to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire to ladie Philip the onelie child of the aboue rehearsed Lionell duke of Clarence, vnto which Rogers daughter called Anne, my most dearest and welbeloued mother, I am the verie true and lineall heire, which descent all you can not iustlie gaine say, nor yet trulie denie. Then remember this, if the title be mine, why am I put from it? If I be true heire to the crowne (as I am indeed) why is my right withholden? If my claime be good, why haue I not iustice? For iustlie, learned men of great science and knowledge say and affirme, that lineall descent, nor usurped possession can nothing preuaile, if continuall claime be lawfullie made, or openlie published.

For the auoiding of which scruple and ambiguitie: Edmund earle of March my most welbeloued vnckle, in the time of the first usurper, in deed but not by right called king Henrie the fourth, by his coslines the earle of Northumberland, & the lord Percie, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendouer the rebell in Wales, made his title & righteous claime to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my most dearest lord my father, so farre set forth that right and title, that he lost his life & worldlie toy at the towne of South-hampton, more by power than indifferent iustice. Since whose death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my title, and require my right, which by meanes of sinister counsell and vniust detention, I can neither obtaine nor recouer. So that of fine force I am compelled to

use power in stead of praier, and force in stead of request; not (as I said before) for my priuat emolument and peculiar profit: but to restore peace, loue, and quietnesse to this our naturall region, which ever since the first vngodlie usurpation of the aforesaid named Henrie, vnturlic called king Henrie the fourth, hath bene clerelie banished, and out of the same vniustlie exiled.

What murthers and manslaughterers haue bene perpetrated and committed within this countrie, since the beginning of that vngodly usurpation: What number of noble men haue bene slaine, destroyed, & executed since that infortunate daie: It is too lamentable and manifest. For although Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derby took vpon him the scepter and the crowne, and wrongfullie bare the name and stile of a king; and was not much tickled with mine vnckle the earle of March, at that time being within age: yet was he neuer in suertie of himselfe, nor had or ioined any profit & quietnesse either in mind or in bodie. For suertie, a corrupt conscience neuer sleeeth rest, but looketh when the sword of vengeance will descend and strike. His sonne also called king Henrie the first, obtained notable victories, and immortall praises for his noble acts done in the realme of France: yet God (for the offense of his vnture parent) suddenlie touched him, vnbodieng his soule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of his conquest.

And although he had a faire sonne and a yong heire apparant: yet was this orphan such a one (as preachers say) that God threatned to send for a punishment to his vnturlic and vngodly people, sauing by his prophet Euseb: I shall giue you children to be your princes, and infants without wisdom shall haue the gouernance of you. The prophet lied not, if you note all things in an order: for after this Henrie the first (whose fame no man can iustlie reprocure or deface) succeeded his sonne, whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeyed as his heire. In whose time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to consider, with what great tormentes and afflictions God hath whipped & scourged this miserable Ile: yea with such and so manie scourges and plagues, as no nation (the Egyptians onelie excepted) were euer tormented or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murthers and oppressions, which of late haue bene done and exercised here among vs. But I will declare & manifest to you, how the crowne and glorie of this realme is by the negligence of this sillie man, and his vniust counsell diminished, defaced, and also dishonoured.

Is not Normandie, which his father gat, regained & conquered againe, by the insolencie of him & his couetous counsell: Is not the whole duchie of Aquitaine, by two hundred and odde yeares peaceable possessed by the kings of this realme, in one

yeare and a little more, gotten out of our hands & seigniozie: What should I speake of Anjou & Maine, or the losse of the Ile of France, with the rich citie of Paris. Alas it is too apparant. Neither will I molest you with the recitall of all the particulars thereof. But now in the midst of this affliction, and to make an end of the same: God of his ineffable goodnesse, looking on this countrey with his eyes of pitie & mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore againe his decayed kingdome to his ancient fame and old renowne whereof here in open parlement, according to my iust & true title, I haue and doe take possession of this roiall throne: not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine aid, and assistance of you the pates of this realme, I shall beautifie & mainteine the same to the glorie of him, honour of my bloud, and to the publike wealth as well of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiects of this kingdome and regent.

When the duke had made an end of his oration, the lords sat still as men stricken into a certaine amazednesse, neither whispering nor speaking forth a word, as though their mouthes had bene sewed vp. The duke not verie well content with their silence, aduised them to comfort thoroughlie, and ponder the whole effect of his words and sayings: and so neither fullie displeased, nor yet altogether content, departed to his lodging in the kings palace. While he was declaring thus his title in the higher house among the pates, there happened a strange chance in the verie same, instant amongst the commons in the nether house. A crowne which did hang in the middle of the same to garnish a branch to set lights vpon, without touch of man, or blast of wind, suddenlie fell downe. About the same time also fell downe the crowne which stood on the top of Dover castell. Which chances were construed to be signes, that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall.

The lords forgot not the dukes demand, and to take some direction therein, diuerse of them, as spirituall and temporall, with manie graue and sage persons of the commonaltie daile assembled at the Blackefriers, and other places, to treat of this matter, being of so great importance. During which time the duke of Yorke, although he and the king were both lodged in the palace of Westminster: yet would he not for anie prayers or request once visit the king, till some conclusion were taken in this matter: saying, that he was subiect to no man, but only to God, vnder whose mercie none here superiour but he. The king of Scots, partlie encouraged thorough the ciuill discord here in England, and partlie for the displeasure which he had conceiued for the death of Edmund duke of Summerset his mothers brother, this yeare besieged the castell of Roxburgh: and by the breaking of a bombard, as the same was shot off against the castell, he chanced to be slaine. Yet the Scots left not off their enterpryse, assaulting the castell till they gat it, and then defended it a long time after, till Richard duke of Gloucester won it againe, and rased it.

After long debating of the matter, and deliberate consultation amongst the pates, prelates, and commons, vpon the vigill of All saints, it was concluded: for so much as king Henrie had bene taken as king by the space of thirtie and eight yeares and more, that he should introy the name and title of

king, and haue possession of the realme during his naturall life. And if he either died, or resigned, or forfeited the same, by breaking or going against anie point of this concord, then the said crowne & authoritie roiall should immediatlie be deuoluted and come to the duke of Yorke, if he then liued; or else to the next heire of his linage. And that the duke of Yorke from thence forth should be protector and regent of the land. This was the determination of the parlement to a fro, tending to peace betwene the king & the duke (which was ratified accordingly) as by the articles ensuing dooth appeare.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 700, 701,
&c. in Quart.

The articles betwixt king Henrie and the duke of Yorke.

Blessed be Iesu, in whose hands and bountie resteth and is the peace and unitie betwixt princes, and the weale of euerie realme: by whose direction (I know) agreed it is, appointed, and accorded as followeth, betwixt the most high and most mightie prince king Henrie the first king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke on the other partie: vpon certeine matters of variance moued betwixt them, and especiallie vpon the claime and title vnto the crownes of England and of France, and roiall power, estate, and dignitie appertaining to the same, and lordship of Ireland, opened, shewed, and declared by the said duke, before all the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement.

First, where the said Richard duke of Yorke hath declared and opened (as is aboue said) title & claime in maner as followeth.

That the right noble and worthy prince, Henrie king of England the third had issue, and lawfullie got Edward the first begotten sonne, borne at Westminster, the fifteenth kalends of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1239, & Edmund his second sonne which was borne on St. Marcellis daie, the yere 1200, the which Edward, after the death of king Henrie his father, intituled & called king Edward the first, had issue, Edward his first begotten sonne, called (after the deceasse of his father) king Edward the second, the which had issue, Edward the third: which Edward the third had issue, Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield his second sonne; Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; John of Cant fourth, duke of Lancaster; Edmund of Langley fifth, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodstocke sirt, duke of Gloucester; and William of Windsor; seauenth.

The said Edward prince of Wales, which died in the life time of his father, had issue Richard, which succeeded Edward the third his grandfere; Richard died without issue; William of Hatfield the second sonne of Edward the third, died without issue; Lionell the third sonne of Edward the third, duke of Clarence, had issue Philipp his daughter and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie vnto Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and had issue Roger Mortimer earle of March his sonne and heire; which Roger had issue of Edmund erle of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne, Eleanor; which Edmund, Roger, and Eleanor died without issue.

And the said Anne coupled in matrimonie to Richard earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund of Langley, the first sonne of Henrie the third, and had issue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of Yorke; John of Cant, the fourth sonne of Edward, and the younger brother of the said Lionell, had issue Henrie earle of Derby, who incontinentlie after that king Richard resigned the crownes of the realmes

Prodigious
tokens.

The castell of
Roxburgh be-
sieged.
Slaying of
Scots
through
misfortune
there.

The determi-
nation of the
parlement co-
cerning the
restoring of
peace.

realmes and lordship of Ireland, brighteously entered upon the same, then being alwie Edmund Mortimer earle of March, sonne to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionel, the third sonne of the said king Edward the third, to the which Edmund the right and title of the said crownes and lordship by law and custome belonged. To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as sonne to Anne daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionel, the third sonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and estate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland pertaineth and belongeth afore anie issue of the said John of Cant, the fourth sonne of the same king Edward.

The said title notwithstanding, and without prejudice of the said Richard duke of Yorke, tenderlie desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperitie of this land, and to set apart all that might be trouble to the same, and considering the possession of the said king Henrie the first, and that he hath for his time bene named, taken, and reputed for king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, is contented, agreed, and consenteth, that he be had, reputed, and taken for king of England and France, with the roiall estate, dignitie, and prebeminence belonging thereunto, and lord of Ireland during his naturall life. And for that time, the said duke, without hurt or prejudice of his said right, and title, shall take, worship, and honour him for his soueraigne lord.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall promise and bind him by his solemne oth, in manner and forme as followeth.

The oth of
Richard duke
of Yorke.

In the name of God Amen: I Richard duke of Yorke, promise and sweare by the faith and truth that I owe to almighty God, that I shall neuer consent, procure, or stirre, directlie or indirectlie, in p'sente or apert, neither (as much as in me is) shall suffer to be done, consented, procured, or stirred, anie thing that may found to the abridgement of the naturall life of his reigne or dignitie roiall, by violence, or anie other waie, against his freedom or libertie: but if any person or persons would do or presume anie thing to the contrarie, I shall with all my might and power withstand it, and make it to be withstood, as far as my power will stretch thereunto, to helpe me God and his holie evangelists.

Item, Edward earle of March, and Edmund earle of Rutland, sonnes of the said duke of Yorke, shall make like oth.

Item, it is accorded, appointed, and agreed, that the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall be called and reputed from henceforth, verie and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship aboue said; and after the deceasse of the said king Henrie, or when he will laie from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said duke and his heires shall immediatlie succeed to the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall haue by authoritie of this present parlement, castles, manors, lands, and tenements, with the wards, marriages, relieves, seruices, fines, amercements, offices, aduousons, fees, and other appurtenances to them belonging, what soeuer they be, to the peacelie value of ten thousand marks; ouer all charges and reppises, whereof five thousand marks shall be to his owne state, three thousand five hundred marks to Edward his first begotten sonne earle of March for his estate, and one thousand pounds to Edmund earle of Rutland his second sonne for his peacelie sustentation, in

such consideration and such intent as shall be declared by the lords of the kings council.

Item, if anie person or persons imagine or compass the death of the said duke, and thereof probable be attained of open deed done by folkes of other condition, that it be deemed & adiudged high treason.

Item, for the more establishing of the said accord, it is appointed and consented, that the lords spiritual and tempozall, being in this present parlement, shall make oths, to accept, take, worship, and repute the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires, as aboue is rehearsed, and keepe, obserue, and strengthen (in as much as apperteineth unto them) all the things abovesaid, and resist to their power, all them that would presume the contrarie, according to their estates and degrees.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, earles of March, and Rutland, shall permit and make othe to helpe, aid, and defend the said lords, and euerie of them, against all those that will quarrell, or anie thing attempt against the said lords, or anie of them, by occasion of agreement or consenting to the said accord, or assistance giuing to the duke and earles, or anie of them.

Item, it is agreed and appointed, that this accord, and euerie article thereof, be opened and notified by the kings letters patents, or otherwise, at such times and places, and in manner as it shall be thought expedient to the said Richard duke of Yorke, with the aduise of the lords of the kings council. The king vnderstandeth certeinlie the said title of the said Richard duke of Yorke, iust, lawfull, and sufficient, by the aduise and assent of the lords spiritual and tempozall, and the commons in this parlement assembled; and by authoritie of the same parlement declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, and accepteth the said title, iust, good, lawfull, and true, and thereunto giueth his assent and agreement of his free will and libertie.

And ouer that, by the said aduise and authoritie declareth, intituleth, calleth, establisheth, affirmeth, & reputeth the said Richard duke of Yorke, verie true and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, and dignitie of the realmes of England and of France, and of the lordship of Ireland abovesaid; and that according to the worship and reuerence that thereto belongeth, he be taken, accepted and reputed, in worship & reuerence, by all the states of the said realme of England, and of all his subiects thereof; saving and ordeining by the same authoritie, the king to haue the said crownes, realme, roiall estate, dignitie, and prebeminence of the same, and the said lordship of Ireland during his life naturall.

And furthermore, by the same aduise and authoritie willet, consenteth and agreeth, that after his deceasse, or when it shall please his highnesse to laie from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires shall immediatlie succeed him in the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie, and lordship, and them then haue and inioie: anie act of parlement, statute, or ordinance, or other thing to the contrarie made, or interruption, or discontinuance of possession notwithstanding.

And moreover, by the said aduise and authoritie, establisheth, granteth, confirmeth, approueth, ratifieth, and accepteth the said accord, and all things therein contained, and thereunto free and absolute assent, agreeth; and by the same aduise and authoritie ordeineth and establisheth, that if anie person or persons imagine or compass the death of the said duke, & probable be attained of open deed done by folkes of that condition, that it be deemed and adiudged high treason.

And

Reg. 39.

And further more ordeineth and establissheth by the said aduise and authoritie, that all statutes, ordinaunces, and acts of parlement, made in the time of the said king Henrie the fourth, by the which he and the heires of his bodie, comming of Henrie late king of England the first, the sonne and heire of the said king Henrie the fourth, and the heires of king Henrie the fifth, were or be inheritable to the said crownes and realmes, or to the heritage of the same, be annulled, repealed, damned, cancelled, void, and of none effect.

And ouer this, the king by the said aduise, assent and authoritie, ordeineth and establissheth, that all other acts and statutes made afore this time by act of parlement, not repealed or annulled by like authoritie, or otherwise void, be in such force, effect, and vertue, as they were afore the making of these ordinaunces; and that no letters patents, roialr of recozd, nor aas iudiciall, made or done afore this time not repealed, reuerfed, ne otherwise void by law, be prejudiced or hurt by this present act.]

This agreement put in articles, was ingrossed, sealed, and sworne vnto by the two parties, and also enacted in the parlement. For soy whereof the king, hauing in his companie the duke of Yorke, rood to the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, and there on the day of All saints with the crowne on his head went solemnelie in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the bishops palace, nere to the said church. And vpon the saturdaye next ensuing, Richard duke of Yorke was by sound of trumpet solemnelie proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne of England, and protector of the realme. After this, the parlement kept at Couentrie the last yeare, was declared to be a diuellish counsell, and onelie had for destruction of the nobilitie, and was indeed no lawfull parlement: bicause they which were returned, were neuer elected according to the due order of the law, but secretlie named by them which desired rather the destruction than the aduancement of the common-wealth. When these agreements were enacted, the king dissolued his parlement, which was the last parlement that euer be ended.

The duke of Yorke, well knowing that the queene would spurne against all this, caused both hir and hie sonne to be sent for by the king. But she as went rather to rule, than to be ruled, and thereto counselled by the dukes of Excester and Summerfet, not onelie denied to come, but also assembled a great armie, intending to take the king by fine force out of the lords hands. The protecto in London, hauing knowledge of all these doings, assigned the duke of York, and erle of Warwicke his trustie friends to be about the king, while he with the earles of Salisburie and Rutland, and a convenient number departed out of London the second date of Decemder northward, and appointed the earle of March his eldest sonne to follow him with all his power. The duke came to his castell of Sandall beside Wakefield on Chylmasse euen, there began to make muster of his tenants and friends. The queene thereof ascertained, determined to cope with him yer his succour were come.

So the, hauing in hir companie the prince hir sonne, the dukes of Excester and Summerfet, the earle of Devonshire, the lord Clifford, the lord Roos, and in effect all the lords of the north parts, with eightene thousand men, or (as some write) two and thierthe thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and had bafe to the duke, euen before his castell gates. He hauing with him not fullie five thousand persons, contrarie to the minds of his faithfull counsellors, would needs issue forth to fight with his enemies. The duke of Summerfet and the queenes part, casting vpon their most aduantage, appointed the

lord Clifford to lie in one scale, and the earle of Warwicke in another, and the duke with other to keepe the maine battell. The duke of Yorke with his people descended downe the hill in good order and arraie, and was suffered to passe on towards the maine battell.

But when he was in the plaine field betwene his castell and the towne of Wakefield, he was inuironed on euerie side, like fish in a net, so that though he fought manfullie, yet was he within halfe an houre slaine and dead, and his whole armie discomfited: with him died of his trustie friends, his two bastard vnckles, sir John and sir Hugh Mortimers, sir Danie Hall, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Deuill, William and Thomas Apatre, both brethren; and two thousand and eight hundred others, whereof manie werz yong gentlemen, and heires of great parentage in the south parts, whose kin reuenged their deaths with in foure moneths next, as after shall appeare.

In this conflic was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard earle of Salisburie, sir Richard Limbycke, Kase Stanleie, John Barow, capteine Han-son, and diuerse others. The lord Clifford, perceluing where the earle of Rutland was conueied out of the field (by one of his fathers chapleins, and scholemaster to the same earle) and ouertaking him, stabbed him to the heart with a dagger as he kneeled afore him. This earle was but a child at that time of twelue yeares of age, whome neither his tender yeares, nor dolorous countenance, with holding by both his hands for merce (for his speech was gone for feare) could moue the cruell heart of the lord Clifford to take pitie vpon him, so that he was noted of great infamie for that his vnnmercifull murder vpon that yong gentleman.

But the same lord Clifford not satisfied herewith, came to the place where the dead corpe of the duke of Yorke lay, caused his head to be striken off, and set on it a crowne of paper, fixed it on a pole, and presented it to the queene, not lieng farre from the field, in great despite, at which great reioising was shewed: but they laughed then that shortly after lamented, and were glad then of other mens deaths that knew not their owne to be so nere at hand. Some write that the duke was taken alive, and in derision caused to stand vpon a molehill, on whose heape they put a garland in stead of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of sedges or bulrushes; and heaping so crowned him with that garland; they kneeled downe afore him (as the Jewes did vnto Chyl) in scozne, saying to him; Halle king without rule, halle king without heritage, halle duke and prince without people or possessions. And at length hauing thus scozned him with these and diuerse other the like despitefull wordes, they stroke off his head, which (as we haue heard) they presented to the queene.

Spanie demed that this miserable end chanced to the duke of Yorke, as a due punishment for breaking his oth of allegiaunce vnto his soueraigne lord king Henrie: but others held him discharged thereof, bicause he obtayned a dispensation from the pope, by such suggestion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the same oth was adiudged void, as that which was decreied vniuersallye, to the prejudice of himselfe, and disheriting of all his posteritie. After this suggestion by the queene, the earle of Salisburie and all the prisoners were sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, whose heads (together with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there set on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in despite of them and their linage. The earle of March, now after the death of his father, vertie duke of Yorke, lieng at Glocester, was wonderfullie amazed, when the sorrowfull newes of these mishaps came vnto him: but after

The battell at Wakefield.

The duke of Yorke slaine.

Onelie seauen hundred sontherne men faith Wherhamsted.

The cruell murder of the yong earle of Rutland.

Wherhamsted.

A purchase of Gods curse with popes blessing.

The prisoners beheaded
1461

The earle of March now duke of Yorke.

after comfort giuen to him by his faithfull louers and assured allies, he remoued to Shrewsburie, declaring to the inhabitants of that towne, and to them of the other townes in those parties the murder of his father, the icopardie of himselfe, and the present ruine of the common-wealth.

The people on the marches of Wales, for the fauour which they bare to the Spottimers linage, more gladiie offered him their aid and assistance than he could desire the same; so that he had incontinentlie a puissant armie, to the number of thre and twentie thousand, readie to go against the queene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was setting forward, newes was brought to him, that Jasper earle of Penbroke halfe brother to king Henrie, and James Butler earle of Dundun and Wiltshire, had assembled a great number of Welsh and Irish people to take him: he here with quickned, retired backe and met with his enemies in a faire plaine, nere to Spottimers crosse, not far from Hereford east, on Candlemasse daie in the morning. At which time the sunne (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like thre sunnes, and suddenlie ioined altogether in one. Upon which sight he took such courage, that he fiercelie setting on his enemies, put them to flight: and for this cause men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnesse for his badge or cognisance. Of his enemies were left dead on the ground thre thousand and eight hundred.

The earle of Penbroke.

The battell of Spottimers crosse.

The cognisance of bright sunne.

Dwen Truther and other nobles and beheaded.

Wherhamsted.

Edw. H. 2.

The northern men enter into S. Albons.

They passe through it.

The second battell at S. Albons.

The earles of Penbroke and Wiltshire fled, but sir Owen Truther father to the said earle of Penbroke (which Owen had married king Henries mother, as ye haue heard before) with David Floit, Spozgan ap Kenether, and diuerse other were taken, and beheaded at Hereford. The queene neuer thelesse encouraged by his late victorie, with a multitude of northerne people, marched toward London, intending to bind all that had bene ordeined in the last parlement. These northerne people, after they were once passed ouer the riuer of Trent, spoiled and wasted the countrie afore them, in maner as if they had bene in the land of forren enemies. At length, they approached to saint Albons, hearing that the duke of Northfolke, and the earle of Warwicke, with other whome the duke of Yorke had left to gouerne the king in his absence, had (by the kings assent) assembled a great host, and were incamped nere to that towne.

Those northerne lords and other that were with the queene, made forward, and entring into S. Albons, meant to passe through the towne, and so to coape with their enemies; but finding a host of archers ranged nere to the great crosse in the market place, to defend their passage, they were receiued with such a storme of arrowes, which came shewing about their eares as thicke as haile, that they were quicklie repelled backe, and with losse driuen to retire in hast vnto the west end of the towne; where, by a lane that leadeth northwards vnto saint Peters street, they made their entrie, and had there also a sharpe encounter against certeine bands of the kings people. But after great slaughter on both parts, they got through, and vpon the heath that lieth at the north end of the towne, called Barnard heath, they had a farre greater conflict with foure or fise thousand of the kings armie, that seemed as they had bene auant couriers.

These gaue the onset so fiercelie at the beginning, that the victorie rested doubtfull a certeine time, so that if the easterne and southerne men had continued as they began, the first had bene theirs; but after they had stood to it a pretty while, and perceiued none of their fellows from the great armie to come and assist them, they began to faint, and turning their

backes, fled amaine ouer hedge and ditch, through thicke and thin woods and bushes, seeking so to escape the hands of their cruell enemies that followed them with eger minds, to make slaughter vpon them, namelie the northerners pickers, now in the chase pursued most hotlie, and bare downe manie, and more had done, if the night comming vpon, had not staied them.

When the daie was closed, those that were about the king (in number a twentie thousand) hearing how euill their fellows had sped, began vterlie to despair of the victorie, and so fell without anie long tarrance to running awaie. By reason whereof, the nobles that were about the king, perceiuing how the game went, and withall saw no comfort in the king, but rather a god will and affection towards the contrarie part, they withdrew also, leaving the king accompanied with the lord Borneuile, & sir Thomas Kiriell of Kent, which vpon assurance of the kings promise, tarried still with him, and fled not. But their trust deceived them, for at the queenes departing from saint Albons, they were both beheaded; though contrarie to the mind and promise of hir husband, Sir Thomas Thorpe baron of the elcheke, was also beheaded the same daie, at Highgate, by the commands of Kent.

Such was the successe of this second battell fought at S. Albons, vpon Shrouetuesdaie, the seventeenth of Februarie, in which were slaine thre and twentie hundred men, of whom no noble man is remembred, saue sir John Craie, which the same daie was made knight, with twelue other, at the village of Colneie. Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king left in maner alone without anie power of men to gard his person, he was counselled by an esquier called Thomas How, a man well language, and well sene in the lawes, to send some conuenient messenger to the northerne lords, aduertising them, that he would now gladiie come vnto them (whome he knew to be his verie friends, and had assembled themselves together for his seruice) to the end he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernment of the southerne lords.

According to the aduise and counsell of this esquier, the king thought it good to send vnto them, and withall appointed the same esquier to beare the message, who first went and declared the same vnto the earle of Northumberland, and returning backe to the king, brought certeine lords with him, who conuied the king first vnto the lord Cliffordes tent, that stood next to the place where the kings people had incamped. This done, they went and brought the queene and hir sonne prince Edward vnto his presence, whome he toisallie receiued, embracing and kissing them in most louing wise, and yelding hartie thanks to almightie God, whome it had pleased thus to strengthen the forces of the northerne men, to restore his dearelie beloued and onelie sonne againe into his possession. Thus was the queene fortunate in her two battels, but vnforsunate was the king in all his enterprizes: for where his person was present, the victorie still fled from him to the contrarie part. The queene caused the king to dub hir sonne prince Edward knight, with thirtie other persons, which the day before fought on his side against his part.

This done, they went to the abbey, where of the abbat and monks they were receiued with hymnes and songs, and so brought to the high altar, and after to the chyrche, and so to the chamber in which the king was wont to lodge. The abbat made sute that order might be taken to restraine the northerne men from spoiling the towne: and proclamation indeed was made to that effect, but it auailed not: for they maine

1547 as the
Stow mch
Sir John
Craie was

Thomas How
esquier sent
to the nor
therne lords

Edw. H. 2.

prince Edward
was made
knight

The earle of
March
elect
king.

The lord
Faucon-
bridge.

The earle of
March
ta-
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The great
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cill
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the
king
of
France
at
Paris.

maintained, that the spoile of things was granted them by consent, after they were once passed over the river of Trent: and so not regarding anie proclamation or other commandment, they spared nothing that they could lay hands upon, if the same were meet for them to carie away. The queene, having thus got the victorie, sent to the maiors of London, commanding him without delay to send certeine carts, laden with Lenton vittels, for the refreshing of hir and hir armie. The maiors incontinentlie caused carts to be laden, and would have sent them forward; but the commons of the citie would not suffer them to passe, but staid them at Triplegate, notwithstanding the maiors did what he could by gentle persuasions to quiet them.

During which controuersie, diuerse of the northerne horsemen, came and robbed in the suburbs of the citie, and would haue entred at Triplegate; but they were repelled by the commoners, and three of them slaine. Whereupon, the maiors sent the recorder to Barnet to the kings counsell there, to excuse the matter, and the duchess of Bedford, the ladie Scales, with diuerse fathers of the spiritalitie, went to the queene, to asswage hir displeasure conceived against the citie. The queene at this humble request, by advice of hir counsell, appointed certeine lords and knights, with foure hundred tall persons, to ride to the citie, and there to view and see the demeanour and disposition of the people: and diuerse aldermen were appointed to meet them at Barnet, and to conueie them to London. But what man purposeth, God disposeth. All these deuises were shortly altered to another forme, because true report came not onelie to the queene, but also to the citie; that the earle of March, having vanquished the earles of Denbroke and Cheshire, had met with the earle of Marlowe (after this last battell at saint Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotfold; and that they with both their powers were coming toward London. The queene having little trust in Essex, and lesse in Kent, but least of all in London, with hir husband and sonne, departed from saint Albons, into the north countrie, where the foundation of hir aid and refuge onelie rested.

The duchess of Yorke, seeing hir husband and sonne slaine, and not knowing what should succeed of hir eldest sonnes chance, sent hir two yonger sonnes, George and Richard, over the sea, to the citie of Trecht in Almaine, where they were of Philip duke of Burgogne well received; and so remained there, till their brother Edward had got the crowne and gouernment of the realme. The earles of March and Marlowe, hauing perfect knowlege that the king and queene, with their adherents, were departed from saint Albons, rode straight to London, entring there with a great number of men of warre, the first weeke of Lent. Whose coming thither was no sooner knowne, but that the people resorted out of Kent, Essex, and other the counties adioining, in great numbers, to see, aid, and comfort this lustie prince and flower of chivalrie, in whome the hope of their ioy and trust of their quietnesse onelie consisted.

This prudent young prince, minding to take time when time serued, called a great counsell, both of the lords spirituall and temporall, and to them repeated the title and right that he had to the crowne, rehearsing also the articles concluded betwene king Henrie and his father, by their writings signed and sealed, and also confirmed by act of parlement; the breaches whereof he neither forgot, nor left undeclared. After the lords had considered of this matter, they determined by authoritie of the said counsell, that because king Henrie had done contrarie to the ordinances in the last parlement concluded, and was in-

sufficient of himselfe to rule the realme, he was therefore to be deposed of all kinglie estate: and incontinentlie was Edward earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke, by the lords in the said counsell assembled, named, elected, and admitted for king and gouernour of the realme.

On which daie, the people of the earles part, being in their muster in saint Johns field, and a great number of the substantiall citizens there assembled, to behold their order; the lord Fauconbridge, who toke the musters, wiselie anon declared to the people the offenses and breaches of the late agreement, committed by king Henrie the first; and demanded of the people, whether they would haue him to rule and reigne anie longer ouer them? To whome they with whole voice answered; Nae, naie. Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, honour, and obeye the erle of March, as their onlie king and soueraigne lord? To which question they answered; Yea, yea: crying king Edward with manie great shouts & clapping of hands in assent and gladnesse of the same.

The lords were shortly aduertised of the louing consent which the commons franklie and frelie had giuen. Whereupon incontinentlie, they all with a convenient number of the most substantiall commons repaired to the erle at Bainsards castell, making iust and true report of their election and aduission, and the louing assent of the commons. The earle, after long pausing, first thanked God of his great grace and benefit towards him shewed; then the lords and commons for their fauour and fidelitie: notwithstanding, like a wise prince, he alleged his insufficiency for so great a toime and weightie burthen, as lacke of knowledge, want of experience, and diuerse other qualities to a gouernour appertaining. But yet in conclusion, being perswaded by the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Excester, and other lords then present, he agreed to their petition, and took upon him the charge of the kingdome, as forfeited to him by breach of the couenants established in parlement.

Thus farre touching the tragicall state of this land vnder the rent regiment of king Henrie, who (besides the bare title of roialtie and naked name of king) had little appertaining to the port of a prince. For whereas the dignitie of principedome standeth in soueraintie; there were of his nobles that imbecilled his prerogative by sundrie practises, speciallie by maine force; as seeking either to suppress, or to exile, or to obscure, or to make him awate: otherwise what should be the meaning of all those feighten fields from time to time, most miserable falling out both to prince, peere, and people? As at saint Albons, at Bloisheath, at Northampton, at Banberie, at Barnet, & at Wakefield; to the effusion of much blood, and pulling on of manie a plague, which otherwise might haue bene auoided. All which battels, together with those that were tried betwene Edward the fourth, after his inthronization; and Henrie the sixth after his extermination (as at Crham, Doncaster, and Tewkesburie) are remembred by *Anglorum prelia* in good order of pitthie poetrie, as followeth:

*Nobilitata inter plures hec sunt loca cede,
Albanifanum, Blorum, boreala & Ampton,
Banbrecum campis, Barnettum collibus herens,
Experrectorum pagus, fanimq; secundo
Albani propior Scotis confinis Exam,
Contiguus istis habitantes rure coloni,
Morescentes hodie, quoties profcindit arator
Arna propinqua locus dentale reuelleret terra
Semispultra virum sulcis Cerealis ossa:
Macta excecantur planctu ciuile duellum,
Quo periere hominum plus centum millia casu,
Nobile Tadastrum clades accepta cogit*

The earle of
March elect
king.

The lord
Faucon-
bridge.

The earle of
March ta-
keth
upon
him
as
king.

Abr. Flem.

Wakefield.

Attilius

*Millibus enectis ter denis nomen habere.
Prima postrema locus est Teuxburia pugna,
oppidulis his accedens certissima testis,
bello intestino fluuios fluxisse cruoris.*

But now before we proceed anie further, sith the reigne of king Henrie maie seme here to take end, we will specifie some such learned men as liued in his time. John Leland, surnamed the elder (in respect of the other John Leland, that painefull antiquarie of our time) wrote diuerse treatises, for the instruction of grammarians; John Hainton, a Carmelit or white frier (as they called them) of Lincoln; Robert Colman, a Franciscane frier of Norwich, and chancelor of the vniuersitie of Wrenford; William White a priest of Kent, professing the doctrine of Wickliffe, and forsaking the order of the Romane church, married a wife, but continued his office of preaching, till at length, in the yeare 1428, he was apprehended, and by William bishop of Norwich, and the doctors of the friers mendicants, charged with thirtie articles, which he maintained, contrary to the doctrine of the Romane church, and in September the same yeare suffered death by fire.

Alexander Carpenter, a learned man, set forth a booke called *Destructorium vitiorum*, wherein he inuicteth against the prelates of the church of that time, for their crueltie vied, in persecuting the poore and godlie christians; Richard Kendall, an excellent grammarian; John Wate, warden of the white friers in Poike, but borne in the borders of Wales, an excellent philosopher, and a diuine, he was also sene in the Greeke tong, a thing rare in those daies; Peter Basset, esquier of the priue chamber to king Henrie the sixt, whose life he wrote; John Hole a priest, that wrote the life of saint Alburgh, daughter to one Richard, a noble man of this realme of England, which Alburgh (as he affirmeth) builded our ladies church in Antwerpe; Thomas Ismaelit, a monke of Shion; Walter Hilton, a Chartreux monke also of Shiene, either of those wrote certeine treatises full of superstition, as Iohn Bale noteth.

Thomas Walden so called of the towne where he was borne, but his fathers surname was Better, a white frier of London, and the thre and thentith prouinciall gouernour of his order, a man vndoubtedlie learned, and thoroughlie furnished with cunning of the scholes, but a soe enimie to them that professed the doctrine of Wickliffe, writing sundrie great volumes and treatises against them, he died at Home in Normandie, the second of Nouember, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtie; Richard Allerton, borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises of diuinitie; Peter Clarke, a student in Wrenford, and a defensor of Wickliffes doctrine, whereupon when he feared persecution here in England, he fled into Boheme, but yet at length he was apprehended by the imperialists, and died for it, as some write, but in what order, is not expressed.

Robert Houndlow, a religious man of an house in Houndlow beside London, whereof he toke his surname; Thomas Walsingham, borne in Norfolk, in a towne there of the same name, but professed a monke in the abbeye of saint Albons, a diligent historiographer; John Elneie, a white frier of Portsmouth, but a student in Cambridge, and proued an excellent diuine; Richard Fleming, a doctor of diuinitie in Wrenford, of whome more at large before, pag. 604. John Low borne in Worcester-shire, an Augustine frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and prouinciall in England of his order, and by king Henrie the first, made first bishop of saint Asaph, and after removed from thence to Rochester; Thomas Kingsford the younger, not the same that was bishop, but a doctor of the law, and vicar of Spildenhall in Suff-

folke, a notable preacher, and wrote diuerse treatises.

John Felton, a doctor of diuinitie of Magdalen college in Wrenford; Nicholas Bottenham, a Carmelit frier borne in Cambridgeshire, and student first in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and after in Paris, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Audburne, a monke of Winchester, and an historiographer; John Holboke, borne in Surrie, a great philosopher, and well sene in the mathematiks; Peter Paine, an earnest professor of Wickliffes doctrine, and fearing persecution here in England, fled into Boheme, where he remained in great estimation for his great learning & no lesse wisdom; Nicholas Wpton, a ciuilian, wrote of heraltrie, of colours in armorie, and of the dutie of chualrie; William Beckeleie, a Carmelit frier of Sandwich, & warden of the house there, a diuine, and professed degree of schole in Cambridge; John Coppe, a Carmelit frier of Norwich.

John Capgrauie borne in Kent, an Augustine frier, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Wrenford, was admitted prouinciall of his order, and proued (without controuersie) the best learned of aie of that order of friers here in England, as Iohn Bale affirmeth, he wrote manie notable volumes, and finally departed this life at Lin in Norfolk, the twelfth of August, in the yere 1464, which was in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth; Humfre duke of Gloucester, earle of Denbroke, and lord chamberlaine of England, also protector of the realme, during the minoritye of his nephew king Henrie the sixt, was both a great fauourer of learned men, and also verie well learned himselfe, namelie in astrologie, whereof (beside other things) he wrote a speciall treatise intituled, *Tabula directionum*.

John Whethamsted, otherwise called Frumentarius, was abbat of saint Albons, and hight in fauor with the good duke of Gloucester last remembered, he wrote diuerse treatises, and among others, a booke as it were of the records of things, chancing whilest he was abbat, which booke I haue sene, and partlie in some parcell of this kings time haue also followed; Roger Dunleie, borne in the west countrie (as Bale thinketh) was accused of treason, for practising with the ladie Cleane Cobham, by sorcerie to make the king awaie, and was thereof condemned, and died for it, though he were innocent thereof, as some haue thought, he wrote a treatise intituled, *Contra vulgi superstitiones*, also another *De succumcentis*; Nicholas Cantlow, a Welshman borne, descended of an ancient familie in Southwales, as by Bale it should appeare, he became a frier Carmelit in Wiltow; Henrie Walsingham, a Carmelit frier of Norwich, a notable diuine, a great preacher, and wrote also sundrie treatises of diuinitie.

John Lidgate, a monke of Surrie, an excellent poet, and chiefe in his time in that facultie, of all other that practised the same within this land, he travelled thorough France and Italie to learne the languages and sciences, how greatlie he profited in attaining to knowledge, the workes which he wrote do sufficientlie testifie; Nicholas Wostresham, an excellent physician; John Blackenete, a religious man, of the order of the Trinitie intituled, *De redemptione captiuorum*, and prior of an house of the same order at Ingham in Norfolk, he was surnamed Blackenete, of the towne where he was borne; Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath, wrote against the law Salique, by which law the Frenchmen would exclude the princes of this realme from their title vnto the crowne of France; John Waringham, a Carmelit frier of Gipefwich in Suffolke; David Bois, borne in Wales, and a frier Carmelit, wrote

Peter Basset
wrote king
Henrie the
sixt his life.

Fabian and
Caxton.

cessed in Glocester, a doctor of diuinitie.

John Borne, an Augustine frier; Michaell Trigue, a Cornishman borne, whose for his excellencie and learning, king Henrie the first appointed to be gouernour of that schole of vniuersitie, which he instituted in the citie of Caen in Normandie, after he had brought it vnder his subiection; John Amundham, a monke of saint Albons; Edward Angli-
cus, a monke of the Chartreux order; John Kenningale, a Carmelit frier of Poziwich; Peter De sancta
fide, a Carmelit also of Poziwich; Reginald Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, of whose ye haue heard before, he was borne in Wales, and student in Ox-
ford college in Orenford, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie, he wrote manie treatises touching the christian religion; John surnamed Burie of the towne where he was borne, an Augustine frier in the towne of Clare in Suffolke.

Robert Fleming, a man perfect in the Greeke and Latine tongue [among whose works some haue bene seene vnder these titles: namely, *Lacubrationum Tiburtinorum lib. 1.* a dictionarie in Greeke and Latine, and a worke in verse of sundrie kinds, this man was of most fame in the yeare of our Lord 1470, which was in the tenth yeare of Edward the fourth, though he were not obscure also in the daies of this Henrie the first; Thomas Gascoigne, borne at Hunstete in Norfolk, of that worshipfull familie of the Gascoignes there, a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the vniuersitie of Orenford; William Stapilhart, borne in Kent, but by profession a white frier in London; Robert Ffymingham borne in Norfolk a Franciscan frier in Poziwich; Nicholas Pontacute, an historiographer; John Chandler, chancelor of Welles; William Botoner, descended of a good house, a knight by degree, and borne in Wiltow, be-
rie studious in antiquities, and other sciences.

John Stow, a monke of Poziwich, but student in Orenford, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Langley, a monke of Hulme; Nicholas Bungeie, borne in a towne of Norfolk of that name, wrote an historie, called *Adunationes chronica-
rum*; Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, base

sonne to John duke of Lancaster, of whose before we haue made sufficient mention, made cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare 1426; Adam Homlington, a Carmelit frier; William Coppinger, maister of the vniuersitie of Orenford; Thomas Stacte, an expert mathematician, and no lesse skilfull in astronomie; John Talangerne, a monke of Glocester; William Sutton, an astrologian; Robert Balsacke, wrote a booke intituled *Deremilitari*, that is to saie, of warre or chualrie, so that (as is thought) he was both a good souldier, and a painefull student of god letters.

Thomas Wando, a Carmelit frier of Parle-
burgh, he wrote the life of Alfrede king of west Sa-
rons; William Graie, borne of the noble house of the Graies of Codnor, he went to attaine to some excellencie of learning in Italle, where he heard that noble cleark Charrinus Hieronensis read in Ferrara, he was preferred to the bishopricke of E-
lie, in the yeare 1454, by pope Nicholas the first, when Thomas Bourchier was translated from thence to Canturburie; John Kempe, archbishop of Poze, and after removed from thence to Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) he was made cardinall of S. Albin, by pope Eugenie the fourth; Adam Polins (as Bale calleth him) keeper of the kings priuie seale, excellentie learned, in time of the ciuill warre be-
twixt king Henrie, and the duke of Poze, in which he lost his head.

Thomas Chylenden, a doctor both of the law ciuill and canon, became at length a monke in Cantur-
burie; Robert Sale, surnamed the elder, excellentie learned in the lawes of the realme, recorder of London, gathered as it were a chronicle of the cus-
tomes, lawes, foundations, changes, restoring ma-
gisstrats, offices, orders, and publike assemblies of the citie of London, with other matters, touching the perfect description of the same citie; he wrote o-
ther works also touching the state of the same citie, and the acts of king Edward the thirde; he departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1461, even about the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, vnto whom we will now againe returne.

Thus farre the tragicall historie of Henrie the sixt
deprived of his roialtie.



Edward the fourth earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.



After that this prince Edward earle of March had taken vpon him the gouernement of this realme of England (as before ye haue heard) the morow next ensuing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the church of saint Paule, and there of-
fered: and after Te Deum song, with great solemnitie

he was conueied to Westminster, and there set in the hall with the scepter roial in his hand, whereto people in great numbers assembled. His claime to the crowne was declared to be by two maner of waies, the first, as sonne and heire to duke Richard his father, right inheritor to the same; the second, by authoritie of parlement, and forfeiture committed by king Henrie. Whereupon it was againe demanded of the commons, if they would admit and take the said erle as their prince and souereigne lord, which all with one voice cried: *Yea, yea.*

This title de-
clared.

This

He is proclaimed king.

This part thus played, he entered into Westminster church under a canopie with solemne procession, and there as king offered; and herewith taking the homages of all the nobles there present, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the bishops palace; and on the morrow after, he was proclaimed king by the name of Edward the fourth, throughout the cite. This was in the yeare of the world 5427, and after the birth of our Saviour 1461 after our account, beginning the yeare at Christmasse; but after the usuall account of the church of England 1460, the twentieth of emperor Frederike the third; the nine and thirtieth and last of Charles the seventh French king; and first yeare of the reigne of James the third king of Scots.

Whilist these things were adooing in the south parts, king Henrie being in the north countrie, assembled a great armie, trusting (for all this) to subdue his enemies; namely, with their chiefe ringleader the duke of Yorke was dispatched out of the waie. But he was deceived: for out of the dordische sprang a branch more mightie than the stem; this Edward the fourth, a prince so highlie fauoured of the people, for his great liberalitie, clemencie, bright dealing, and courage, that aboue all other, he with them stood in grace alone: by reason whereof, men of all ages and degrees to him dailie repaired, some offering themselves and their men to seapard their liues with him, and other plentifullie gaue monie to support his charges, and to mainteine his right.

By which meanes, he gathered together a puissant armie, to the intent by battell (sithens none other waies would serue) at once to make an end of all. So, his armie and all things prepared, he departed out of London the twelke daie of March, and by easie iournies came to the castell of Pomfret, where he rested, appointing the lord Fitz Walter to keepe the passage at Ferrisburgh with a good number of tall men. King Henrie on the other part, hauing his armie in readinesse, committed the gouernance thereof to the duke of Summerfet, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge the death of their parents, slaine at the first battell at saint Albons. These capitaine leaving king Henrie, his wife, and sonne, for the most safegard within the cite of Yorke, passed the river of Wharfe with all their power, intending to stop king Edward of his passage ouer the river of Aire.

And the better to bring that to passe, the lord Clifford determined to make a charge vpon them that kept the passage of Ferrisburgh; and so he departed with his light horsemen from the great armie on the saturdaye before Palmesundae; and earlie per his enemies were adware, sith the keepers and wan the bridge. The lord Fitz Walter hearing the noise, suddenlye rose out of his bed, and unarmed with a pollax in his hand, thinking that it had bene with a fraie amongst his men, came downe to appease the same; but per he knew what the matter meant was slaine, and with him the bastard of Salisburie brother to the earle of Marlowe, a valiant yong gentleman, and of great audacitie.

When the earle of Marlowe was informed hereof, like a man desperat, he mounted on his backnie, and hasted puffing and blowing to king Edward, saying; Sir, I praye God haue mercie of their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise haue lost their liues. And because I see no succors of the world but in God, I remit the vengeance to him our creator and redemer. With that he alighted downe, and sith his horse with his sword, saying; Let him see that will, for surelie I will tarrie with him that will tarrie with me: and kissed the crosse of his sword as it were for a bow to the promise. King Edward, per-

ceiving the courage of his trustie friend the earle of Marlowe, made proclamation, that all men which were afraid to fight, should depart: and to all those that tarried the battell, he promised great rewards, with addition, that anie souldier which voluntarilie would abide, and afterwards; either in or before the fight should come to see or turne his backe, then he that could kill him, should haue a great reward and double wages.

After this proclamation ended, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Walter Blunt, Robert Horne with the foreward, passed the river at Castelford, three miles from Ferrisburgh, intending to haue inuironed the lord Clifford and his companie. But they being thereof aduertised, departed in great hast toward king Henries armie; yet they met with some that they looked not for, & were so trappt per they were adware. For the lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off his gorget, suddenlye with an arrow (as some saie) without airhead, was striken into the throte, and immediatelye rended his spirit; and the earle of Westmerlands brother, and all his companie almost were there slaine, at a place called Dintingdale, not far from Towton. This end had the lord Clifford, which sith the earle of Rutland kneeling on his knees, whose yong sonne Thomas Clifford was brought by with a shepheard in poore habit, euer in feare to be knowne, till king Henrie the seventh obtained the crowne, by whom he was restored to his name and possessions.

When this conflict was ended at Ferrisburgh, the lord Fauconbridge, hauing the foreward, because the duke of Norfolk was fallen sick, valiantlie by on Palmesundae in the twilight set forth his armie and came to Barton, where he might apparantlie behold the host of his aduersaries, which were accompanied thre-score thousand men, and thereof aduertised king Edward, whose whole armie amounted to eight and fortie thousand six hundred and thre-score persons: which incontinentlie with the earle of Marlowe set forward, leaving the rereward vnder the gouernance of sir John Wenlocke, sir John Dinham, and other. And first of all, he made proclamation, that no prisoner should be taken. So the same daie about nine of the clocke, which was the nine and twentieth daie of March, being Palmesundae, both the hostes approached in a faire plaine field, betwene Towton and Barton.

When each part perceived other, they made a great shout; and at the same instant there fell a small drete or snow, which by violence of the wind that blew against them, was driven into the faces of king Henries armie, so that their sight was somewhat dimmed. The lord Fauconbridge, leading his Edwards foreward, caused euery archer vnder his standard to shot one sight (which before he caused them to prouide) and then made them to stand still. The northerne men feeling the shot, but by reason of the drete, not well knowing the distance betwene them and their enemies, like forward men shot their sheafes arrowes as fast as they might: but all to losse, for they came short of the southerne men by thre-score pards.

So their shot almost spent, the lord Fauconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not onelie shot their whole sheafes, but also gathered the arrowes of their enemies, and let a great part lie against their first owners, and suffered a great losse of them to stand, which so troubled the legs of the northerne men, when the battell joined. The earle of Northumberland and Andrew Trollop, chiefe capitaine of king Henries backward, seeing their shot not to preuaile, hasted to ioin with their enemies, and the other part slacked not their pace. This battell was

The lord Fitzwater slaine.

The earle of Marlowe.

A procla-
mation.

The lord
Clifford.

Dintingdale.

Crucifixion
south in the
midnight.

The lord
Faucon-
bridge.

Barton.

Wherewith
the king
Henries
armie
exceeded in
number king
Edward's
armie.

An heere
proclamation.

Palmesundae
daie.

The earle
of North-
umberland
and Andrew
Trollop.

was

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was fore foughten, for hope of life was set aside on either part, & taking of prisoners proclaimed a great offense, so euerie man determined to banquish or die in the field.

This deadlie conflict continued ten houres in doubtfull state of victorie, uncerteinlie heauing and setting on both sides; but in the end, king Edward so couragiously comforted his men, that the other part was discomfited and overcome, who like men amazed, fled toward Ladcaster bidge to saue themselves, where in the mid waie is a little brooke called Cocke, not verie broad, but of a great deepnesse, in which, what for hast to escape, and what for feare of their followers, a great number was drowned there. It was reported, that men alieue passed the river by one dead carcasse, and that the great riuer of Wharfe whereinto that brooke doth run, and of all the water coming from Towson, was coloured with blood.

The chase continued all night, and the most part of the next daie, and euer the northerne men (as they saw anie aduantage) returned againe, and fought with their enemies, to the great losse of both parts, for in these two daies were slaine (as they that knew it wrote) on both parts six and thirtie thousand seven hundred threescore & sixteene persons, all Englishmen and of one nation, whereof the chiefe were the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Warres, and the lord Welles, sir John Perrell, Andrew Trollop, Robert Hojne, and manie other knights and esquiers, and the earle of Deuonshire was taken prisoner, but the dukes of Summerset and Glocester fled from the field and saued themselves.

After this great victorie, king Edward rode to Pothe, where he was with all solemnitie receiued; and first he caused the heads of his father, the earle of Salisburie, and other his friends, to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies: and there he caused the earle of Deuonshire, and thre other to be beheaded, and set their heads in the same place. King Henrie, after he heard of the irrecoverable losse of his armie, departed incontinentlie with his wife and sonne to the towne of Bertwike, and leaving the duke of Summerset there, went into Scotland, and comming to the king of Scots, required of him and his counsell, aid, and comfort.

The young king of Scots, lamenting the miserable state of king Henrie, comforted him with faire words and friendlie promises, and assigned to him a competent pension to lue on, during his abode in Scotland. King Henrie, in recompense of this courtelie and friendship, deliuered to the king of Scots the towne of Bertwike, whereof he had got possession. He faithfullie supported the part of king Henrie, and concluded a marriage betwixt his sister, and the young prince of Wales, but the same was neuer consummate, as after ye shall heare. When king Henrie was somewhat settled in the reime of Scotland, he sent his wife and his sonne into France to king Keiner his father, trusting by his aid and succour to assemble an armie, and once againe to recouer his right and dignitie: but he in the meane time made his aboad in Scotland, to see what waie his friends in England would studie for his restitution.

The quene being in France, did obtaine of the young French king then Lewis the eleventh, that all his husbands friends, and those of the Lancastriall band, might safelie and suerlie haue resort into anie part of the realme of France, prohibiting all other of the contrarie faction anie access, or repaire into that countrie. Thus ye haue heard, how king Henrie the first, after he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares & ad moneths, was driven out of this realme. But now leaving him with the princes of his part,

consulting together in Scotland, and quene Margaret his wife gathering of men in France, I will returne where I left, to proceed with the doings of king Edward.

This young prince, hauing with prosperous success obtained so glorious a victorie in the mortall battell at Towson, and chased all his aduersaries out of the realme, or at the least waies put them to silence, returned after the maner and fashion of a triumphant conquerour, with great pompe vnto London; where according to the old custome of the realme, he called a great assemblie of persons of all degrees, and the nine & twentieth daie of June was at Westminster with solemnitie crowned and anointed king. In which yeare, this king Edward called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which, the state of the realme was greatlie reformed, and all the statutes made in Henrie the first his time (which touched either his title or profit) were reuoked.

In the same parlement, the earle of Orford far stricken in age, and his sonne and heire the lord Aubrey Warre, either through malice of their enemies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerse of their counsellors, attainted, and put to execution; which caused John earle of Orford euer after to rebell. There were also beheaded the same time, sir Thomas Tudenham knight, William Tirell, and John Montgomerie esquiers, and after them diuerse others. Also after this, he created his two younger brethren dukes, that is to saie, lord George duke of Clarence, lord Richard duke of Glocester; and the lord John Perrell, brother to Richard earle of Marwike, he first made lord Pontacute, and afterwards created him marques Pontacute.

Beside this, Henrie Bourchier brother to Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, was created earle of Essex; and William lord Fauconbridge was made earle of Kent. To this Henrie lord Bourchier, a man highlie renowned in martiall feats, Richard duke of Yorke long before this time, had given his sister Elizabeth in marriage, of whome he begat foure sonnes, William, Thomas, John, and Henrie: the which William being a man of great industrie, wit, and prouidence in graue and weightie matters, married the ladie Anne Mouldue, descended of high parentage, whose mother Jaquet was daughter to Peter of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Paule, by the which Anne he had lord Henrie earle of Essex, one daughter named Cicile, married to Walter lord Ferrers of Chartleie and an other called Isabell, which died unmarried.

The earle of Kent was appointed about this time to keepe the seas, being accompanied with the lord Audelcie, the lord Clinton, sir John Howard, sir Richard Malgraue, and others, to the number of ten thousand, who landing in Britaine, won the towne of Conquest, and the Isle of Weth, and after returned. When all things were brought in order, and framed as king Edward in maner could wish, Henrie duke of Summerset, sir Rafe Perrell, and diuerse other, being in despatre of all good chance to happen vnto king Henrie, came humble, & submitted themselves vnto king Edward, whome he gentlie receiued. Which clemencie notwithstanding both the one and the other (when time serued) revolted from king Edward, and betooke themselves to take part with Henrie, vnto whom they had bene adherents before: because they grew in hope that in the end the confederats, to whom they so closelie did cleaue both in affection and seruicelousnesse of labour (though they pretended a temporall renunciation of all dutie and seruice for their securitie sake) should haue the honor of victorie against their gainstanders. But as commonlie the cuncts of enterprises fall out flat contrarie to mens

1462
John Stow.

Anno Reg. 2.
The duke of
Summerset &
other, submit
them to king
Edward.

mens expectation and hope; so came it to passe with these, whose hope though it were greene and flourie in the prosecuting of their affaires, yet in the knitting up of the matter and unluckie successe thereof, it fell out in triall to be a flattering, a false, and a fruitlesse hope: and therefore that is a true and a wise sentence of the comiall poet well serving the purpose:

Insuper at a accidunt magis sepe quam que speres.

Plant. in Mossel.

1463
Anno Reg. 3.

The queene
returneth
forth of
France.

All this season was king Henrie in Scotland, and queene Margaret (being in France) found such friendship at the French kings hands, that the obtained a cruoe of five hundred Frenchmen, with the which she arrived in Scotland. And after that she had reposed hir selfe a time, she sailed with hir gallant band of those rustling Frenchmen toward Betocastell, and landed at Linnmouth. But whether she were afraid of hir owne shadow, or that the Frenchmen cast too manie doubts, the truth is, that the whole armie returned to their ships, and a tempest rose so suddenlie, that if she had not taken a small carauell, and that with good speed arrived at Berwikke, she had bene taken at that present time by hir aduersaries.

And although fortune was so favourable to hir, yet hir companie with stormie blasts was driven on the shore before Banburgh castell, where they set their ships on fire, and fled to an Island called holie Island, where they were so assailed by the bassard Eagle, and an esquire called John Spanners, with other of king Edward friends, that manie of them were slaine, and almost foure hundred taken prisoners: but their cozonnell Peter Bessie, otherwise called monseigneur de Clarence, happened upon a fisherman, and so came to Berwikke unto queene Margaret, who made him capteine of the castell of Alnewike, which he with his Frenchmen kept, till they were rescued.

Shortlie after, queene Margaret obtained a great companie of Scots, and other of hir friends, and so bringing hir husband with hir, and leaving hir sonne called prince Edward in the towne of Berwikke, entered Northumberland, took the castell of Banburgh, and stuffed it with Scottisemen, and made thereof capteine sir Rafe Greie, and came forward toward the bishoprike of Durham. When the duke of Summerfet heard these newes, he without delay revolted from king Edward, and fled to king Henrie. So likewise did sir Rafe Persie, and manie other of the kings friends. But manie more followed king Henrie, in hope to get by the spoile: for his armie spoiled and burned townes, and destroyed fields wher soever he came. King Edward advertised of all these things, prepared an armie both by sea and land.

Some of his ships were rigged and vittelled at Lin, and some at Hull, and well furnished with souldiers were herewith set forth to the sea. Also the lord Pontacute was sent into Northumberland, there to raise the people to withstand his enemies. And after this, the king in his proper person, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, came to the citie of Poike, furnished with a mightie armie, sending a great part thereof to the aid of the lord Pontacute, least peradventure he giuing too much confidence to the men of the bishoprike and Northumberland, might through them be deceived.

The Lord Pontacute then hauing such wish with him as he might trust, marched forth towards his enemies, and by the waie was encountered with the lord Hungerford, the lord Roos, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, at a place called Hegclie more, where suddenlie the said lords, in manner without stroke striking, fled; and onelie sir Rafe Persie abode, and was there manfully slaine, with diuerse other, sauing when he was dying; I haue fauored the bird in my bolome: meaning that he had kept his promise and

oth made to king Henrie: forgetting (belike) that he in king Henries most necessitie abandoned him, and submitted him to king Edward, as before you haue heard.

The lord Pontacute, seeing fortune thus prosperous lie leading his faile, aduanced forward; & learning by espials, that king Henrie with his host was incamped in a false plaine called Liuels, on the water of Dotwill in Cramshire, hasted thither, and manfully set on his enemies in their owne campe, which like desperate persons with no small courage receiued him. There was a fore foughten field, and long per either part could haue anie aduantage of the other: but at length the victorie fell to the lord Pontacute, who by fine force entered the battell of his enemies, and constrained them to flee, as despairing of all succours. In which flight and chase were taken Henrie duke of Summerfet, which before was reconciled to king Edward, the lord Roos, the lord Polins, the lord Hungerford, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Husleie, sir John Finnerne, and manie other.

King Henrie was a good horseman that day, for he rode so fast a waie that no man might ouertake him; and yet he was so nere pursued, that certene of his henchmen were taken, their horses trapped in blue velvet, and one of them had on his head the said king Henries helmet, or rather (as may be thought, as some say) his high cap of estate, called Abacot, garnished with two rich crownes, which was presented to king Edward at Poike the fourth day of Maie. The duke of Summerfet was incontinentlie beheaded at Erham; the other lords and knights were had to Betocastell, and there (after a little respite) were likewise put to death. Beside these, diuerse other, to the number of five and twentie, were executed at Poike, and in other places.

Sir Humfrie Penill, and William Tailbois, calling himselfe earle of Rime, sir Rafe Greie, and Richard Tunstall, with diuerse other, which escaped from this battell, hid themselves in secret places; but yet they kept not themselves so close, but that they were espied and taken. The earle of Rime was apprehended in Kildesdale, and brought to Betocastell, and there beheaded. Sir Humfrie Penill was taken in Holdernesse, and at Poike lost his head. After this battell called Erham field, king Edward came to the citie of Durham, and sent from thence into Northumberland the earle of Warwikke, the lord Pontacute, the lords Fauconbridge & Scrope, to recover such castles as his enemies there held, and with force beleached.

They first beleached the castell of Alnewike, which sir Peter Bessie and the Frenchmen kept, and in no wise would yield, sending for aid to the Scots. Whereupon sir George Douglas erle of Angus, with thirtene thousand chosen men, in the day time came and rescued the Frenchmen out of the castell; the Englishmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the castell without losse of their men, than to leaue both the castell and their men, considering the great power of the Scots, & their owne small number; and so they entered the castell and manned it. After this, they wone the castell of Dunstanburgh by force, and likewise the castell of Banburgh. John Cois, seruant to the duke of Summerfet, being taken within Dunstanburgh, was brought to Poike, and there beheaded.

Sir Rafe Greie being taken in Banburgh, for that he had sworn to be true to king Edward, was disgraced of the high order of knighthood at Dotcaster, by cutting off his gill spurs, renting his cote of armes, and breaking his sword over his head: and finally, he was there beheaded for his manifest perjury. After this, king Edward returned to Poike, where

Banburgh
castell.

The duke of
Summerfet
revolteth.

The lord
Pontacute.

Hegclie
more.

Sir Rafe
Persie.

Erham field.

The duke of
Summerfet
taken.

King Henrie
slew.

The duke of
Summerfet
beheaded.

The earle of
Rime, other
erles, knights,
besieged.

Alnewike
castell.

where (in despite of the earle of Northumberland, who then kept himselfe in the realme of Scotland) he created sir John Peuill, lord Pontacut earle of Northumberland; and in reproofe of Jasper earle of Penbroke, he created William lord Herbert earle of the same place. But after, when by mediation of friends, the earle of Northumberland was reconciled to his fauour, he restored him to his possessions, name, and dignitie; and preferred the lord Pontacut to the title of marques Pontacut: so that in degree, he was above his elder brother the earle of Marwarlike; but in power, policie, & possessions, far mēer.

King Edward, though all things might seeme now to rest in good case, yet he was not negligent, in making necessarie provision against all attempts of his aduersarie king Henrie, and his partakers; and therefore raised bulwarks, and builded fortresses on each side of his realme, where any danger was suspected for the landing of any armie. He caused also officials to be laid vpon the marches, fore against Scotland, that no person should go out of the realme to king Henrie and his companie, which then soioured in Scotland. But all the doubts of trouble that might insue by the means of king Henries being at libertie, were shortly taken away and ended: for he himselfe, whether he was past all feare; or that hee was not well established in his wits and perfect mind; or for that he could not long keepe himselfe secret, in disguised attire boldly entered into England.

He was no sooner entered, but he was knowne and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king, whom the earle of Marwarlike met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower, & there he was laid in sure hold. ¶ But it is worthy the noting, which I haue obserued in a late chonographers report touching this matter; namely, that king Henrie was taken in Cletherwood, beside Wingerleie Hippingstons in Lancashire, by Thomas Talbot sonne and heire to sir Edward Talbot of Wallshall, and John Talbot his cousin of Colebie, which deceived him being at his dinner at Waddington hall, and brought him toward London, with his legs bound to the stirrups, where he was met by the earle of Marwarlike, and arrested at Eshdon; doctor Spanning deane of Windsor; doctor Scoble, and young Ellerton being in his companie, with their feet bound under the horse bellies were brought also to the Tower of London.

Quene Margaret, hearing of the captiuitie of hir husband, mistrusting the chance of hir sonne, all desolate and comfortlesse departed out of Scotland, and passed into France, where she remained with hir father duke Reiner, till she returned into England to hir harme, as after ye shall heare. The new duke of Summerset, and his brother John, sailed into France, where they also liued in great miserie; till duke Charles, because he was of their kin, as descended of the house of Lancaster by his mother, succoured them with a small pension, which was to them a great comfort. The earle of Penbroke went from countrie to countrie, not alwaies at his hearts ease, nor in safetie of life. [As for his dignitie and reputation, it was the more obscured, for that he had lost the title of his honor, and lost at his wits end, doubtfull and vncertaine in contrarie factions (as manie more what to say or do for his best securitie. He neuertheless he concealed his inward discontentment, and as oportunitie of time ministred matter, so he grew in courage, and fell to practises of force with other complices; thereby to accomplish the claudie conceits of his troubled mind, being perswaded, that temporall misfortunes are, if not vterlicke avoidable, yet mansuall to be withstood, or at least with audacitie & courage to be suffered, as the poet properlie saith:

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.]

King Edward being thus in more suertie of his life than before, distributed the possessions of such as took part with king Henrie the first, to his souldiers and capteins, which he thought had well deserved; and besides this, he left no other point of liberalitie vnshewed, whereby he might allure to him the beneuolent minds and louing hearts of his people. And moreover, to haue the loue of all men, he shewed him selfe more familiar both with the nobilitie and commonaltie, than (as some men thought) was conuenient, either for his estate, or for his honor: notwithstanding the same liberalitie he euer after bled. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newlie augmented. He coine both of gold and silver (which yet at this day is) he newlie deuised, and diuided; for the gold he named royals and nobles, and the silver he called grotes and halfe grotes.

¶ In Michaclmasse terme were made sergents at law, Thomas Pong, Nicholas Geneie, Richard Peale, Thomas Brian, Richard Wigot, John Greenfield, John Catesbie, and Elwie Fairfar, which held their feast in the bishop of Elyes place in Holborne. To the which feast the maior of London, with the aldermen, shiriffes, and commons of diuerse crafts being bidden, repaired. But when the maior looked to be set to keepe the state in the hall, as it had bene used in all places of the citie and liberties, out of the kings presence (vnto the sergents and against their wills, as they said) the lord Craie of Ruten then treasurer of England was there placed. Whereupon the maior, aldermen, and commons departed home, and the maior made all the aldermen to dine with him. Howbeit he and all the citizens were greatly displeased that he was so dealt with, and the new sergents and others were right forie therefore, and had rather than much good it had not so happened. This was then (as my record reporteth more at large) registred to be a president in time to come.

After that king Edward had reduced the state of the publike affaires vnto his liking; to purchase himselfe a good opinion and fauourable iudgement among the commons, he made proclamations, that all persons, which were adherents to his aduersaries part, & would leaue their armour, and submit themselves wholie to his grace and mercie, should be clerelie pardoned and forgiven. By this kind of courteous dealing he wan him such fauour of the people, that euer after, in all his warres, he was (thorow) their aid and support a victor and conquerour. When his realme was thus brought into a good & quiet estate, it was thought meet by him and those of his counsell, that a marriage were provided for him in some conuenient place; and therefore was the earle of Marwarlike sent ouer into France, to demand the ladie Bona, daughter to Felwes duke of Saucie, and sister to the ladie Carlot, then quene of France; which Bona was at that time in the French court.

The earle of Marwarlike, comming to the French king, then lieng at Tours, was of him honourablie received, and right courtesulie intertained. His message was so well liked, and his request thought so honourable for the aduancement of the ladie Bona, that hir sister quene Carlot obtained both the good will of the king hir husband, and also of hir sister the foresaid ladie: so that the matrimonie on that side was clerelie assented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed (with others) to saile into England, for the full finishing of the same. But here consider the old prouerbe to be true, which saith, that marriage goeth by desire. For, during the time that the earle of Marwarlike was thus in France, and (according to his instructions) brought the effect of his

New coine stamped,

Abr. Fl. ex I. S, pag. 716. Sergeants feast. Register of maiors,

The maior of London departed from the sergents feast.

The earle of Marwarlike sent into France about a marriage.

The ladie Elizabeth Graie.

commissiō to passe, the king being on hunting in the foreest of Wichwood besides Stonistraford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the duchesse of Bedford then sojourned, wife to sir Richard Woodville lord Rivers, on whom was then attendant a daughter of hers, called the ladie Elizabeth Graie, widow of sir John Graie knight, slain at the last battell of saint Albons, as before ye haue heard.

This widow, hauing a sute to the king for such lands as hir husband had giuen hir in iointure, so kindled the kings affection towards hir, that he not onelie fauoured hir sute, but moze hir person; for she was a woman of a moze forsmall countenance than of excellent beautie; and yet both of such beautie and fauour, that with hir sober demeanour, swete looks, and comelie smiling (neither too wanton, nor too bashfull) besides hir pleasant tong and trim wit, she so allured and made subiect vnto hir the heart of that great prince, that after she had denied him to be his paramour, with so good maner, and wordes so well set as better could not be deuised; he finalie resolved with himselfe to marrie hir, not asking counsell of a nie man, till they might perceiue it was no bootie to aduise him to the contrarie of that his concluded purpose; sith he was so farre gone that he was not renocable, and therefore had fixed his heart vpon the last resolution: namelie, to applie an hole some, honest, and honourable remedie to his affections fiered with the flames of loue, and not to permit his heart to the thraldome of vnlawfull lust: which purpose was both princelie and profitable; as the poet saith:

Quil de rem.
an lb. 1.

*Prile propositum est fauus extinguere flammam,
Nec seruum vitij pectus habere suum.*

But yet the duchesse of Bozke his mother letted this match as much as in hir laie: when all would not serue, she caused a precontract to be alleged, made by him with the ladie Elizabeth Lucie. But all doubts resolved, all things made clere, and all canillations auoided, prailie in a morning he married the said ladie Elizabeth Graie at Grafton before said, where he first began to fanisie hir. And in the next yeare after the was with great solemnitie crowned quene at Westmīster. Hir father also was created earle Rivers, and made high constable of England: hir brother lord Anthony was married to the sole heire of Thomas lord Scales: sir Thomas Graie sonne to sir John Graie the quenes first husband, was created marques Dorset, and married to Cicelie heire to the lord Bonuile. The French king was not well pleased to be thus dallied with; but he thoughtlie to appease the grēfe of his wife and hir sister the ladie Bona married the said ladie Bona to the duke of Millan.

The earle of warwike offended with the kings marriage.

Now when the earle of Warwike had knowledge by letters sent to him out of England from his trustie friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wife, he was not a little troubled in his mind, for that he toke it his credence thereby was greatly minished, and his honour much stained, namelie in the court of France: for that it might be iudged he came rather like an espiall, to moue a thing neuer minded, and to treat a marriage determined before not to take effect. Suerlie he thought himselfe euill vsed, that when he had brought the matter to his purposed intent and wished conclusion, then to haue it quail on his part; so as all men might thinke at the least wise, that his prince made small account of him, to send him on such a deueleste errand.

All men for the most part agré, that this marriage was the onlie cause, why the earle of Warwike conceived an hatred against king Edward, whom he so much before fauoured. Other ascribe other causes, and one speciallie, for that king Edward did at-

tempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie (whether he would haue deflowered his daughter or his niece, the certaintie was not for both their honours openlie reuealed) for suerlie, such a thing was attempted by king Edward, which loued well both to behold and also to see faire damfels. But whether the iniurie that the earle thought he receiued at the kings hands, or the disdain of authoritie that the earle had vnder the king, was the cause of the breach of amitie betwixt them: truth it is, that the prailie intentions of their hearts brake into so manie small peeces, that England, France, and Flanders, could neuer ioine them againe, during their naturall liues.

But though the earle of Warwike was earnestlie inflamed against the king, for that he had thus married himselfe without his knowledge, hauing regard onelie to the satisfieng of his wanton appetite, moze than to his honour or sueritie of his estate; yet did he so much dissemble the matter at his returne into England, as though he had not vnderstood anie thing thereof; but onelie declared that he had done, with such reuerence, and shew of frendlie countenance, as he had bene accustomed. And when he had taried in the court a certeine space, he obtained licence of the king to depart to his castell of Warwike, meaning (when time serued) to vtter to the world, that which he then kept secret, that is to saie, his inward grudge, which he bare towards the king, with desire of reuenge, to the vttermost of his power.ouertheless, at that time he departed (to the outward shew) so farre in the kings fauour, that manie gentlemen of the court for honours sake gladlie accompanied him into his countrie.

This yeare it was proclaimed in England, that the beakes or pikes of shoes and boots should not passe two inches, vpon paine of curfing by the cleargie, and forfeiting twentie shillings, to be paid one noble to the king, an other to the cordwainers of London, and the third to the chamber of London; and for other cities and towne the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the yeare of our Lord 1382, the pikes of shoes and boots were of such length, that they were faine to be tied vp vnto the knees with chaines of silver and gilt, or at the least with silken laces.]

In this yeare also, the kings daughter, the ladie Elizabeth, after wife to king Henrie the seauenth, was borne; king Edward concluded an amitie and league with Henrie king of Castile, and John king of Aragon; at the concluding thereof, he granted licence for certeine Cotteshold therepe, to be transported into the countrie of Spaine (as people report) which haue there so multiplied and increased, that it hath turned the commoditie of England much to the Spanissh profit. Beside this, to haue an amitie with his next neightbour the king of Scots, he winked at the losse of Berwike, and was contented to take a truce for sixtene yeares. Thus king Edward, though for refusall of the French kings sister in law he wan him enemies in France; yet in other places he procured him friends: but those friends had stood him in small stead, if fortune had not holpe him to an other, even at his elbow.

This was Charles earle of Charolois, the sonne and heire apparant vnto Philip duke of Burgognie, which Charles being then a widower, was counselled to be suter vnto king Edward, for to haue in marriage the ladie Margaret, sister to the said king, a ladie of excellent beautie, and indued with so manie worthie gifts of nature, grace, and fortune, that she was thought not vntoworthie to match with the greatest prince of the world. The lord Anthony bastard brother to the said earle Charolois, commonlie called

The earle of warwike suspectes graie's secret.

Abre. Fl. et. l. 1.
pag. 717.
Long pikes of shoes fastened.

1466.
Anno Reg. 6.

Cotteshold
cheap trawls
ported into
Spaine.

Grace with
Scots.

1467.
Anno Reg. 7.

The bastard
of Burgonie
in England.

called the bastard of Burgonie, a man of great wit, courage, and valiantnesse, was appointed by his father duke Philip, to go into England in ambassage, about this tute; who being furnished of plate and apparell, necessarie for his estate, hauing in his companie gentlemen, and other expert in all feats of chivalrie and martiall prowesse, to the number of foure hundred horses, toke his ship, and arriued in England, where he was of the king & nobles honourable receiued.

This message being declared, ye may be sure the same was tofullie heard of the king and his counsell; the which by that affinitie, saw how they might be assured of a buckler against France. But yet the earle of Marlowe, bearing his heartie fauour vnto the French king, did as much as in him late by euill reports to hinder this marriage: but this notwithstanding, at length, the king granted to the bastards request; and the said bastard openlie in the kings great chamber contracted the said ladie Margaret, for, and in the name of his brother the said earle of Charolois. After this marriage thus concluded, the bastard challenged the lord Scales, brother to the queene, a man both equall in hart and valiantnesse with the bastard, to fight with him both on horsebacke, and on foot: which demand the lord Scales gladly accepted.

The bastard
of Burgonie
the lord
Scales.

The king causing lists to be prepared in Westsmithfield for these champions, and verie faire and costlie galleries for the ladies, was present at this martiall enterprize himselfe. The first daie they ran together diuerse courses with sharpe speares, and departed with equall honor. The next day they turned on horsebacke. The lord Scales horse had on his chafron a long sharpe pike of Steele, and as the two champions coped together, the same horse (whether thorough custome or by chance) thrust his pike into the nosegayls of the bastards horse; so that for verie paine he mounted so high, that he fell on the one side with his maister, and the lord Scales rode round about him with his sword in his hand, untill the king commanded the marshall to helpe vp the bastard, which openlie said; I can not hold me by the clouds, for though my horse faileth me, suerlie I will not faile my countercompanion. The king would not suffer them to do anie more that daie.

The morow after, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two polaxes, and fought valiantlie: but at the last, the point of the polax of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the bastards helme, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees: the king suddenlie call doune his warder, and then the marshalls them seuered. The bastard not content with this chance, and troffing on the cunning which he had at the polax, required the king of iustice, that he might perfoyme his enterprize. The lord Scales refused it not, but the king said, he would aske counsell: and so calling to him the constable, and the marshall, with the officers of armes, after consultation had, and the lawes of armes rehearsed, it was declared for a sentence definitive, by the duke of Clarence, then constable of England, and the duke of Suffolke, then marshall; that if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he must by the law of armes be deliuered to his aduersarie, in the same state and like condition as he stood when he was taken from him.

The law of
arms.

The bastard hearing this iudgement, doubted the sequels of the matter; and so relinquished his challenge. Other challenges were done, and valiantlie atchieued by the Englishmen, which I passe ouer. Shortly after came sorrowfull tidings to the bastard, that his father duke Philip was dead, who there

upon taking his leaue of king Edward, and of his sister the new duchesse of Burgonie, liberallie rewarded with plate and iewels, with all speed returned to his brother the new duke, who was not a little glad of the contract made for him with the said ladie, as after well appeared. In this same yeare, king Edward, more for the loue of the marques Montacute, than for anie fauour he bare to the earle of Marlowe, promoted George Penill their brother to the archbishopricke of Poike.

Charles duke of Burgonie, reioysing that he had so well sped, for conclusion of marriage with king Edwards sister, was verie desirous to see hir, of whome he had heard so great praise, & wrote to king Edward, requiring him to send his sister ouer vnto him, according to the covenants passed betwixt them. King Edward being not slacke in this matter, appointed the dukes of Gloucester and Suffolke, with their wiues, being both sisters to the ladie Margaret, to attend hir, till she came to hir husband. And so after that ships, and all other necessarie provisions were readie, they being accompanied with a great sort of lords and ladies, and others, to the number of five hundred horses, in the beginning of June departed out of London to Douer, and so sailed to Sluis, and from thence was conueied to Bruges, where the marriage was solemnized betwixt the duke and hir, with great triumphs, & princelie feastings. Touching the pompe had and vsed at the setting forward of this ladie on hir voiage it is a note worth the reading; and therefore necessarilie here interlaced for honours sake.

On the eighteenth of June, Margaret sister to Edward the fourth began hir iourne from the Wardrobe in London, toward hir marriage with Charles duke of Burgonie: first she offered in the church of saint Paule, and then rode thorough the citie, the earle of Marlowe riding before hir, with earles and barons a great number; the duchesse of Suffolke, with other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. And at hir entrie into Weape, the maiors of London and his brethren the aldermen presented hir with a pair of rich balons, & in them an hundred pounds of gold, and that night she lodged at the abbie of Stratford, where the king then late: from thence she toke hir iourne to Canturburie.

The king riding after to see hir shipping, on the first of Iulie, she toke the sea at Margate, and there toke leaue of the king hir brother, and departed. There returned backe againe with the king, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Marlowe, Herefordshire, and Northumberland. And there abode with hir in the ship, the lord Scales, the lord Wacres hir chamberlaine, sir John Woodville, sir John Holward, and manie other famous knights and esquires. She was shipped in the new Ellen of London, and in hir nauie the John of Newcastle, the Marie of Salisburie, and manie other roiall ships, and on the morow landed at Sluis in Flanders. Now as soone as hir ship & companie of ships were entered into the haven, there receiued hir sir Simon de Lelein and the water bailiffe, in diuerse boats and barks apparelled readie for hir landing.

The first estate that receiued hir was the bishop of Writight well accompanied, and the countesse of Shorne bastard daughter to duke Philip of Burgonie, and with hir manie ladies and gentlewomen; and so proceeding in at the gate of the towne, the same towne was presented to hir, she to be soueraigne ladie thereof: also they gaue to hir twelue marks of gold Troie weight, the which was two hundred pounds of English monie: and so proceeded thorough the towne to hir lodging, euerie household

standing

George Penill
archbishop
of Poike.

1468.
Anno Reg. 8.

The ladie
Margaret
sister to king
Edward,
sent ouer to
the duke of
Burgonie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 719, 720.
in Quart.

standing in the street with a torch in his hand burning. On the morrow the old duchesse of Burgognie came to hir, accompanied with manie great estates. On the thirde of Julie came the duke of Burgognie to Slnis, with twentie persons secretlie, and was there openly affianced to the ladie Margaret, by the bishop of Salisburie and the lord Scales, in presence of the lord Dacres, the duchesse of Norfolk, the ladie Scales, and all the knights & esquires; gentlewomen inuironing the chamber.

On the 8 of Julie (being saturday) by the duke of Burgognies appointment, the lady Margaret removed by water to the Dame. And on the sunday in the morning betwixt five and six of the clocke, the marriage was solemnized betwixt them, by the bishops of Salisburie and of Carneie; there being present the old duchesse of Burgognie, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres, with the knights, esquires, ladies & gentlewomen that came out of England. The great triumphs, feastinges, shewes of pageants, with other strange deuises, and iustings, were such as I haue not read the like, and would be ouer long in this place to set downe.

[Of this alliance with other more mention is honorable made in the declaration of the causes that moued the Quene of England to giue aid to the defense of the people afflicted & oppressed in the low countries, by the Spaniards, namely for the maintenance of perpetuall amitie. Which declaration is so set forth in this booke, as the same in the seuen and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne was published: vnto which yeare I remit the reader for the further search thereof for that it containeth much memorabile matter, touching the manifest causes of concord to be continued betwene them of the low countries and vs English.]

Sir Thomas Coke late maior of London, was by one named Hawkins appeached of treason, for the which he was sent to the Towre, and his place within London seized by the lord Riuers, and his wife and seruants clerelie put out therof. The cause was this. The fornamed Hawkins came vpon a season vnto the said sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand markes vpon good suertie, wherevnto he answered, that first he would know for whom it should be and for what intent.

At length, vnderstanding it should be for the vse of quene Margaret, he answered he had no currant waies thereof anie shifts might be made without too much losse: and therefore required Hawkins to moue him no further in that matter, for he intended not to deale withall: yet the said Hawkins exhorted him to remember what benefits he had receiued by hir when she was in prosperitie, as by making him hir wardrober, and customer of Hampton, &c.

But by no meanes the said Coke would grant goods nor monie, although at last the said Hawkins required but an hundred pounds, he was faine to depart without the value of a penie, and neuer came againe to moue him, which so rested two or three yeares after, till the said Hawkins was cast in the Towre, and at length brought to the barge, called the duke of Suffolkes daughter, by meanes of which paine he shewed manie things, amongst the which the motion was one that he had made to sir Thomas Coke, and accused himselfe so farre, that he was put to death.

By meane of which confession, the said sir Thomas was troubled (as before is shewed) when the said sir Thomas had laine in the Towre from Whitsuntide till about Michaelmas, in the which season manie inquiries were made to find him guiltie, and euer quit, till one iurie (by meanes of sir John Fog) indicted him of treason, after which an oier and terminer was kept at the Guildhall, in which sat with the maior, the

duke of Clarence, the earle of Warwicke, the lord Riuers, sir John Fog, with other of the kings counsell.

To the which place the said Thomas was brought, and there arraigned vpon life and death, where he was acquitted of the said indictment, and had to the counter in Breadstreet, and from thence to the kings bench. After a certeine time that he was thus acquitted, his wife got againe the possession of hir house, the which she found in an euill plight; for such seruants of the lord Riuers and sir John Fog, as were assigned to keepe it, made hauocke of what they listed.

Also at his place in Essex named Giddshall, were set an other sort to keepe that place, the which destroyed his dore in his parke, his comes, and his fish, without reason, and spared not brasse, pewter, bedding, & all that they might carie, for the which might neuer one penie be gotten in recompence, yet could not sir Thomas Coke be deliuered, till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred pounds to the quene.]

In this meane time, the earle of Warwicke bearing a continuall grudge in his hart toward king Edward, since his last returne out of France, persuaded so with his two brethren, the archbishop, and the marques, that they agreed to ioin with him in anie attempt which he should take in hand against the said king. The archbishop was easilie allured to the earles purpose, but the marques could by no meanes be reduced to take anie part against king Edward of a long time, till the earle had both promised him great rewards and promotions, and also assured him of the aid and poluer of the greatest princes of the realme. And euen as the marques was loth to consent to his unhappie conspiracie, so with a faine hart he shewed himselfe an entmie vnto king Edward, which double dissimulation was both the destruction of him and his brethren. And that they were persuasions of no small force, which the earle of Warwicke used to the archbishop and marques, I haue thought good here to interlace, as I find remembred by Edward Hall in some following.

The persuasions of the earle of Warwicke vnto his two brethren against king Edward the fourth.

My deere and welbeloued brethren, the incredible faithfulness, the secret soberness, and the politike prudence that I haue euer by long continuance of time experimented in you both, doth not onelie encourage my heart, yea and setteth me in great hope of obtaining my purpose, but also putteth me out of all dread and mistrust, firmitie believing, and suerlie iudging, that you both will with tooth and naile endeavour your selues, to the vttermost of your power, to bring to effect and purpose the thing that I now shall declare vnto you. Suerlie, I would in no wise that you should thinke, that that which I shall speake to you of king Edward and king Henrie, should rise of any lightness or phantasie of my mind, or anie trifeling toie latelie fallen into my imagination; but the true experience and iust iudgement that I haue of them both, their qualities and conditions, in manner compell and constrain me to saie as I saie, and to do as I do.

Abt. Fl.
* Given at
Richmont on
the first of
October, An.
Dom. 1585. &
Anno Reg. 27.

Fabian. 497.
Sir Thomas
Coke.

Abt. Fl.
Edw. Hall.
Edw. 4. fol.
ccxviii.

For suerlie, king Henrie is a godlie, god,
and a vertuous person, neither forgetting
his friends, nor putting in oblivion anie
benefit by him of a meane person receiued,
nor yet anie paine for his causes susteined
hath he left unrewarded: to whome God
hath sent a sonne, called prince Edward,
borne to be of great worthinesse & praise,
of much bountifullnesse and liberalitie, of
whome men may manie laudable things
coniecture, considering the paine, labour,
and trauell, that he taketh to helpe his fa-
ther out of captiuitie and thraldome. King
Edward on the contrarie side, is a man
contumelious, opprobrious, and an iniuri-
ous person: to them that deserue kindnesse
he sheweth unkindnesse, and them that
loue him he dealie hateth, now detesting
to take anie paine for the preferment or
maintenance of the publike wealth of this
realme, but all giuen to pastime, pleasure,
and daliance; sooner preferring to highe-
state men descended of low bloud and base
degree, than men of old and vndeiled hou-
ses, which haue both supported him and
the commonwealth of his realme.

So that I now perceiue, that it is euen
come to this point, that he will destroe all
the nobilitie: or else the nobilitie must thor-
owly of vertie necessitie destroe and confound
him. But reason would, that we that were
first hurt, should first reuenge our cause: for
it is not vnknownen to you both, how that
he, immediatlie after he had obtained the
crown, began first secretlie, & then openlie
to enuie, disdaine, and impugn the fame,
glorie, and renoume of our house and fami-
lie; as who said, that all the honoz, prefer-
ment, and authoritie that we haue, we had
onely receiued at his hands, and that we
had neither obtained dignitie nor rule by
our great labour, aid and trauell. Which
to all men may seme untrue, that consi-
der that our name, chiefe title, and princi-
pall authoritie, was to vs giuen by king
Henrie the first, and not by him. But if eu-
ery man will remember, who first toke part
with his father, when he claimed the
crown (who at that time, for that cause
was in great ieopardie, and almost slaine
by the kings meniall seruants, and who
neuer left this man in prosperitie nor ad-
uersitie, till he had the garland, and the
realme in quietnesse) shall manifestlie per-
ceiue, that we and our bloud haue shewed
our selues more like fathers to him, than
he like a friend to vs.

If we haue receiued any benefits of him,
suerlie they be not so much as we haue de-
serued, nor so much as we looked for; and yet
they be much more than he would we shuld
enioy, as ye both well perceiue and know.
Let these things ouer passe, and speake of
the vngentle, untrue, and vnprincipell hand-
ling of me in the last ambassage, being sent
to the french king for to treat a marriage
for him, hauing full authoritie to bind and
to loose, to contract and conclude. Which
thing when I had finished & accomplished:

how lightlie his mind changed, how priui-
lie he bowed, and how secretlie he married,
both you know better than I. So that by
this meanes, I was almost out of all cre-
dence in the court of france, both with the
king and quene, as though I had come
thither like an espiell, to moue a thing ne-
uer minded; or to treat of a marriage deter-
mined before neuer to take effect. Where-
by the fame of all our estimation, which all
kings and princes haue conceiued in vs
(partlie obtained by the vertue & prowell
of our noble ancestors, and partlie atchiued
by our owne paines & forward acts) shall
now be obfusate, vtterlie extinguihed,
and nothing set by.

What worne is touched, and will not
once turne againe: What beast is stricken,
that will not roze or found: What inno-
cent child is hurt that will not crie: If the
poore and vnrasonable beasts, if the seie
babes that doe lacke discretion, grone a-
gainst harne to them proffered; how ought
an honest man to be angrie, when things
that touch his honestie be daillie against
him attempted: But if a meane person in
that case be angrie: how much more ought
a noble man to fume & stirre coales, when
the high type of his honour is touched, his
fame in maner brought to infamie, and his
honour almost blemished & appalled, with-
out his offense or desert: All this brethren
you know to be true, the dishonoz of one is
the dishonoz of vs all, and the hurt of one
is the hurt of all: wherefore, rather than
I will liue vnreruenged; or suffer him to
reigne, which hath sought my decarie and
dishonoz, I will suerlie spend my life, lands,
and goods, in setting by that iust and good
man king Henrie the first: and in deposing
this untrue, vnfaithfull, and unkind prince
(by our onely means) called king Edward
the fourth.

Beside all this, the earle of Warwike, being a far
casting prince, perceiued somewhat in the duke of
Clarence, whereby he iudged that he bare no great
good will towards the king his brother; and there-
by on feeling his mind by such talke as he of purpose
ministred, vnder stood how he was bent, and so wan
him to his purpose: and for better assurance of his
faithfull friendship, he offered him his eldest daugh-
ter in marriage; with the whole halfe deale of his
wines inheritance. And hereupon, after consula-
tion had of their weightie businesse and dangerous af-
faires, they sailed ouer to Calis, of the which towne
the earle was capteine, where his wife & two daugh-
ters then sojourned, whome the duke (being in long
with his person) had great desire to visit.

But the earle, hauing in continuall remembrance
his purposed enterprize, appointed his brethren, the
archbishop and the marquesse, that they shoud by
some meanes in his absence stir vp some new rebell-
lion in the countie of Dorke, and other places adioy-
ning, so that this ciuill warre shoud seme to all men
to haue bene begun without his assent or knowlege,
being on the further side of the seas. The duke of Cla-
rence being come to Calis with the earle of War-
wike, after he had sware on the sacrament to keepe
his promise and pact made with the said earle whole
and inuiolate, he married the ladie Isabell, eldest
daugh-

A commotion
in Yorkeshire.

Saint Leonards hospitall
in York.

Rebellion.

Robert Hildborne
captaine
of the rebels
taken and be-
headed.

Sir John
Coniers.

The earle of
Penbroke.

daughter to the earle, in our ladies church there. Shortly after, according as had bene aforehand devised, a commotion was begun in Yorkeshire, to the great disquieting of that countrie. The same chanced by this means.

There was in the citie of Yorke an old and rich hospitall, dedicated to saint Leonard, for the harbouring and relieving of poore people. Certaine euill disposed persons of the earle of Marwikes faction, intending to set a boile in the countrie, perswaded the husbandmen to refuse to giue anie thing to the said hospitall, affirming that the corne giuen to that good intent, came not to the vse of the poore; but was conuerted to the behoofe of the master of the hospitall, and the priests, whereby they grew to be rich, and the poore people wanted their due succour and reliefe. And not content with these sayings, they fell to dowings: for when the priors of the hospitall, according to their vsage, went about the countrie to gather the accustomed corne, they were sore beaten, wounded, and euill intreated.

Shortly after, the conspiracie of the euill disposed people grew to an open rebellion, so that there assembled to the number of fiftene thousand men, euen readie bent to set on the citie of Yorke. But the lord marquisse Montacute, gouernour and president of that countrie for the king, taking spieciall counsell in the matter, with a small number of men, but well chosen, encountred the rebels before the gates of Yorke: where (after a long conflict) he took Robert Hildborne their captaine, and before them commaunded his head to be stricken off, and then (because it was a darke euening) he caused his souldiers to enter into Yorke, and there to refresh them. Where manie men haue marvelled, whie the marquisse thus put to death the captaine of those people, which had procured this their rebellious enterprise.

Some saie he did it, to the intent to sceme innocent and faultlesse of his brothers dowings. But other iudge, that he did it, for that contrarie to his promise made to his brother, he was determined to take part with king Edward, with whom (as it shall after appeare) he in small space entered into grace and fauour. The rebels being nothing dismayed with the death of their captaine, but rather the more bent on mischief, by faire meanes and craftie perswasions got to them Henrie, sonne to the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Henrie Percill sonne and heire to the lord Latimer, the one being nephue and the other cousine germane to the erle of Marwike. Although these yong gentlemen bare the names of captaines, yet they had a generour that was sir John Coniers, a man of such courage & valiantnesse, as few were to be found in his daies within the north parts.

After they saw that they could not get Yorke, because they wanted ordinance, they determined with all speed to march toward London, intending to raise such a toie in the peoples minds, that they should thinke king Edward neither to be a lawfull prince, nor yet profitable to the common-wealth. King Edward hauing perfect knowledge of all the dowings of the earle of Marwike, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, was by diuerse letters certified of the great armie of the northerne men, with all speed comming toward London; and therefore in great hast he sent to William lord Herbert, whom (as we haue heard) he had created earle of Penbroke; requiring him without delate to raise his power, and encounter with the northerne men.

The earle of Penbroke, commonly called the lord Herbert, both readie to obey the kings commandement, according to his dutie, and also desirous to reuenge the malice which he bare to the earle of Marwike, for that he knew how he had bene the onelie

let whie he obtained not the wardship of the lord Bonneuilles daughter and heire for his eldest sonne, accompanied with his brother sir Richard Herbert, a valiant knight, and aboue sir or seauen thousand Welshmen, well furnished, marched forward to encounter with the northerne men. And to assist him with archers, was appointed Humfrie lord Stafford of Southwike, named but not created earle of Deuonshire by the king, in hope that he would serue valiantlie in that iourne: he had with him eight hundred archers.

When these two lordes were met at Cottesfold, they heard how the northerne men were going toward Northampton: whereupon the lord Stafford, and sir Richard Herbert, with two thousand well horsed Welshmen, rode forth afore the maine armie, to see the demeanour of the northerne men: and at length, vnder a woods side, they conuenticly espied them passing forward, and suddenlie set on the rearward: but the northerne men with such nimblenesse turned about, that in a moment the Welshmen were discomfited, and manie taken, the remnant returned to the armie with small gaine. The northerne men well cooled with this small victorie, went no further southwards, but toke their waie toward Marwike, looking for aid of the earle, which was litle come from Calis, with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, and was raising men to aid his friends and kinsfolke.

The king likewise assembled people to aid the erle of Penbroke, but before either part receiued succour from his friend or partaker, both the armies met by chance in a faire plaine, nere to a towne called Hedgecote, foure miles distant from Banberie, where there are three hilles, not in equall quantitie, but lieng in maner (although not fullie) triangle. The Welshmen got first the west hill, hoping to haue recouered the east hill also, which if they might haue obtained, the victorie had bene theirs, as their folish prophesiers told them before. These northerne men incamped on the south hill; the earle of Penbroke and the lord Stafford of Southwike were lodged in Banberie, the daie before the field, which was saint James daie, and there the earle of Penbroke put the lord Stafford out of an Inne, wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: and yet it was agreed betwixt them, that which of them forer obtained first a lodging, should not be displaced.

The lord Stafford in great despise departed with his whole band of archers, leauing the earle of Penbroke almost desolate in the towne, who with all diligence returned to his host, lieng in the field impurueied of archers. Sir Henrie Percill, sonne to the lord Latimer, toke with him certaine light horsemen, and skirmished with the Welshmen in the euening, iust before their campe, where doing right valiantlie, but a litle too hardilie aduenturing himselfe, was taken and yelded, and yet cruellie slaine. Which was mercifull act the Welshmen soe rued the next day per night: for the northerne men soe displeased for the death of this noble man, in the next morning valiantlie set on the Welshmen, and by force of archers caused them quicklie to descend the hill, into the valley, where both the hostes fought.

The earle of Penbroke did right valiantlie, and so likewise did his brother sir Richard Herbert, in so much that with his polar in his hand, he twice by fine force passed thorough the battell of his aduersaries, and without anie hurt or mortall wound returned. But for the hap, euen as the Welshmen were at point to haue obtained the victorie, John Clapen esquier, seruant to the earle of Marwike, mounted by the side of the east hill, accompanied

The welsh
men discom-
fited.

Hedgecote.
Banberie.

William
it was his.

The heire
of the
lord Herbert.

John Clapen.

onelic with five hundred men, gathered of the rascals of the towne of Southampton, and other villages about, having borne before them the standard of the earle of Warwicke, with the white beare, crying; A Warwicke, a Warwicke.

The Welchmen, thinking that the earle of Warwicke had come on them with all his puissance, suddenly as men amazed, fled: the northerne men them pursued, and due without merrie, so that there died of the Welchmen that daie, above five thousand, besides them that fled and were taken. The earle of Denbroke, and his brother sir Richard Herbert, with diuerse gentlemen, were taken and brought to Banberie, where the earle with his brother, and other gentlemen, to the number of ten, that were likewise taken, lost their heads. But great mone was made for that noble and hardie gentleman, sir Richard Herbert, being able for his goodlie personage and high valiantie, to haue serued the greatest prince in christendome. [But what policie or puissance can either prevent or impugne the force of fate, whose law as it standeth upon an inevitable necessitie; so was it not to be dispensed withall; and therefore destiny hauing preordained the manner of his death, it was patientlie to be suffered, sith puissantlie it could not be auoided, nor politikelie prevented, nor violentlie resisted: for

— sua queng dies ad funera rapat.]

The Southamptonshire men, with diuerse of the northerne men by them procured, in this furie made them a captaine, called Robert Williard, but they named him Robin of Reddesdale, and suddenly came to Crafston, where they took the earle Kiuers, father to the queene, and his son sir John Mordulle, whome they brought to Southampton, and there beheaded them both without iudgement. The king aduertised of these mischances, wrote to the shiriffes of Summertshire, and Denonshire, that if they might by any means take the lord Stafford of Southwicke, they should without delaie put him to death. Hereupon search was made for him, till at length he was found in a village within Brentmarsh, and after brought to Widgewater where he was beheaded.

After the battell was thus fought at Hedgocote commonlie called Banberie field, the northerne men retired toward Warwicke, where the earle had gathered a great multitude of people, which earle received the northerne men with great gladnes, thanking sir John Coniers, and other their captaines for their pains taken in his cause. The king in this meane time had assembled his power, and was coming toward the earle, who being aduertised thereof, sent to the duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and loine with him. The duke being not farre off, with all speed repaired to the earle, and so they ioined their powers together, and upon secret knowledge had, that the king (because they were entered into termes by waie of communication to haue a peace) took small heed to himselfe, nothing doubting anie outward attempt of his enemies.

The earle of Warwicke, intending not to lose such opportunitie of aduantage, in the dead of the night, with an elect companie of men of warre (as secretlie as was possible) set on the kings field, killing them that kept the watch, and per the king was ware (for he thought of nothing lesse than of that which then hapned) at a place called Moline, foure miles from Warwicke, he was taken prisoner and brought to the castell of Warwicke. And to the intent his friends should not know what was become of him, the earle caused him by secret iournies in the night to be conueied to Spiddeham castell in Dorsetshire, and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the archbishop of Dorset, and other his friends in those parties. King Edward being thus in captiuitie, spake euër faire to

the archbishop, and to his other keepers, so that he had leaue diuerse daies to go hunt. [Which exercise he used, as if should seeme, not so much for regard of his recreation, as for the recouerie of his libertie: which men esteeme better than gold, and being counted a diuine thing, doth passe all the wealth, pleasure, and treasure of the world; according to the old saying:

*Non bene profusulo libertas venditur auro,
Hoc celestis bonum preterit orbis opes.]*

Now on a daie vpon a plaine when he was thus abode, there met with him sir William Stanley, sir Thomas a Bozough, and diuers other of his friends, with such a great band of men, that neither his keepers would, nor once durst moue him to returne vnto prison againe. Some haue thought that his keepers were corrupted with monie, or faire promises, and therefore suffered him thus to scape out of danger. After that he was once at libertie, he came to Dorset, where he was iustlie receiued, and taried there two daies: but when he perceiued he could get no armie together in that countrie to attend him to London, he turned from Dorset to Lancaster, where he found his chamberleine the lord Hastings well accompanied, by whose aid and such others as drew to him, being well furnished, he came safelie to the citie of London.

When the earle of Warwicke, and the duke of Clarence had knowledge how king Edward by the treason or negligence of them (whome they had put in trust) was escaped their hands, they were in a wonderfull chafe: but sith the chance was past, they began effronies to prouide for the warre, which they saw was like to insue; and found much comfort, in that a great number of men, deliting more in discord than in concord, offered themselves to aid their side. But other good men desirous of common quiet, and lamenting the miserable state of the realme, to redresse such mischiefe as appeared to be at hand by these tumults, took paine, and road betwene the king, the earle, and the duke, to reconcile them ech to other.

Their charitable motion and causes alledged, because they were of the chiefest of the nobilitie, and therefore caried both credit and authoritie with them, so aduanced the moods both of the king, the duke, and the earle; that ech gaue faith to other to come and go safelie without leopordie. In which promise both the duke and earle putting perfect confidence, came both to London. At Westminster, the king, the duke, and the earle, had long communication together: for to haue come to an agreement: but they fell at such great words vpon reherfall of old matters, that in great furie without any conclusion they departed; the king to Canturburie, and the duke and the earle to Warwicke, where the earle procured a new armie to be raised in Lincolnshire, and made captaine thereof sir Robert Welles, sonne to Richard lord Welles, a man of great experience in warre.

The king aduertised hereof, without delaie prepared an armie, and out of hand he sent to Richard lord Welles, willing him vpon the sight of his letters, to repaice vnto him: which to doe he had oftentimes refused, excusing himselfe by sicknesse and feblenesse of bodie. But when that excuse serued not, he thinking to purge himselfe sufficientlie of all offense and blame before the kings presence, took with him sir Thomas Dimmocke, who had married his sister, and so came to London. And when he was come, being admonished by his friends that the king was greatlie with him displeased, he with his brother in law took the sanctuarie at Westminster.

But king Edward, trusting to pacifie all this busie tumult without anie further bloodshed, promised both those persons their pardons, causing them vpon his promise to come out of sanctuarie to his presence,

Abr. Flem.

Sir William Stanley.
R. Edward is deliuered out of captiuitie.

He cometh to London.

1476

Sir Thomas Dimmocke.

Anno Reg. 10.

The lord Welles and Thomas Dimmocke beheaded.

A loscote field

The faithfulness of the lord Stanlie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwicke take the sea.

The earle of Warwicke kept out of Calis.

Monsieur de Mauciere made deputie of Calis.

sence, and calling to him the lord Welles, willed him to write to his sonne to leaue off the warre, and in the meane season he with his armie went forward, hauing with him the lord Welles, and sir Thomas Dimmocke. And being not past two daies iournie from Stamford, where his enemies had pitched their field, and hearing that sir Robert Welles, not regarding his fathers letters, kept his campe still, he caused the lord Welles, father to the said sir Robert, and sir Thomas Dimmocke to be beheaded, contrarie to his promise.

Sir Robert Welles, hearing that the king approached, and that his father and sir Thomas Dimmocke were beheaded, though he was somewhat doubtfull to fight, before the earle of Warwicke were with his power assembled, yet hauing a yong and lustie courage, manfully set on his enemies. The battell was sore fought on both sides, and manie a man slaine; till sir Robert, perceiving his people at point to flie, was buslie in hand to exhort them to stonde, and in the meane time compassed about with enemies was there taken, with him sir Thomas de Lancashire knight, and manie more. After the taking of their captaine, the Lincolnshire men amazed, threw away their coats the lighter to run away, and fled amaine, and therefore this battell is called there yet unto this daie, A loscote field.

The king reioysing at this victorie, caused sir Robert Welles, and diuerse other to be put to execution in the same place. The same went that at this battell were slaine ten thousand men at the least. The earle of Warwicke late at the same time at his castell of Warwicke, and meant to haue set forward the next daie toward his armie in Lincolnshire. But when he heard that the same was overthrowne, he took new counsell, and with all diligence imagined how to compass Thomas lord Stanlie, which had married his sister, that he might be one of the conspiracie. Which thing when he could not bring to passe (for the lord Stanlie had answered him, that he would neuer make warre against king Edward) he thought no longer to spend time in wast, and mistrusting he was not able to meet with his enemies, he with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence departed to Creceker, and there tarrying a few daies, determined to saile into France, to purchase aid of king Lewes.

Now resting upon this point, he hired ships at Dartmouth: and when the same were readie trimmed and decked, the duke and the earle with their wives, and a great number of seruants imbarked themselves, and first took their course towards Calis, whereof the earle was captaine, thinking there to haue left his wife and daughters, till he had returned out of France. But when they were come before the towne of Calis, they could not be suffered to enter: for the lord Mauciere a Gascoigne, being the earles deputie in that towne, whether he did it by dissimulation, or bearing good will to king Edward (as by the sequelle it may be doubted whether he did or no) in stead of receiuing his master with triumph, he bent and discharged against him diuerse peeces of ordinance, sending him word he should not there take land.

This nauie lieng thus before Calis at anchor, the duchesse of Clarence was there deliuered of a faire sonne, which child the earles deputie would scarce suffer to be christened within the towne; nor without great intreatie would permit two flagons of wine to be conueied aboard to the ladies lieng in the hauen. The king of England aduertised of the refusal made by monsieur de Mauciere to the earle of Warwicke, was so much pleased therewith, that incontinentlie he made him chiefe captaine of the towne of Calis by his letters patents, which he sent

to him out of hand, and thereof discharged the earle as a traitor and rebell. Thus was the one in respect of his accepted seruice honorable aduanced; and the other, in regard of his disloyaltie shamefullie disgraced: whereof as the one took occasion of inward delight; so the other could not be void of grudging conceits.

The duke of Burgognie (unto whom king Edward had writtten, that in no wise he should receiue the earle of Warwicke, nor anie of his friends within his countries) was so well pleased with the doings of monsieur de Mauciere, that he sent to him his seruant Philip de Cumins, and gaue him pence a thousand crownes in pension, paying and requiring him to continue in truth and fidelitie toward king Edward, as he had sworne and begun. But although monsieur de Mauciere swore in the said Philips presence, trulie to take king Edwards part; yet he sent priuillie to the earle of Warwicke lieng at Whitlanbate, that if he landed, he should be taken and lost: for all England (as he said) took part against him; the duke of Burgognie, and all the inhabitants of the towne, with the lord Duras the kings marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison were his enemies.

The earle, hauing this aduertisement from his feigned enimie, with his nauie sailed toward Normandie, and by the waie spoiled and took manie ships of the duke of Burgognies subjects, and at the last (with all his nauie and spoiles) he took land at Diepe in Normandie, where the gouernor of the countrie friendlie welcomed him, and aduertised king Lewes of his arriual. The French king, desirous of nothing more than to haue occasion to pleasure the earle of Warwicke, of whom the his renowne caused all men to haue him in admiration, sent by to him, requiring both him and his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, to come unto his castell of Ambois, where he then sojourned. The duke of Burgognie, hearing that the duke and earle were thus receiued in France, sent a post with letters unto king Lewes, partly by waie of request, and partly by way of menacing, to dissuade him from aiding of his aduersaries, the said duke and earle.

But the French king little regarded this sute of the duke of Burgognie, and therefore answered, that he might and would succour his friends, and yet breake no league with him at all. In the meane time, king Edward made inquirie for such as were knowen to be aiders of the earle of Warwicke within his realme, of whom some he apprehended as guiltie, and some (doubting themselves) fled to sanctuary, and other trusting to the kings pardon, submitted themselves, as John marques Montacute, whom he controulie receiued. When queene Margaret that sojourned with duke Keston her father, heard tell that the earle of Warwicke was come to the French court, with all diligence she came to Ambois to see him, with her onlie sonne prince Edward.

With him also came Jasper earle of Penbrooke, and John earle of Arundell, which after diuerse impelliments latelie escaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this assemble. These persons, after intreatie had of their affaires, determined by meanes of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betweene them. And first to begin withall, for the sure foundation of their new intreatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne second daughter to the earle of Warwicke, which ladie came with her mother into France. After which marriage, the duke and the earles took a solemne oath, that they should neuer leaue the warre, till either king Henrie the first, or his sonne prince Edward, were restored to the crowne: and that the queene and the prince should

The duke hearing of monsieur de Mauciere. The lord Duras was a Gascoigne also.

The earle of Warwicke did as Duke.

Ambois.

John marques Montacute.

The earle of Penbrooke.

League.

Edward prince of Wales.

should depuſe and appoint the duke and the earle to be gouernours & conſeruatoꝝ of the common wealth, till time the prince were come to eſtate. Manie other conditions were agreed, as both reaſon & the weightieſſe of ſo great buſineſſe required.

Whyleſt theſe things were thus in doing in the French court, there landed a damſell, belonging to the duchelle of Clarence; as ſhe ſaid: which made monſieur de Clauclere beleeue, that ſhe was ſent from king Edward to the duke of Clarence and the earle of Marwiſke with a plaine ouerture and declaration of peace. Of the which tidings Clauclere was verie glad for the earles ſake. But this damſell comming to the duke, perſuaded him ſo much to leaue off the purſute of his conceiued diſpleaſure towards his brother king Edward, that he promiſed at his returne into England, not to be ſo extreme enemie againſt his brother as he was taken to be: and this promiſe afterward he did keepe. With this answer the damſell returned into England, the earle of Marwiſke being thereof clearelie ignozant.

The French king lent both ſhips, men, and monie vnto queene Margaret, and to hir partakers, and appointed the baſſard of Bourbon, admirall of France, with a great nauie to defend them againſt the nauie of the duke of Burgognie, which he laid at the mouth of the riuer Saine, readie to encounter them, being of greater force than both the French nauie and the Engliſh fleet. And yet king Keiner did alſo helpe his daughter with men and munition of warre. When their ſhips and men were come together to Harſſue, the earle of Marwiſke thought not to linger time: becauſe he was certified by letters from his friends out of England, that aſſoone as he had taken land, there would be readie manie thouſands to do him what ſeruiſe and pleaſure they could or might. And beſide this, diuerſe noble men wrote that they would helpe him with men, armor, monie, and all things neceſſarie for the warre, and further to aduenture their owne bodies in his quarell.

Suerlie his preſence was ſo much deſired of all the people, that almoſt all men were readie in armour, looking for his arrivall: for they iudged that the verie ſunne was taken from the world when he was abſent. When he had receiued ſuch letters of comfort, he determined with the duke, and the earles of Orford and Penbroke (becauſe queene Margaret and hir ſonne were not yet ſullie furniſhed for the iourney) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of the arme. And euen as fortune would, the nauie of the duke of Burgognie at the ſame time by a tempeſt was ſcattered, & diuinen beſide the coaſt of Dorſetſhire: ſo that the earle of Marwiſke in hope of a brone voiage, cauſed ſailes to be halſed vp, and with good ſped landed at Dartmouth in Deuonſhire, from whence almoſt ſix moneths paſſed he took his iourney toward France (as before ye haue heard.) When the earle had taken land, he made proclamation in the name of king Henrie the ſirſt, vpon high paines commanding and charging all men able to beare arms, to prepare themſelues to fight againſt Edward duke of Booke, which contrarie to right had vſurped the crowne. It is almoſt not to be beleeued, how manie thouſands men of warre at the firſt tidings of the earles landing reſorted vnto him.

King Edward awakened with the newes of the earles landing, and the great repaire of people that came flocking in vnto him, ſent forth letters into all parts of his realme to raiſe an armie: but of them that were ſent for, few came, and yet of thoſe few the more part came with no great good willes. Which when he perceived, he began to doubt the matter, and therefore being accompanied with the duke of Glouceſter his brother, the lord Haſtings his cham-

berlaine, which had married the earles ſiſter, and yet was euer true to the king his maſter, and the lord Seales brother to the queene, he departed into Lincolnſhire. And becauſe he vnderſtood that all the realme was vp againſt him, and ſome part of the earle of Marwiſks power was within halfe a daies iourne of him, following the aduiſe of his counſell, with all haſt poſſible he paſſed the Waſhes in great ieopardie, & comming to Lin found there an Engliſh ſhip, and two hulkes of Holland readie (as fortune would) to make ſaile.

Wherevpon he with his brother the duke of Glouceſter, the lord Seales, and diuerſe other his truſtie friends, entered into the ſhip. The lord Haſtings tarried a while after, exhorting all his acquaintance, that of neceſſitie ſhould tarie behind, to ſet to themſelues openlie as friends to king Henrie for their owne ſafegard, but hartlie required them in ſecret to continue faithfull to king Edward. This perſuaſion declared, he entered the ſhip with the other, and ſo they departed, being in number in that one ſhip and two hulkes, about ſeuē or eight hundred perſons, hauing no furniture of apparell or other neceſſarie things with them, ſauing apparell for warre. [For it was no taking of leaſure to prouide their corpoꝝ all neceſſaries (though the want of them could hardlie be borne) in a caſe of preſent danger; conſidering that they were made againſt by the contrarie faction with ſuch ſwift purſute. And it had bene a point of extreme follie, to be carefull for the accidents, permitting in the meane time the ſubſtance vnto the ſpoile.]

As king Edward with ſaile and oꝝ was thus making courſe towards the duke of Burgognies countrie (whether he determined at the firſt to go) it chanced that ſeuē or eight gallant ſhips of Caſſerlings, open enemies both to England and France, were abroad on thoſe ſeas, and eſpieng the kings veſſels, began to chaſe him. The kings ſhip was good of ſaile, and ſo much gat of the Caſſerlings, that he came on the coaſt of Holland, and ſo deſcended lower befoꝝ a towne in the countrie called Alquemare, and there caſt anchor as nere the towne as was poſſible, becauſe they could not enter the hauen at an ebbing water. The Caſſerlings alſo approched the Engliſh ſhip, as nere as their great ſhips ſhould come at the low water, intending at the ſlowd to haue their prize: as they were verie like to haue attained it in deed, if the lord Gronture, gouernor of that countrie for the duke of Burgognie, had not by chance bene at the ſame time in that towne.

This lord (vpon knowledge had of king Edwards arrivall there in the hauen, and in what danger he ſtood by reaſon of the Caſſerlings) commanded them not to be ſo hardie as once to meddle with anie Engliſhmen, being both the dukes friends and allies. Then did king Edward & all his companie come on land. Who after they had bene well reſreſhed & gentlelie comforted by the lord Gronture, they were by him brought to the Hagh, a rich towne in Holland, where they remained a while, hauing all things neceſſarie miniſtered to them by order of the duke of Burgognie, ſent vnto the lord Gronture, immediatlie vpon certificat from the ſaid lord Gronture of king Edwards arrivall. [Where we ſee in what perplexities king Edward and his retinue were, partly by enemies at home in his owne countrie, whoſe hands he was conſtrained to ſee from by the helpe of the ſea; partly alſo by aduerſaries abroad, ſeeking oportunitie to offer him not the encounter onelie, but the overthrow. And ſuerlie, had not god fortune ſauoured him, in preparing readie meanes for him to auoid thoſe imminent dangers; he had doubtleſſe fallen among the weapons of his owne countymen, and ſo neuer

King Edward cometh to Lin and taketh ſhip to paſſe ouer ſeas.

The lord Haſtings.

The number that paſſed ouer with king Edward.

Abr. Fl.

King Edward arrived at Alquemare.

The lord Gronture.

The promiſe of the duke of Clarence.

Clauclere which the people care to diſturb of warre.

A proclamation.

neuer haue feared forren force: but in escaping both the one and the other, euen with shift of so speedie expedition, it is a note (if it be well looked into) of happiness. If any hapinesse may be in preservation from ruine and reproch.]

Edw. Hall.
fol. cxcix.

Now let all Englishmen (saith Edward Hall) consider (as before is rehearsed) what profit, what commodity, and what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the ladie Margaret, king Edwards sister to the duke Charles, did to him in his extreme necessitie; and but by that meane incurable extremitie: for his allies and confederats in Castile and Arragon were too far from him, either speedie to sie to, or shorlie to come fro with any aid or armie. The French king was his extreme enemie, and friend to king Henrie, for whose cause in the king of Scots (for all the leage betwene them) he did put little confidence and lesse trust. The states and all Galliards were with him at open war, and yet by this marriage, God provided him a place to sie to, both for refuge and release.

Abr. Flein.

[But for the further and clearer explanation of these stratagems, or rather ciuill tumults, it shall not be amisse to insert in this place (such I cannot hit by on one more convenient) a verie good note or addition received from the hands of maister John Hooker chamberlaine of Excester; the contents whereof are of such qualitie, that they cannot stand in concurrence with any matter introduced within the compass of the ninth yeare of this kings reigne (as he had quoted it) and therefore I thought it meet to translate for the same to this tenth yeare; considering that some part of the matter by him largelie touched, is briefelie in the premises already remembred.]

John Hooker,
alias Vowell.

This yeare (saith he) was verie troublesome, and full of ciuill wars and great discords. For after that king Edward the fourth was escaped out of prison, at Wolneic besides Warwike, he mustered and prepared a new armie. Whereupon the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence, mistrusting themselves, prepared to passe the seas ouer to Calis, and first of all sent awaie the duchesse of Clarence daughter to the said earle, who was then great with child, and she being accompanied with the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Dinham, and the baron of Carew, and a thousand fighting men came to this citie of Excester the eighteenth daie of March, and was lodged in the bishops palace. Sir Hugh, or (as some saie) sir William Courtneie, who then fauoured the partie of king Edward the fourth, assembled a great troope and armie of all the friends he could make, and intironing the citie, besieged the same; he pulled downe all the bridges, rampured by all the waies, and stopped all the passages, so that no vittels at all could be brought to this citie for twelue daies together, which being done vpon a sudden and vnlooked for, vittels waied short and scant within the citie, and by reason of so great a multitude within the same, the people for want of food began to murmur and mutter.

Lord Dinham,
and baron
Carew, with
their power
come to Excester.

The duchesse and the lords of hir companie, mistrusting what might and would be the sequels hereof, began to deale with the maior, and required to haue the keies of the gates to be deliuered into their hands and that they would undertake the safe custodie of the citie. Likewise sir William Courtneie did send his messenger to the maior, and required the gates to be opened and to giue him entrance: or els he would with sword and fier destroye the same. The maior and his brethren being in great perplexities, and hauing to answer not onelie the lords within and the knight without, but most of all doubting the common people within, who being impatient of penurie, were deafe to all persuasions and liuen to any counsels: did so order and handle the matter, as that by good speeches and courteous vsages, euery partie

was stopped and staied, untill by means and mediations of certeine good and godlie men, an intreatie was made, the matter was compounded and the siege raised, and euery man set at libertie.

The next daie after which conclusion, the gates being opened, to wit, the third of Aprill 1470, the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence came to this citie, and here rested, and sojourned themselves untill sufficient shipping was provided for their passage ouer the seas, and then they all imbarked themselves, and passed ouer to Calis. The king in this meane time mustered his armie, and prepared with all speed all things necessarie to followe and pursue his said aduersaries, and came to this citie, thinking to find them here the fourteenth of Aprill being saturday daie 1470, with fortie thousand fighting men; but the birds were fled awaie before his comming. Nevertheless the king came and entred into the citie, being accompanied with sundrie noble men; namely, the bishop of Elie then lord treasurer, the duke of Suffolke earle marshall, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wilshire sonne to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Worcester constable of England, the earle of Shrewsburie, the earle Kiuers, the lord Hastings, the lord Craie of Codnor, the lord Audelie, the lord Haie, the lord Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Pontioie, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, and the baron of Dupleie.

Before whose comming, the maior being aduertised thereof, took order, and gaue commandement to euery citizen and inhabitant, being of abilitie, to provide and prepare for himselfe a gowne of the cities liuerie, which was then red colour, and to be in a readinesse for receiuing of the king, which was accordingly done. And when the king was come nere to the citie, the maior being verie well attended with foure hundred persons well and seemelie appareled in the cities liuerie, went to the south gate, and without the same attended the kings comming. Who when he was come, the maior did his most humble obeisance, and therewith Thomas Dolwyth then recorder of the citie made vnto his grace an humble oration, congratulating his comming to the citie: which ended, the maior deliuered vnto the king the keies of the gates and the maces of his office, and therewith a purse of one hundred nobles in gold, which his grace took verie thankfullie. The monie he kept, but the keies and the maces he deliuered backe to the maior; and then the maior took the mace and did beare it through the citie bare-headed before the king, untill he came to his lodging.

The next daie following, being Palmesundaye, the king in most princelie and roiall maner came to the cathedraall church of saint Peters, to heare the diuine seruice, where he followed and went in procession after the maner as was then vsed, round about the churchyard, to the great ioy and comfort of all the people: he continued in the citie three daies untill the tuesdaye then following; who when he had dined toke his horse and departed backe towards London, and gaue to the maior great good thanks for his intertainment. About foure moneths after this, in August, the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike returned againe from Calis, with all their retinue, and landed some at Plimouth, some at Dartmouth, and some at Ermouth: but all met in this citie, and from hence they all passed towards London, and at euery place they proclaimed king Henrie the first, which when king Edward heard, he was very much troubled therewith; and not able then to withstand their force, he passed the seas to his brother in law the duke of Burgonie.

This yeare also, being verie troublesome, and the gouerne

The king
Clarence
the earle
Warwike
come at
Calis and
the king.

The king
received
the
citie
Excester.

The citie
deliuered
to the king.

How long
the king
remained in
the citie.

The duke
Clarence
the earle
Warwike
come at
Calis and
the king
coast.

In Reg. 10.

The practice
of a knight
being chaste
in the
law to no
harm of
hisThe knight
being chaste
in the
law to no
harm of
hisThe knight
being chaste
in the
law to no
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being chaste
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harm of
hisThe knight
being chaste
in the
law to no
harm of
his

gouvernement uncerteine, men were in great perplexities, & wist not what to do. And among manie there was one speciallie to be remembred, who to rid himselfe out of these troubles, did devise this practise: his name was sir William Haukeford knight, a man verie well learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe iustices at the law: he dwelled at Annoie in Denonshire, a gentleman of great possessions, and hauing neuer a sonne, the lord Fitz Warren, sir John Sentleger, & sir William Solleime, who married his daughters, were his heires. This man being one of the chieffest lawyers in the land, was daile sought to and his counsell asked: and he considering that when the sould ruled, law had a small course, and finding by experience what fruits in sue such counsell as doth not best like the parties, was verie heauie, sorrowfull, and in great agonies.

Hereupon suddenly he called vnto him the keeper of his parke, with whom he fell out and quareled, because (as he said) he was slothfull and careless, and did not walke in the nights about the parke, but suffered his game to be spoiled and his deere to be stolen, wherefore he willed him to be more vigilant and carefull of his charge: and also commanded him that if he met anie man in his circuit and walke in the night time, and would not stand nor speake vnto him, he should not spare to kill him what so euer he were. This knight, hauing laid this foundation, and minding to performe that he had purposed for the ending of his dolefull daies, did in a certeine darke night secretlie conueie himselfe out of his house, and walked alone in his parke. When the keeper in his night walke hearing one stirring and comming towards him, asked who was there: but no answer was made at all.

Then the keeper willed him to stand, which when he would not do, the keeper nocked his arrow and shot vnto him, and killed him; who when he perceived that it was his master, then he called to remembrance his masters former commandement. And so this knight, otherwise learned and wise, being affraid to displease man, did dispicase God, and verie disordrelie ended his life. It is inrolled amongst the records of this citie, of a commission directed to John earle of Denonshire, & from him sent to the maior of the citie of Excester to be proclaimed. The words be these: *Decimus quo die Aprilis, v. l. in vigilia Pasche, An. 49. Hen. 6. commissio domini regis directa Iohanni comiti Denon. iussu et maiori ut proclamaretur.* And likewise in an other place: *Quatuor marce sunt solute Iohanni comiti Denon. ex assensu maioris.* Howbeit, certeine it is there was no such earle of that name, onelie there was John Holland then liuing duke of Excester, wherefore something is mistaken herein.

But was this a practise (thinke you) becoming a man of worship, learning, and iudgement, to make awaie himselfe, because he saw a temporall interruption of his prosperitie? Surelie how much learning so euer he had in the lawes of the land, litle at all or none (as appeareth) had he in suffering the forces of aduersitie, whom the feare of it did so terrifie, that it droue him to his end. Wile therefore is the counsell of the comedie-writer, and worthe of imitation, that a man, when he is in best case and highest degre of welfare, should euen then meditate with himselfe how to awaie with hardnesse, with penurie, perils, losse, banishment, and other afflictions: for so shall he prepare himselfe to beate them with patience when they happen: as souldiers trained vp in militarie exercises at home, are so much the forwarder for the field, & fitter to encounter their foes (with lesse dread of danger) when they come abroad to be tried: and therefore it is wiselike (& to the purpose) said of Virgil:

superando omnis fortuna ferendo est.

But to returne to the princes affaires. When the faune was once spread abroad that R. Edward was fled the realme, an innumerable number of people resorted to the earle of Marlowe to take his part, but all R. Edwards trustie friends went to diuerse sanctuaries, and amongst other his wife quene Elizabeth toke sanctuarie at Westminster, and there in great penurie forsaken of all hir friends, was deliuered of a faire son called Edward, which was with small pompe like a poore mans child christened, the godfathers being the abbat and prior of Westminster, and the godmother the ladie Scrope. But what might be the heauinesse of this ladies hart (thinke we) upon consideration of so manie counterblasts of unhappinesse inwardlie conceived? Hir husband had taken flight, his adherents and hir friends sought to shroud themselves vnder the couert of a new protector, the diuine in distresse sought not that simple refuge which hir hard hap forced vpon hir; and (a kings wife) wanted in hir necessitie such things as meane mens wiues had in superfluitie, & (a corollie to a noble mind) a prince of renowned parentage was (by constraint of unkind fortune) not vouchsafed the solemnities of christendome due and decent for so honorable a personage.]

The Kentishmen in this season (whose minds be euer moueable at the change of princes) came to the suburbs of London, spoiled mansions, robbed heres houses, and by the counsell of sir Cestrie Gates and other sanctuarie men, they brake vp the kings Bench and deliuered prisoners, and fell at Ratcliffe, Limehouse, & S. Katharins, to burning of houses, slaughter of people, and rauishing of women. Which small sparkle had growne to a greater flame, if the earle of Marlowe with a great power had not suddenly quenched it, and punished the offenders: which benefit by him done, caused him much more to be esteemed and liked amongst the commons than he was before. When he had settled all things at his pleasure, vpon the twelue date of October he rode to the Tower of London, where he before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was serued according to his degre.

On the five and twentieth day of the said moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the earles of Marlowe and Shrewsburie, the lord Strange, and other lords and gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onelie to gaze at the waucering world, went to the Tower, and from thence brought king Henrie apparelled in a long gowne of blew velvet, through London to the church of saint Paule, the people on euerie side the streets reioysing and crieng; God saue the king: as though each thing had succeeded as they would haue had it: and when he had offered (as kings vse to do) he was conuied to the bishops palace, where he kept his household like a king. Thus was the principallitie passed ouer sometimes to Henrie, sometimes to Edward; according to the swaite of the partie preuailling: ambition and disdain still casting fagots on the fire, whereby the heat of hatred gathered the greater force to the consumption of the peeres and the destruction of the people. In the meane time, neither part could secretlie possesse the regalitie, when they obtained it, which highmindednesse was in the end the ouerthrow of both principals and accessories, according to the nature thereof noted in this distichon by the poet:

Fastus habet lites, offensio fastus abundat,

Fastus ad interitum precipitare solet.

When king Henrie had thus readapted and effrons gotten his regall power and authoritie, he called his high court of parlement to begin the fir and twentieth day of Nouember, at Westminster, in the

R. Edwards
friends take
sanctuarie.

Quene Elizabeth
deliuered
of a prince

Ab. Flem.

The Kentishmen
make an
hurric burle.

King Henrie
ferched out of
the Tower &
restored to his
kinglie gouernment.

A parlement.

S. C. J.

which

Edward
adjudged an
blasphemer.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 725.
The earle
of Mowbray be-
headed.

The crowne
intailed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 722, 723.
The earle of
Warwicke his
housekeeping.
Fabian.

The earle of
Warwicke in-
stituted go-
vernour of the
realme.

Jasper earle
of Penbroke.

Margaret
countesse of
Richmond
and Derby.

which king Edward was adjudged a traitor to the countrie, and an usurper of the realme. His goods were confiscated and forfeited. The like sentence was given against all his partakers and friends. And besides this it was enacted, that such as for his sake were apprehended, and were either in captivitie or at large upon suerties, should be extremelie punished according to their demerits, amongst whome was the lord Tiptoft earle of Worcester lieutenant for king Edward in Ireland, exercising there more extreme crueltie than princelie pietie, and namelie on two infants being sonnes to the earle of Desmond.

[This earle of Worcester, being found in the top of an high thrie, in the forest of Walsbridge, in the countie of Huntingdon, was brought to London, and either for treason to him laid, or malice against him conceived, was attainted, and beheaded at the Tower hill, and after buried at the Blacke friers.] Moreover, all statutes made by king Edward were clearlie revoked, and the crownes of the realmes of England and France were by authoritie of the same parliament intailed to king Henrie the first, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to remaine to George duke of Clarence, & to his heires male: and further, the said duke was enabled to be next heire to his father Richard duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had bene his eldest sonne at the time of his death. Jasper earle of Penbroke, and John earle of Arford, with divers other by king Edward attainted, were restored to their old names, possessions, and ancient dignities.

Beside this, the earle of Marwicke, as one to whom the common-wealth was much bounden (and ever had in great favour of the commons of this land, by reason of the exceeding household which he daily kept in all countries where ever he sojourned or laie: and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six open were eaten at a breakfast, and euerie tauerne was full of his meat, for who that had any acquaintance in that house, he should haue had as much sod and rest as he might carrie upon a long dagger) he (I saie) was made gouernour of the realme, with whom as fellows was associated George duke of Clarence. And thus was the state of the realme quite altered. So this parliament came the marquess Pontacute, excusing himselfe, that for feare of death he declined to take king Edwards part, with excuse was accepted. When quene Margaret vnder stood by hir husbands letters, that the victorie was gotten by their friends, she with hir sonne prince Edward and hir traine entered their ships, to take their voyage into England: but the winter was so sharpe, the weather so stormie, and the wind so contrarie, that she was faine to take land againe, and to deferre hir iourne till another season.

About the same season, Jasper earle of Penbroke went into Wales, to visit his lands in Penbroke shire, where he found lord Henrie sonne to his brother Edmund earle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age; he being kept in manner like a captiue, but honorable brought up by the ladie Herbert, late wife to William earle of Penbroke, beheaded at Banburie (as ye before haue heard.) This Henrie was borne of Margaret the onelie daughter and heire of John the first duke of Summer set, then not being full ten yeares of age, the which ladie though she were after ioined in marriage with lord Henrie sonne to Humfrey duke of Buckingham, and after to Thomas Stanleie earle of Derby, both being young and apt for generation, yet she had neuer ante more children, as though she had done hir part to bring forth a man child, and the same to be a king (as he after was indeed) intituled by the name of Henrie

the seventh (as after ye shall heare.)

The earle of Penbroke took this child, being his nephew, out of the custodie of the ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the child with him to London to king Henrie the first, whome when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him: Lo, suerlie this is he, to whom both we and our aduersaries leauing the possession of all things shall hereafter giue roome and place. So this holie man shewed before the chance that should hapen, that this earle Henrie so ordeined by God, should in time to come (as he did indeed) haue and enjoy the kingdome and whole rule of this realme of England. So that it might seeme probable by the coherence of holie Hentries predictions with the issue falling out in truth with the same; that for the time he was imbued with a propheticall spirit. And suerlie the epithet or title of holie is not for naught attributed vnto him, for it is to be read in writers, that he was by nature giuen to peaceableness, abhorring blood and slaughter, detesting ciuill tumults, addicted to deuotion, he frequent in prayer, and not eschewing so highlie of courtlie gallantness as stood with the dignitie of a prince. In consideration wherof, he procured against himselfe an apostasie of his people both native and forein; who revolted and fell from fealtie. And whie? The reason is rendred by the same writer, namelie:

*Quod tales homines populus seclerator odit,
Fastidit, detestatur: non conuenit inter*

Virtutem & vitium, lucem fugere tenebra.]

The earle of Marwicke, vnderstanding that his enemy the duke of Burgognie had receiued king Edward, and meant to aid him for recouerie of the kingdome, he first sent ouer to Calis foure hundred archers on horsebacke to make warre on the dukes countries; and further, prepared foure thousand balliant men to go ouer shortly, that the duke might haue his hands euen full of trouble at home. And where ye haue heard that the erle of Marwicke was kept out of Calis at his fleeing out of England into France, ye shall note that within a quarter of an houre after it was knowne that he was returned into England; and had chased king Edward out of the realme; not onelie monsieur de Clanciere, but also all other of the garrison & towne shewed themselves to be his friends; so that the ragged staffe was taken up and woene in euerie mans cap, some wore it of gold enameled, some of silver; and he that could haue it neither of gold nor silver, had it of whitish silke or cloth: such wauering minds haue the common people, bending like a reed with euerie wind that bloweth.

The duke of Burgognie, hauing an arme ready at the same time to invade the frontiers of France, to recouer the townes of saint Quintins and Amiens, latelie by the French king taken from him, doubted to be hindered greatly by the Englishment, if he should be constrained to haue warre with them: for the duke of Burgognie held not onlie at that season Flanders, but also Bouleigne, and Wallorenois, and all Artois, so that he was thereby in danger to receiue harme out of Calis on eith side. Therefore he sent ambassadors thither, which did so much with the counsell there, that the league was netwile confirmed betwixt the realme of England and the dukes countries; onelie the name of Henrie put in the writing in stead of Edward. This matter hindered fore the sute of king Edward, daily suing to the duke for aid at his hands, the more earnestlie indeed, because of such promises as by letters were made vnto him out of England, from his assured friends there.

But duke Charles would not consent openlie to aid king Edward; but yet secretly vnder hand by others he lent vnto him fiftie thousand florens of the

The image
king Henry
the first, a
picture of
himselfe
after king
Henrie the
seventh.

Ab. Fl. ex

The ragged
staffe.

The dukes
Burgognie
sent ambassa-
dors thither
to Calis.

1471.
The duke
of Burgognie
sent
crosses
der hand.

croffe of S. Andzeu, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in the haven of de Clere, otherwile called Camphire in Zeland, which in those daies was free for all men to come vnto, and the duke hired for him fouretene ships of the Calterlings well appointed, & for the more suertie toke a bond of them to serue him trulie, till he were landed in England, and fiftene daies after. The Calterlings were glad of this tournie, trusting if he got againe the possession of England, they should the sooner come to a peace, and obtaine restitution of their liberties and franchises, which they claimed of former time to haue within this realme. The duke of Burgonie cared not much, on whose side the victorie fell, sauing for payment of his monie: for he would oft saie, that he was friend to both parties, and either part was friendlie to him.

In dad, as he was brother in law to the one, so was he of kin to the other, as by his grandmother being daughter to John of Gant duke of Lancaster. When therefore all king Edwards furniture and prouision for his tournie were once readie, hauing now with him about two thousand able men of warre, beside mariners, he entered into the ships with them, in the haven before fflishing in Zeland, vpon the second day of March: and because the wind fell not good for his purpose, he taried still aboord for the space of nine daies, before it turned meet for his tournie. But after that the wind once came about (as he wished) the sails were hoisted vp on the 11 of March being monday, & forwarde they sailed, directing their course straight ouer towards the coast of Dorsetholke. On the next day being tuesday, & the twelue of March, toward the evening, they road before Cromer, where the king sent to land sir Robert Chamberleine, with sir Gilbert Debenham knights, and diuerse other, to the end they might discover the countrie, and vnderstand how the people within the land were bent towards him, especiallie those countries there next adjoining.

Upon their returne, he vnderstood that there was no suertie for him to land in those parties, by reason of the good order which the earle of Warwike, and the earle of Desford especiallie had taken in that countrie to resist him: for not onelie the duke of Dorsetholke, but all other the gentlemen (whome the earle of Warwike had in anie suspicion) were by letters of priuie seale sent for, and either committed to safe keeping about London, or else enforced to find suertie for their loiall demeanour towards king Henrie: yet those knights and other that were thus sent forth to make inquirie, were well receiued of their friends, and had good cheare. But after the king perceiued by their report, how things stood thereabouts, he caused his ships to make course towards the north parts.

The same night following, a great storme of winds and weather rose, soze troubling the seas, and continued till the fourteenth day of that moneth being thursday, on the which day with great danger, by reason of the tempestuous rage and torment of the troubled seas, he arrived at the head of Humber, where the other ships were scattered from him, each one secured from other, so that of necessitie they were driven to land in sunder where they best might, for doubt to be cast awaie in that perillous tempest. The king with the lord Hastings his chamberleine, and other to the number of fure hundred men being in one ship, landed within Humber on Holdernesse side, at a place called Raensburgh, even in the same place where Henrie erle of Derby, after called king Henrie the fourth landed, when he came to depriue king Richard the second of the crowne, and to usurpe it to himselfe.

Richard duke of Gloucester, and three hundred men

in his companie, toke land in another place foure miles distant from thence, where his brother king Edward did land. The earle Riuers, and with him two hundred men, landed at a place called Dole, fouretene miles from the haven where the king came on land. The residue of his people landed some here some there, in place where for their suerties they thought best. On the morrow, being the fiftenth of March, now that the tempest ceased, and euerie man being got to land, they dyed from euerie of their landing places towards the king, who for the first night was lodged in a poze village, two miles from the place where he first set foot on land. As for his traine, though the season of the yere was naturallie cold, & therefore required competent refection by warmth, it is to be supposed, that all their lodgings were hard enough, with the principals prouision was sozie enough. But what of that? Better (in cases of extremite) an hard shift than none at all.]

Touching the folks of the countrie, there came few or none to him. For by the incensling of such as had bin sent into those parts from the erle of Warwike, and other his aduersaries, the people were the more induced to stand against him. But yet, in respect of the good will that manie of them had borne to his father, they could haue bene content, that he should haue inioied his right to his due inheritance of the duchie of Porke, but in no wise to the title of the crowne. And herevpon they suffered him to passe, not seeking to annoie him, till they might vnderstand more of his purposed meaning. The king, perceiuing how the people were bent, noised abroad that he came to make none other chalenge but to his inheritance of the duchie of Porke: and withall ment to passe first into the citie of Porke, and so forwarde towards London, to incounter with his aduersaries that were in the south parts.

For although his nearest waie had bene through Lincolneshire: yet because in taking that waie he must haue gone againe to the water, in passing ouer Humber, he doubted least it would haue bin thought that he had withdraue himselfe to the sea for feare. And to auoid the rumors that might haue bene spread thereof, to the hinderance of his whole cause, he refused that waie, and toke this other, still byuting it (as before we said) that his coming was not to chalenge the crowne, but onelie to be restozed vnto his fathers right and inheritance of the duchie of Porke, which was descended to him from his father. And here it seemed that the colour of iustice hath euer such a force in it selfe amongst all men, that where before few or none of the commons could be found that would offer themselves to take his part: yet now that he did (as they thought) claime nothing but that which was his right, they began straight to haue a liking of his cause.

And where there were gathered to the number of six or seuen thousand men in diuerse places, vnder the leading chiefe of a priest and of a gentleman called Martine de la Mare, in purpose to haue stopped his passage: now the same persons toke occasion to assist him. And when he perceiued mens minds to be well qualified with this feined deuise, he marched forth till he came to Benerleie, which stood in his direct waie as he passed toward Porke. He sent also to Kingston vpon Hull, distant from thence six miles, willing that he might be there receiued: but the inhabitants, who had bene laboured by his aduersaries, refused in anie wise to grant therevnto.

The earle of Warwike aduertised by messengers of king Edwards arrivall, and of his turning toward Porke, with all hast wrote to his brother the marquesse Montacute, who had laine at the castell of Pomfret all the last winter with a great number

of soldiers, willing him to consider in what case their affaires stood, and thereupon with all speed to set upon king Edward, or else to keepe the passages, and to staie him from comming anie further forward, till he himselfe as then being in Warwicke, shoulde be able to assemble an armie, might come to his aid with the same. Thus laboured the earle of Warwicke by policie and puissance, as well of his owne as others power, to further his owne purpose, hauing sworne in heart a due performance of that, which he had solemnlie vowed and promised before.

See before page 664.

But this notwithstanding, although there were great companies of people of the countries there abouts assembled, yet they came not in sight of the king, but suffered him quietly to passe; either because they were perswaded that he went (as he in outward words pretended) not to claime anie title to the crowne, but onely his right to the duchie of Yorke; or else for that they doubted to set upon him, although his number were farre vnequall to theirs; knowing that not onely he himselfe, but also his compaignie were minded to sell their liues dearelie, before they would thinke an inch from anie that was to incounter them. It maie be that diuerse of the captiues also were corrupted: and although outwardlie they shewed to be against him, yet in heart they bare him right good will, and in no wise minded to hinder him. So forward he marched, till he came to Yorke, on a monday being the eighteenth day of March.

Ed. Edward without ruse: raption possed forward to Yorke.

Thomas Coniers recorder of Yorke.

Before he came to the citie by the space of thre miles, the recorder of Yorke, whose name was Thomas Coniers (one knowne in deed not to beare him anie faithfull good will) came vnto him; & gaue him to vnderstand, that it stood in no wise with his sacerte, to presume to approach the citie: for either he should be kept out by force, or if he did enter, he shuld be in danger to be cast away by his aduersaries that were within. King Edward neuertheless, sith he was come thus farre forward, knew well enough there was no going backe for him, but manfullie to proceed forward with his begun iournie, and therefore kept on his way. And hostlie after there came to him out of the citie, Robert Clifford, and Richard Burgh, who assured him that in the quarell which he pretended to pursue, to wit, for the obtaining of his right to the duchie of Yorke, he should not faile but be receiued into the citie.

Ed. Edward somewhat to Yorke.

He receiveth an oth.

But immediatlie after came the said Coniers againe, with the like tale and information as he had brought before. And thus king Edward one while put in comfort, and another while discouraged, marched forth till he came to the gates of the citie, where his people staied; whilest he and about sixtene or seuentie other such as he thought meetest, went forth and entered the citie with the said Clifford & Burgh. And (as some write) there was a priest readie to saie masse, in which masse time the king receiued the sacrament of the communion, & there solemnlie swore to keepe and obserue two speciall articles: although it was farre unlike that he minded to obserue either of them: the one was that he should vse the citizens after a gentle and courteous maner: and the other, that he should be faithfull and obedient vnto king Henries commandments.

For this wilfull peruerie (as hath bene thought) the issue of this king suffered (for the fathers offense) the deprivation not onely of lands and worldly possessions, but also of their naturall liues, by their cruell uncle E. Richard the third. And it may well be. For it is not likelie that God, in whose hands is the bestowing of all soueraintie, will suffer such an indignitie to be done to his sacred maiestie, and will suffer the same to passe with impunity, And surely, if an oth among pinate men is religi-

ouslie to be kept, sith in the same is an exact trial of faith and honestie; doublelesse of princes it is becricicelie and preciselie to be obserued: yea they shoulde rather susteine a blemish and disgrace in their roialtie, than presume to go against their oth and promise, speciallie if the same stand upon conditions of equitie: otherwise they proue themselves to be impugn-ers of fidelitie, which is a ietwell surpassing gold in price and estimation, as the poet prudentlie saith:

Charior est auro non simulata fides.

When king Edward had thus gotten into the citie of Yorke, he made such meanes among the citizens, that he got of them a certeine summe of monie; and leauing a garison within the citie contrarie to his oth, for feare least the citizens after his departure, might happilie moue some rebellion against him, he set forward the next day toward Doncaster, a towne ten miles from thence, belonging to the earle of Northumberland. The next day he toke his waie toward Wakefield and Scendall, a castell and lordship belonging to the inheritance of the dukes of Yorke, leauing the castell of Pontefract upon his left hand, where the marques Montacute with his armie laie, and did not once offer to stop him.

The marques Montacute suffered king Edward to passe by him.

Whether the marques suffered him to passe by so, with his good will or no, diuerse haue diuerslie conceived. Some thinke that it lay not in the power of the marques grea-tille to annoyne him, both for that the king was well beloued in those parties; & againe, all the lords & commons there for the most part were towards the earle of Northumberland, and without him or his commandement they were not willing to stirre. And therefore the earle in sitting still and not moving to and fro, was thought to do king Edward as good seruice as if he had come to him, and raised people to assist him; for diuerse happilie that shoulde haue come with him, remembryng displeasures past, would not haue bene so faithfull as the earle himselfe, if it had come to the sumpe of anie hazard of battell.

About Wakefield and the parts there adioining, some compaignie of his frends came to him, whereby his power was increased; but nothing in such numbers as he looked for. From Wakefield he crossed on the left hand, to come againe into the high waie, and came to Doncaster, and from thence vnto Nottingham. Here came to him sir William Barre, and sir James Harrington, with six hundred men well armed and appointed: also there came to him sir Thomas Burgh, & sir Thomas Montgomerie with their aids, which caused him at their first comming to make proclamation in his owne name, to wit, of E. Edward the fourth, boldlie affirming to him, that they would serue no man but a king.

Ed. Edward commeth to Nottingham.

Ed. Ed.

Whilest he remained at Nottingham, and also before he came there, he sent abroad diuerse of his auant couriers to discouer the countrie, and to vnderstand if there were anie power gathered against him. Some of them that were thus sent, approached to Belwarke, and vnderstood that within the towne there, the duke of Cresser, the earle of Drenford, the lord Wardsle, and other were lodged with a great power to the number of foure thousand men, which a power it they had assembled in Essex, Suffolke, Suffolke, and in the shires of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln. The duke of Cresser, and the earle of Drenford, with other the chiefe captiues, advertised that king Edwards foreriders had bene afore the towne in the evening, supposed heretie that he and his whole armie were comming towards them.

The duke of Cresser and other were lodged with a power it they had assembled in Essex, Suffolke, Suffolke, and in the shires of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln.

Whereupon, they not thinking it good to abide longer there, determined with all speed to dislodge, and so about two of the cloche after midnight they departed from Belwarke, leauing some of their people

ple behind, which either stole away from them, and started of purpose, or could not get away so soon as their fellows. In deed the foreriders that so discouraged them within the towne of Newark, advertised the king thereof in all post haste, who incontinentlie assembled his people, and forthwith marched towards them: but before he came within three miles of the towne, he had knowledge that they were fled and gone from Newark. Whereupon he returned againe to Nottingham, intending to keepe on his next way towards the earle of Marwarke, whom he understood to be departed from London, and to be come into Marwarke shire, where in the countries adjoining he was busied in levying an armie, with the which he purposed to distress him.

The king then from Nottingham came to Leicester, where three thousand able men, and well furnished for the warre came unto him. These were such as he knew would live and die in his quarrell, the most part of them belonging unto the lord Hastings the kings chamberlaine. And thus he, being more strongly accompanied than before, departed from Leicester, and came before the walls of the citie of Coventrie, the nine and twentieth daie of March. The earle of Marwarke was withdrawne into this citie, keeping himselfe inclosed therein with his people, being in number six or seven thousand men. The king sent to him, and willed him to come forth into the field, and there to make an end of the quarrell in plaine battell: but the earle at that present refused so to do.

For although, under pretense of king Henries authority, he was reputed the kings generall lieutenant of the whole realme, whereby he had got such power together, as was thought able enough to match with the king for number; yet because he doubted how they were bent in his favour, he durst not commit the matter unto the doubtful chance of battell, till he had more of his trustie friends about him. The king therefore three daies together provoked him to come forth, but when he saw it would not be, he removed to Marwarke an eight miles from Coventrie, where he was received as king, and so made his proclamations from that time forth in all places where he came, under his accustomed name and title of king.

He lodged here at Marwarke, the rather (as was thought) to provoke the earle to issue forth of Coventrie to give him battell, hoping that despite nothing would be. But yet there came daile diverse persons on the earls behalfe to treat with the king about a peace, that some good composition might have bene concluded; & the king for the advancement of peace and tranquillitie within the realme, offered large conditions; as a free pardon of life to the earle, and all his people, with manie other benefitfull articles on their behalves, which to manie seemed verie reasonable, considering their heinous offenses. But the earle would not accept any offers, except he might have compounded so as it pleased himselfe, & as was thought in no wise to stand with the kings honour, and suertie of his estate.

In this meane while, the earle of Marwarke still looked for the duke of Clarence, who by the said earls appointment had assembled a power of men of war about London: but when the earle perceived that the duke lingered forth the time, and did not use such diligence as was requisite, as one that had bene in doubt of warre or peace, he began to suspect that the duke was of his brother corrupted, and therein he was nothing deceived. For true it is, that whilst the king was as yet beyond the seas, in the dominion of the duke of Burgognie, the duke of Clarence began to weie with himselfe the great inconvenience into

the which as well his brother king Edward, as himselfe and his younger brother the duke of Gloucester were fallen, through the dissention betwixt them: (which had bene compassed and brought to passe by the politike working of the earle of Marwarke and his compliers.)

As first the disheriting of them all from their right full title to the crowne; secondlie the mortall and detestable war that could not but insue betwixt them, to such mischance, that to whether part the victorie inclined, the victor should remaine in no more suertie of his owne person or estate after the upper hand got, than before; and thirdlie he well perceived already, that he was had in great suspicion, and not heartilie beloved of any the lords and rulers that were assured partakers with king Henrie and the Lancastrian faction: insomuch they stuck not daile to go about to breake and make both the appointments, articles, and covenants, made and promised to him, and of likelihood would daile more and more intend thereto: for in truth he saw, that they purposed nothing so much as the destruction both of him and all his blood.

All which things throughlie considered, with manie other as they were laid afore him by right wise and circumspect persons, which in this behalfe had conference with him, he consented that by some secret waies and meanes a reconciliation might be had betwixt him and his brethren, the king and the duke of Gloucester. The which to bring to some good and full effect, these honorable personages following became dealers therein. First of all the duchesse of Burke their mother, the duchesse of Gloucester, and the duchesse of Suffolke their sisters; the lord cardinal of Canturburie, the bishop of Bath, the earle of Essex; but most speciallie the duchesse of Burgognie their sister also, and diverse other right wise and prudent personages, who wrought by mediation of certeine prelates, and others, such as they used for messengers betwixt them.

Finallie, by the earnest travell and diligence shewed by the said duchesse of Burgognie (who incessantly sent to and fro such hir trustie messengers now to the king bring on that side the seas, and then to the duke remaining here in England) at length they were made friends, and a perfect agreement concluded and ratified, with assurance betwixt them so stronglie as might be. To the furthering whereof the kings chamberlaine the lord Hastings failed not to do his best, so as by his good diligence, it was thought the king was the sooner induced to wish to soine fellowes in true friendship with his said brother of Clarence. And as it well appeared, the duke of Clarence acquitted himselfe faithfullie therein.

For hearing now that his brother king Edward was landed and coming forthward towards London, he gathered his people, outwardlie pretending to passe with them to the aid of the earle of Marwarke against his brother: although inwardlie he meant the contrarie, and so accompanied with about four thousand men; he marched forth towards the place where he thought to find his brother. King Edward being then at Marwarke, and understanding that his brother of Clarence approached, in an afternoon issued forth of that towne with all his forces, and passed on till he came into a faire large field three miles distant from Marwarke towards Banburie, where he might behold his brother of Clarence in good arraie of battell, comming towards him.

When they were now within halfe a mile approached together, the king placed his people in order of battell under their baners, and so left them standing still, and appointed them to keepe their ground, whilst he taking with him his brother of Gloucester, the lord

30 prelates used for private messengers.

Edwards and his brother of Clarence reconciled uniting to the earle of Marwarke.

The dissimulation of the duke of Clarence.

Edward came to Leicester.

Coventrie of Marwarke in Coventrie.

Edward provoked the earle of Marwarke to fight.

He cometh to Marwarke.

He saileth to London.

The duke of Clarence.

The brethren
meet louinglie
together.

Buchan. in
p. 461. 33.

Kinners, the lord Hastings, & a few other, went forth to meet his brother of Clarence: and in like sort the duke of Clarence took with him a few of the nobilitie that were about him, and leaving his armie in good order, departed from them to meet the king, and so they met betwixt both the hoasts, with so sweet salutations, louing demeanour, and good countenances, as better might not be deuised betwixt brethren of so high and noble estate. What a hearts ioy was this to the people, to see such an accord and mutual at-

*Nihil charitate mutua fratrum, nihil
lucundum concordia.*

Besides this, the like friendlie intertainment, and courteous demeanour appeared in the saluting of other noble men that were on them attendant; where of all such as saw it, and loved them, greatly reioiced; giuing God thanks for that ioyfull meeting, vnitie, and concord, appearing thus manifestlie betwixt them: and herewith the trumpets and other instruments sounded, & the king withall brought the duke vnto his armie, whom he saluting in most courteous wise, welcomed them into the land; and they humbly thanking him, did to him such reuerence as appertained to the honour of such a worthy personage. This was a goodlie and a gracious reconcilment, beneficiall to the princes, profitable to the peeres, and pleasurable to the people, whose part had bene deepe in dangers and losse, if discord had not bene discontinued.

This done, the king leaving his hoast againe, keeping their ground with the same few persons which he took with him before, went with his brother of Clarence vnto his armie, and saluting them with sweete and courteous words, was so fullie of them welcomed: and so after this, they all came together toying in one. And either part shewing themselves glad thus to meet as friends with the other, they went louinglie together vnto Warwicke with the king, where and in the countie thereabouts they lodged, as they thought stood most with their ease and safeties. Herewith the duke of Clarence desired a boue all things to procure some good and perfect accord betwixt his brother the king, and the earle of Warwicke.

In this was he the more studious, because he saw that such an accord should bring great quietnesse to the land, and deliuer the common-wealth of manie dangers that might insue by reason of such numbers of partakers, as well lords as other that were confederat with the earle. The said duke treated with the king present, and sent messengers vnto Countie to the earle, mouing as well the one as the other most instantlie to frame their minds vnto a pacification. The king at the instance of his brother was contented to offer large conditions, and verie beneficiall for the earle and his partakers; if they would haue accepted them.

But the earle, whether vtterlie despairing of his owne safetie, if he should agree to any peace; or else hapilie for that he thought it stood with his honour to stand vnto such promises and covenants as he had made with the French king, and with the queene Margaret, and his sonne prince Edward (to whom he was bound by oth not to thinke or sparue from the same) he refused all manner of such conditions as were offered. Insomuch that when the duke had sent to him, both to excuse himselfe of the same which he had done, and also to require him to take some good waie with king Edward, now while he might, the earle (after he had patientlie heard the dukes message) he seemed greatly to abhorre his vnfaithfull dealing, in

turning thus from his confederats and allies, contrary to his oth and fidelitie.

To the messengers (as some write) he gave none other answer but this, that he had rather be like himselfe, than like a false and pertured duke; and that he was fullie determined neuer to leaue warre, and that he had either lost his owne life, or vtterlie subdued his enemies. As it was thought, the earle of Wrenfords persuasion wanted not, to make him the more listlie to hold out; and rather to trie the bittermost hazard of warre, than to agree to acknowledge king Edward for his lawfull soueraigne lord and king. Whereupon no appointment nor any agreement at all could be brought to passe; and so all that treatie, which the duke of Clarence had procured, brake off & took none effect. There came to the earle of Warwicke, whilste he lay thus at Countie (besides the earle of Wrenfords) the duke of Gloucester, and the lord marquisse Montacute, by whose coming that side was greatly strengthened, and the number much increased.

The king, vpon consideration hereof, and perceiving he could not get the earle to come forth of Countie, departed from Warwicke, and estones shewing himselfe with his people before the cite of Countie, desired the earle and his power to come forth into the fields, that they might end their quarrell by battell: which the earle and the other lords with him vtterlie refused as then to do. This was the first of April being fridaie. The king hereupon was resolved to march towards London, where his principall aduersarie king Henrie remained, vnder his kinglie authoritie by diuerse such of the nobilitie as were about him, whereby king Edward was barred and disappointed of manie aids and assistants, which he was sure to haue, if he could once breake that force of the roiall authoritie, that was still thus exercised against him in king Henries name.

Wherefore (by the aduise of his brethren and others of his counsell) accordingly as it had bene ordeined before this his last setting forth from Warwicke, he kept on his waie towards London, coming to Dancie on the saturday at night: & on the morow being Palmesunday, he heard seruice in the church there, & after rode to Portsmouth, where he was so fullie receiued. From thence he took the next way towards London, leaving continually behind him (as he passed forth) a competent band of speares and archers, to beat backe such of the earle of Warwicks people, as peradventure he might send abroad to trouble him and his armie by the waie. Which providence and foresight he thought it not vnneccessarie to vse; for that he knew well enough, that the heart of an enemy, sitting in the fire of hatefull possilitie, will pretermitt no oportunitie either of time or place to lay in wait for his destruction, against whom he beareth an inward grudge, with a desire of vengeance to the death.

In this meane while, that things passed in manner (as before ye haue hard) Edmund duke of Summerset, & his brother John marquisse Dorset, Thomas Courtenie earle of Deuonshire, and others being at London, had knowledge by aduertisements out of France, that queene Margaret with hir sonne prince Edward, the countesse of Warwicke, the prior of St. Johns, the lord Wenlocke, and diuerse others their adherents and partakers, with all that they might make, were ready at the sea side, purposing with all speed to saile over into England, and to arrive in the west countie. Whereupon they departed forth of London, and with all hast possible betwixt westward, there to raise what forces they could, to ioyne with those their friends, immediatlie after they should once come on land, and so to assist them against king Edward.

The duke of
Clarence see-
keth to make
peace betwixt
the king and
the earle of
Warwicke.

Edward and his partakers.

True it is, that the queene with hir sonne, and the other persons before mentioned, took their ships, the foure and twentieth daie of March, continuing on the seas before they could land (thorough tempests and contrarie winds) by the space of twentie daies, that is, till the thirtieth of Aprill: on which daie, or rather on the fourteenth, they landed at Welmouth, as after shall appeare. But now touching king Edwards proceeding forward on his iourne toward London, ye haue to vnderstand, that vpon the tuesdaye the ninth of Aprill he came to saint Albons, from whence he sent comfortable aduertisements to the queene his wife remaining within the sanctuarie at Westminister, and to others his faithfull friends in and about London, to vnderstand by couert meanes how to deale to obtaine the fauour of the citizens, so as he might be of them receiued.

The earle of Warwike, vnderstanding all his doings and purposes, wrote to the Londoners, willing & charging them in anie wise to keepe king Edward out of their citie, and in no condition to permit him to enter: and withall he sent to his brother the archbishop of Poike, willing him by all meanes possible to perswade the Londoners not to receiue him; but to defend the citie against him for the space of two or thre daies at the least: promising not to faile but to come after him, and to be ready to assaile him on the backe, not doubting but wholie to distresse his power and to bring him to utter confusion. The archbishop hereupon, on the ninth of Aprill, called vnto him at Paules, all such lords, knights, and gentlemen, with others that were partakers on that side, to the number in all of six or seauen thousand men in armour.

Here with also he caused king Henrie to mount on horsebacke, and to ride from Paules thorough Cheape downe to Walbrooke, & so to fetch a compasse (as the custome was when they made their generall processions) returning backe againe to Paules vnto the bishops palace, where at that time he was lodged. The archbishop supposed, that shewing the king thus riding thorough the streets, he should haue allured the citizens to assist his part. True it is, the mayor & aldermen had caused the gates to be kept with watch and ward: but now they well perceiued that king Henries power was too weake, as by that he wot it had well appeared, to make full resistance against king Edward, and so not for them to trust vnto, if king Edward came forward, and should attempt to enter the citie by force: for it was not vnknewen vnto them, that manie of the worshipfull citizens, and others of the commons in great numbers, were fullie bent to aid king Edward, in all that they might, as occasion serued.

Thus, that thorough loue that manie bare to king Edward, and that thorough feare that diuerse stood in, least the citie being taken by force might hapilie haue bene put to the sacke; with the losse of manie an innocent mans life; the mayor, aldermen, and others the worshipfull of the citie fell at a point among themselves, to keepe the citie to R. Edwards use, so as he might haue free passage and entrie into the same at his pleasure. The archbishop of Poike, perceiuing the affections of the people, and how the most part of them were now bent in fauour of king Edward vpon the said kings approach toward the citie, he sent forth secretlie a messenger to him, beseeching him to receiue him againe into his fauour, promising to be faithfull to him in time to come, and to acquit this good tunc hereafter with some singular benefit and pleasure.

The king, vpon good causes and considerations shew vnto him mouing, was contented to receiue him againe into his fauour. The archbishop hereof

assured, reioiced greatlie, well & tralie acquitting him concerning his promise made to the king in that behalfe. The same night following was the Tower of London recouered to king Edwards use. And on the morow being thursdaie, and the eleuenth of Aprill, king Edward quietlie made his entrie into the citie with his power, hauing five hundred smoke gunners marching foremost, being strangers, of such as he had brought ouer with him. He first rode vnto Paules church, & from thence he went to the bishops palace, where the archbishop of Poike presented himselfe vnto him, and hauing king Henrie by the hand, deliuered him vnto king Edward, who being seized of his person, and diuerse other his aduersaries, he went from Paules to Westminister, where he made his deuout prayers, giving God most heartie thanks for his safe returne thither againe.

This done, he went to the queene to comfort hir, who with great patience had abidden there a long time, as a sanctuarie woman, for doubt of hir enemies; and in the meane season was deliuered of a yong prince, whome she now presented vnto him, to his great hearts reioicing & comfort. From Westminister the king returned that night vnto London againe, hauing the queene with him, and lodged in the house of the duchesse his mother. On the morow being good fridaie, he took aduise with the lords of his blood, and other of his counsell, for such businesse as he had in hand; namelie, how to subdue his enemies as sought his destruction. Thus with consultation preventing his actions, he obtained fortunate successe, wherewith his hart was the more aduanced to soine issue with his aduersaries, whome (rather than they should triumph ouer him) he was resolute minded to banquish, if his proceedings might proue prosperous as his present good lucke.

The earle of Warwike, calling himselfe lieutenant of England, vnder the pretended authoritie of king Henrie, hoping that king Edward should haue much ado to enter into London, marched forth from Couentrie with all his puissance, following the king by Rotherhampton, in hope to haue some great advantage to assaile him, speciallie if the Londoners kept him out of their citie, as he trusted they would; for then he accounted himselfe sure of the vpper hand: or if he were of them receiued, yet he hoped to find him vnprepared in celebrating the feast of Easter; and so by setting vpon him on the sudden, he doubted not by that meanes to distresse him. But king Edward, hauing intelligence of the earles intention, prouided all things necessarie for battell; & hearing that the earle of Warwike was now come vnto S. Albons with his armie, he determined to march forth to encounter him before he should approach nere the citie.

The earle of Warwike, accompanied with John duke of Gloucester, Edmund duke of Somerset, John earle of Arford, and John Nevill marquisse Montacute his brother, vnderstanding that king Edward was not onelie receiued into London, but also had got king Henrie into his hands, perceiued that the trial of the matter must needs be committed to the hazard of battell; and therefore being come to the towne of saint Albons, he rested there a while, partlie to refresh his souldiers, and partlie to take counsell how to proceed in his enterprisse. At length, although he knew that his brother the marquisse Montacute was not fullie well perswaded with himselfe, to like of this quarrell which they had in hand; yet the brotherlie affection betwixt them took auaile all suspicion from the earle, and so he utterly resolved to giue battell, meaning to trie thereto all this tumult would grow; and counting it a blemish to his honour, not to prosecute that with the sword, which he had so

The Tower
recouered to
king Edwards
use.
R. Edward
entereth into
London.

King Henrie
is deliuered
to him.

The arch-
bishop of
Poike.

King Henrie
leaveth him-
selfe to the
Londoners.

The earle of
Warwike fol-
loweth the
king.

The London-
ers resolue
to receiue
king Ed-
ward.
The arch-
bishop of Poike.

Edw. Hall.

learneth

lemnelie tolced to do on his word.]

Herupon remoued they towards Barnet, a towne standing in the midwaile betwixt London and saint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards saint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmoze heath. On the further side of which plaine towards saint Albons the earle pight his campe. King Edward on the other part, being furnished with a mightie armie (hauing ioined to that power which he brought with him certaine new supplies) vpon Easter euen the thirteenth of Aprill in the after none marched forth, hauing his said armie diuided into foure battels. He took with him king Henrie, and came that euening into Barnet, ten small miles distant from London; in which towne his foreriders finding certeine of the earle of Marlowes foreriders, beat them out, & chased them somewhat further than halfe a mile from the towne, where, by an hedge side they found readie assembled a great number of the earle of Marlowes people.

The king after this comming to Barnet, would not suffer a man to remaine in the towne (that were of his host) but commanded them all to the field, and with them drew toward his enemies, and lodged with his armie more nere to them than he was aware of, by reason it was darke, so as he could not well discern where they were incamped, fortifying the field the best he could for feare of some sudden inuasion. He took his ground not so euen asore them as he would haue done, if he might haue discovered the place where they had lien; and by reason thereof he incamped somewhat aside slips of them, causing his people to keepe as much silence as was possible, least making anie noise with the busseling of their armour and weapons or otherwise with their tongues, the enimie might haue come to some knowledge of the kings priuie purpose, and so by preuention haue disappointed his policie by some ppointment deuise; which because they wanted for the present time, it turned to their disadvantage; after the old prouerbe:

Nescit prodesse qui nescit prouidem esse.

Artillerie.

They had great artillerie on both parts, but the earle was better furnished therewith than the king, and therefore in the night time they shot off from his campe in maner continuallie; but doing little hurt to the kings people, still overshooting them, by reason they late much nere than the earle or anie of his men did esteeme. And such silence was kept in the kings campe, that no noise betrayed them where they late. For to the end it should not be knowne to the enemies, how nere the king with his armie was lodged vnto them, the king would not suffer anie of his gunnes in all that night to be shot off, least thereby they might haue gessed the ground, and so leuelled their artillerie to his annoyance.

A good policie.

Certaine on the next morning betwixt foure and fise of the clocke, notwithstanding there was a great mist that letted the sight of both parts to discover the fields, the king aduanced his banners, and caused his trumpets to sound to the battell. On the other part, the earle of Marlowe, at the berie beake of the date, had likewise set his men in order of battell in this maner. In the right wing he placed the marquisse Montacute, and the earle of Driford with certeine horsemen, and he with the duke of Excester took the left wing. And in the middle betwene both, he set archers, appointing the duke of Summery set to guide them as their chiefeine. King Edward had set the duke of Gloucester in the foreward. The middleward he himselfe with the duke of Clarence, hauing with them king Henrie, did rule & gouerne. The lord Hastings led the reereward, and beside these three battels, he kept a companie of fresh men in store, which did him great pleasure before the end of

Gladmoze heath.

The ordering of the kings armie.

A. Edward lodged before his enemies.

Edw. Hall.

The order of the battell of both sides.

the battell.

Here is to be remembred, that aswell the king on his part, as the earle of Marlowe on his, used manie comfortable wordes to incourage their people, not forgetting to set forth their quarrels as iust and lawfull; the king naming his aduersaries traitors and rebels, & the earle accounting him a tyrant, & an inuicious usurper. But when the time came that they once got sight either of other, the battell began berie sharpe and cruell, first with shot, and after by ioining at hand blowes. Yet at the first they ioined not front to front, as they should haue done, by reason of the mist that took awaie the sight of either armie, and suffered the one not to discern perfectly the order of the other; insomuch that the one end of the earle of Marlowes armie ouerrought the contrarie end of the kings battell which stood westward, and by reason thereof (through the valiance of the earle of Driford that led the earles toward) the kings people on that part were ouermatched, so that manie of them fled towards Barnet, and so to London, bringing newes that the earle of Marlowe had twone the field.

[Which report happilie might haue bene sufficed and fallen out to be true, had not preposterous fortune happened to the earle of Driford and his men, who had a sharre with streames on their lieries; as king Edwards men had the sunne with streames on their lieries: wherevpon the earle of Marlowes men, by reason of the mist not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the earle of Drifords men that were on their owne part, and then the earle of Driford and his men cried treason, and fled with eight hundred men.]

But touching the kings people which were pursued in the chase as they fled, and were put to the worst, manie were wounded, and manie slaine outright. But the residue of those that fought in other parts could not perceiue this distresse of the kings people, because the thicke mist would not suffer them to see anie space farre off, but onlie at hand; and so the kings battell that saw not anie thing what was done beside them, was nothing discouraged. For (a few excepted that stood next to that part) there was not anie one that wist of that discomfiture; and the other of the earle of Marlowes men, that fought in other places somewhat distant from them, were nothing the more incouraged by this prosperous successe of their fellows, for they perceiued it not. And in like case as at the west end the earles battell ouer-reached the kings, so at the east end the kings over-reached the earle, and with like successe put the earles people in that place to the worst.

At length after sore fight, and greater slaughter made on both sides, king Edward hauing the greater number of men (as some write, though other ascribe the contrarie) began somewhat to preuaile; but the earle on the other side remembryng his ancient fame and renowne, manfully stricke to it, and incouraged his people, still supplieng with new successe in places where he saw expedient, and so the fight renewed more cruell, fierce, & bloodie than before, insomuch that the victorie remained still doubtfull, though they had fought from morning till it was now far in the date. As Edward therefore willing to make an end of so long a conflict, caused new power of fresh men (which he had for this purpose kept in store) to set on his enemies.

The earle of Marlowe was nothing abashed herewith, but understanding that this was all the residue of king Edwards power, comforted his men to beare out this last brunt, and in so doing the victorie was sure on their side, and the battell at an end: but king Edward so manfully and valiantly assailed his aduersaries, in the middle and strongest part

The valiance of the earle of Driford.

Abt. Fl. l. 13. pag. 77.

The much courage of the earle of Marlowe.

of their battell, that with great violence he bare
downe all that stood in his waie; for he was followed
and assisted by a number of most hardie and faithfull
men of warre, that shewed notable proofe of tried
manhood in that instant necessitie. The earle of
Warwicke (when his souldiers all wearied with long
fight, and soe weakened with woundes and hurts re-
ceived in the battell) gaue little heed to his words (be-
ing a man of an invincible stomack) rushed into the
middell of his enemies, whereas he (aduenturing so
farre from his companie, to kill and slea his aduersa-
ries, that he could not be rescued) was amongst the
preasse of his enemies stricken downe and slaine.

The marquesse Montacute, thinking to succour
his brother, was likewise overthowne and slaine,
with manie other of good calling, as knights and es-
quiers, beside other gentlemen. [But some saie that
the said marquesse, having agreed priuillie with king
Edward, did weare his luerie, whome one of his
brother the earle of Warwicks men espieing, fell vpon
him and killed him outright.] Some write that
this battell was so diuinen to the bittermost point, that
king Edward was constrained to fight in his owne
person, and that the earle of Warwicke, which was
wont neuer to ride on horsebacke from place to place,
and from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was
now aduised by the marquesse his brother, to leaue
his horse, and to trie the extremitie by hand strokes,
[which may be probable & likelie.] But by the report of
some it seemeth that he was not slaine in the heat of
the conflict, amongst the rout of the fighting men, but
afterwards in this sort. For when he saw the kings
power preuaile and his owne soe impaired and past
hope of good speed, with the slaughter of his adhe-
rents (gentlemen of name) and himselfe in the verie
mouth of the enimie in possibilitie to be deuoured, he
lept vpon a horse to flee, and comming into a wood
there was no passage, one of king Edwards men
came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked
skin. Sir William Tirrell knight was killed on the
earle of Warwicks part.]

On both parties were slaine (as Ed. Hall saith) ten
thousand at the least, where Fabian saith but fiftene
hundred and somewhat aboue. Other write that there
died in all about thre thousand. Upon the kings part
were slaine, the lord Crumwell, the lord Saie, the
lord Mortimers sonne and heire, sir Humfre Bour-
cher sonne to the lord Berners, and diuerse other
knights, esquiers, and gentlemen. The battell indu-
ced the space of thre hours verie doubtfull by reason
of the mid, and in skirmishing and fighting, now in
this place, now in that, but finallie the victorie fell on
the kings side; and yet it could not be esteemed that
his whole armie passed nine thousand fighting men
(as some write) where his aduersaries (as by the same
writers appeareth) were farre aboue that number.
But because those that so write, same altogether to
saue king Edward, we maie beleue as we list.

The duke of Summerfet, and the earle of Orford
fled in companie of certeine northerne men, which
had bene at the battell; and (as some write) the earle
of Orford kept forth with them, and retired after in-
to Scotland. But yet as well the duke of Summer-
fet, as the said earle of Orford, in fleeing toward
Scotland, changed their purpose vpon the waie, and
turned into Wales to Jasper earle of Penbroike.
The duke of Crecier being stricken downe and sore
wounded, was left for dead in the field, amongst o-
ther the dead bodies, because he was not knowne,
and by reason the reof comming to himselfe, got vp,
and in great danger escaped vnto Westminster, and
there toke sanctuary. [But some say, that after he
had lien in the field, spoiled, wounded, and (to see to)
bed of life, from seven of the clocke in the morning,

till foure at after none, he was caried to a seruants
house of his there by (named Ruthland) where (after
his woundes were seached and dressed by a surgian)
he was conueied into Westminster sanctuarie.]

King Edward hauing got this victorie, refreshing
himselfe and his people a while at Barnet, returned
the same date vnto London, like a triumphant con-
queroz, leading with him king Henrie as a captiue
prisoner: & so making a solemne entrie at the church
of saint Paule, affred his standard. The dead bodies
of the earle and marques were brought to London
in a coffin, & before they were buried, by the space of
thre daies late open visaged in the cathedrall church
of S. Paule, to the intent that all men might easilie
perceiue, that they vnfaineable were dead. The com-
mon byrte ran, that the king was not so ialous of the
erles death, as sorrowfull for the losse of the marques,
whom he full well knew (and no lesse was euident to
other) to be his faithfull friend and well-willer; for
whose onelie sake, he caused both their bodies to be
buried with their ancestors in the priorie of William.

On the tuesdaie in Easter weeke came know-
ledge to king Edward, that quene Margaret the
wife of king Henrie, with hir sonne prince Edward
was landed vpon Easter day at Weimouth in Dor-
setshire, accompanied with John Longbrother prioz
of saint Johns, commonlie called lord treasurer of
England, who went ouer into France to fetch them:
also the lord Wenlocke, a man made onelie by king
Edward, beside diuerse other knights and esquiers,
of whome part had bene long forth of the realme,
and part newlie gone ouer thither to them, in com-
panie of the lord treasurer. They toke their ships at
Hunslue, the foure and twentieth of March (as before
you haue heard) but through contrarie winds and
tempests, they were diuinen backe, and constrained to
abide for conuenient wind.

Now, although it came sometimes about fit
for their purpose, yet it continued not long in that
end; so as if there vpon they toke the sea at anie time,
they were forced to returne backe againe to land per
they could passe halfe the way ouer. And thus being
diuerse times vnder saille, in hope to passe the seas hi-
ther into England, they were still diuinen backe a-
gaine, till the thirtenth of Aprill being Easter euen;
on which day the wind comming fauorable about,
they toke the seas, and sailed forward towards this
land. The countesse of Warwicke, hauing a ship of ad-
uantage, arriued before the other at Portesmouth,
and from thence she went to Southampton, mea-
ning to haue gone to Weimouth, where she under-
stood that the quene was landed: but here had she
knowledge of the losse of Barnet field, and that hir
husband was there slaine. Wherevpon she went no
further towards the quene, but secretlie got hir ouer
the water into the new forrest, and toke sanctuary
within the abbie of Beaulieu.

Quene Margaret, and hir sonne prince Edward,
with the other that landed at Weimouth, went from
thence to an abbie nere by called Cerne. Thither
came vnto them Edmund duke of Summerfet, and
Thomas Courtmeie earle of Denonshire, with o-
thers, and welcommed them into England, comfort-
ing the quene in the best manner they could, and wil-
led hir not to despaire of god successe; for albeit they
had lost one field (whereof the quene had knowledge
the same day being mondaie in easter weeke, the fif-
teenth of Aprill, and was therefore right sorrowfull)
yet they doubted not but to assemble such a puissance
(and that verie shortly) forth of diuerse parts of the
realme, as being faithfull, and wholie bent to spend
their liues, and shed the best blond in their bodies for
hir sake, & hir sonnes, it should be hard for king Ed-
ward to resist them with all the power he had or
could

Edw Hall.

Quene Mar-
garet landed
with a power
out of France

The countesse
of warwicke
toke sanctuary

The duke of
Summerfet,
and the earle
of Denonshire
comfort quene
Margaret.

Edw. Hall.

The feare
which quene
Elizabeth
had for hir
sonne.

could make.

The presence of these noble men greatly comforted him, and relieved him of the sorowes that in manner overwhelmed his penitence heart: for he doubted for the end of all these proceedings, the which they concluded to follow upon the advancement of him and his. Speciallie it misgaue him, that some euill should chance to his sonne prince Edward, for he greatly feared not of his owne perill (as he himselfe confessed) and therefore he would gladly haue had them either to haue deferred the battell till a more conuenient time: or else that his sonne might haue bene conveyed ouer into France againe, there to haue remained in safetie, till the chance of the next battell were tried: but they being of a contrarie mind, and namelie the duke of Somerset, he at length consented vnto that which they were resolved vpon.

Thus euery man being bent to battell, gathered his power by himselfe, first in Summersetshire, Dorsetshire, and part of Wilshire, and after in Devonshire and Cornwall. For the better incouraging of which countries to ioine with them in their quarrell, they repaired to Excester. Here they sent for sir John Arundell, and sir Hugh Courtenie, and manie other in whom they had any confidence. To be short, they wrought so, that they raised the whole powers of Cornwall and Devonshire, and with a great armie departing forth of Excester, they took the right waie to Claffenburie, and from thence to Bath, raising the people in all parts where they came: for those countries had bene so laboured, first by the earle of Marwick, and after by the duke of Somerset, and the earle of Devonshire (which two noble men were reckoned as old inheritors of the same countries) that the people feared there greatly inclined to the fauor of king Henrie.

King Edward, being at London, was daily aduertised by faithfull espials of all the doings of his aduersaries, and was in no small agonie, because he could not learne what waie his enemies ment to take: for he purposed to encounter them in one place or other, before they should approach nere to London. And vpon such resolution, with such an armie as he had got about London, furnished with all artillerie and other provisions necessarie, he set forward the nineteenth of Aprill, and came to Windsor, where he staid a season, as well to celebrate the feast of saint George, as to abide the coming of such bands as he had appointed to repaire thither vnto him, making there his generall assemblie.

The enemies to make him the more, sent forth their foreriders vnto sundrie townes, both aswell to raise people in the countries about, as to make the king beleue that their purpose was to passe those waies, where they ment not once to come. And here vpon when they departed from Excester, they sent first their foreriders straight to Shaftesburie, and after to Salisbury, and then they took the straight waie to Taunton, Claffenburie, and after to Wells, where houerling about in the countrie, they sent another time their foreriders to a towne called Puell, and to Winton, as if their meaning had bene to draw towards Reading, and so through Warkeshire, and Dorsetshire to haue marched straight to London, or else to haue set vpon the king at some aduantage, if it were offered.

But king Edward, considering aduisedly of the matter, perceived well that they being in an angle of the realme, if they ment to go to London, they must either hold the straight waie forth by Salisbury, or else drawing by to the sea side, passe along through Hampshire, Sussex and Kent; or happlie if they mistrusted their owne strengths, as not able to

match with his puissance, they would then slip on the left hand, and draw towards Cheshire, and Lancashire, there to increase their forces, and peradventure by the waie to ioine with a power of Welshmen, vnder the leading of Jasper earle of Penbrooke, who had bene sent into Wales long agoe, to frame and put in a readines the people there to assist king Henries friends at their coming thitherwards. And such was there purpose in deed, for they had great confidence in such aid, as they trusted to haue of the Cheshire and Lancashire men.

King Edward, meaning to approach nere vnto them, that he might the sooner make waie to stop them of their passage, on which hand sooner they drew, departed from Windsor the morrow after saint Georges day, being the foure and twentieth day of Aprill, keeping forth his iourne, till on saturday the twentieth and seventh of Aprill he came to Abington, where he laie sundrie all daie. On mondaie he marched forward to Chichester, where he had sent aduertisement, that they intended to be at Bath the next daie being tuesday, and on wednesday to come forward to giue him battell. Where vpon king Edward, desirous to see his people in order of battell, drew them forth of the towne, and incamped in the field three miles distant from thence, still busying himselfe about his necessarie affaires, allowing no time to idleness or loitering: for he knew that there was no waie more expedite and readie to tire him in trauell, than to be giuen to negligence and slouth, the two wearers of well doing, as the old saying is:

Desidia pressus erit in studio citosessus.

On the morrow, hearing no certaintie of their coming forward, he marched to Spalnesburie, still seeking to encounter them: but here he had knowledge, that they hauing changed their purpose, meant not to giue him battell; and therefore were turned aside, and gone to Wiltshire, where they were received, releued, and well refreshed by such as fauoured their cause, as well with vittels, men, and monie, as good store of artillerie. Where vpon they were so encouraged, that the thursdaie after they took the field againe, purposing to giue king Edward battell indeed; and for the same intent had sent their foreriders to a towne, distant from Wiltshire nine miles, called Sudburie, appointing a ground for their field, a mile from the same towne, toward the kings campe, called Sudburie hill.

The king hereof aduertised, the same thursdaie, being the first of Maie, with his armie faire ranged in order of battell, came towards the place by them appointed for their field: but they came not there. For hearing that king Edward did thus approach, vpon a new change of resolution, they left that waie: albeit some of their herbingers were come as farre as Sudburie towne, and there surprised five or six of the kings partie, which were rashly entred that towne, attending onelie to prouide lodgings for their masters. The lords thus hauing estones changed their purpose, not meaning as yet to fight with the king, directed their waie straight towards Berkeley, travelling all that night. From Berkeley they marched forward towards Gloucester.

The king in the meane time, on the thursdaie in the after none, came to the same ground called Sudburie hill, and there staid a certaine space, sending forth scowlers, to hearken what they might understand of the enemies, whom he took to be somewhere at hand. But when he could not heare any certaintie of them, he advanced forward, logging his bant-gard in a ballie beyond the hill, towards the towne of Sudburie, and laie himselfe (with the residue of his people) at the same place, called Sudburie hill. About three of the clocke after midnigh, he was aduertised

It Edward
set forth for
ward against
his enemies.

advertised, that his enemies had taken their waie by Berkeley, towards Gloucester. Whereupon, taking aduise of his counsell what was best to do, he was counsell'd to send some of his seruants with all speed vnto Gloucester, to Richard Beauchampe, sonne and heire to the lord Beauchampe of Powike, to whome he had (before this present) committed the rule and custodie of the towne and castell of Gloucester.

The king sent therefore with all speed vnto him, commanding him to do his best to defend the towne and castell against his enemies, if they came to assaile the same, as it was supposed they intended: and if they so did, he promised to come with his whole armie presentlie to the rescue. The messengers did their diligence, and so being sofallie receiued into Gloucester, the towne and castell, by the vigilant regard of the said Richard Beauchampe, was put in safe keeping. And this message was done in good time, for true it is, there were diuerse in the towne, that could haue bene well contented that the queene, and the lords with hir, should haue bene receiued there, and would haue aduentured to haue brought it to passe, if they had not bene thus prevented.

Againe, the queene and the lords with hir had good intelligence, with diuerse in the towne, so as they were put in great hope to haue entred the same: where vpon they trauelled their people right soe all that night and morning, comming before the towne of Gloucester vpon the fridaie about ten of the clocke. And when they perceiued that they were disappointed of their purpose, and their entrie flatlie denied, they were higlye therewith displeased; for they knew verie well, that diuerse within the towne bare their good willes towards them: but after they had vied certeine menacing braueries, and made a shew as if they had meant to assalt the gates and walles, & so to haue entred by force, they departed their waies, marching with all speed possible towards Tewkesburie.

Gloucester, where was assembled,

It might be marvelled at, whie they attempted not the winning of Gloucester indeed, considering the friends which they knew they had within it. But the cause which moued them chaslie to forbear, was, for that as well they without, as the other with in the towne, knew that king Edward approached at hand, and was readie to set vpon them on the backs, if they had once begun to haue assaulted the towne; and so, neither they within the towne that were the kings friends doubted the enemies forces, nor the enemye indeed durst attempt anye such enterprise against them. About foure of the clocke in the afternone, they came to Tewkesburie, hauing trauelled that night last past, and that daie, six and thirtie long miles, in a foule countrie, all in lanes and stonie waies, betwixt woods, without anye good refreshing, so that as well the men as the horses were right wearie.

Along march,

And where the more part of their armie consisted of footmen, the capteins could not haue gone anye further, except they would haue left their footmen behind them, and so of necessitie they were drun to staie there, determining to abide the aduenture that God would send them. For well they knew that the king followed them verie nere at hand, so as if they should haue gone further, and left the most part of their companie behind, as it could not otherwise haue chanced, he would haue bene readie to haue taken the aduantage wholie, so to distresse them. Wherevpon they pight their field in a close, euen hard at the townes end, hauing the towne and the abbeie at their backes, and directlie before them, and vpon each side of them, they were defended with cumbersome lanes, deepe ditches, and manie hedges, beside hills and dales, so as the place seemed as noisome as

The king came to Gloucester,

might be to approach vnto.

The king on this fridaie, verie erlie in the morning, aduanced his standards, and in good order of battell hauing diuided his armie into thre wards, marched through the plaines of Cotteswold. The daie was verie hot, and hauing in his armie about thre thousand footmen, he trauelled with them and the residue thirtie miles and more. By all which waie, they could find neither horsemeat, nor mans meat, no not so much as water for their horses, except one little brooke, of the which they receiued no great reliefe; for that with the horses and carriages that passed thorough it, the water became so troubled, that it serued them to no vse: and still all that daie king Edward with his armie was within five or six miles of his enemies, he in the plaine countrie, and they among the woods.

The painfull march of king Edward with his armie.

King Edward had euer good espials, to aduertise him still what his enemies did, and which waie they toke. At length he came with all his armie vnto a village called Chiltonham, like a five miles distant from Tewkesburie, where he had certeine knowledge that his enemies were alreadye come to Tewkesburie, and were incamped there, purposing to abide him in that place, and to deliuer him battell. King Edward therevpon made no long delaie, but toke a little resceiue himselfe, and caused his people to do the like, with such prouision of vittels as he had appointed to be conueied forth with him for the reliefe of himselfe and his armie. This done, he set forth ward towards his enemies, and lodged that night in a field not past thre miles distant from them.

Chiltonham

On the morrow being saturday, and fourth of Maie, he drey towards his enemies, and marshalled his armie, diuided into thre battells in this sort. He put his brother the duke of Gloucester in the foreward, and himselfe in the middle-ward. The lord Sparques, and the lord Hastings led the reere-ward. Wherevpon he approached the enemies campe, which was right hard to be assailed, by reason of the deepe ditches, hedges, trees, bushes, and cumbersome lanes, wherevith the same was fenced, both a front, and on the sides, so as the king could not well approach them to anye aduantage: and to be the better in a readinesse to beat backe the kings power, when he should come to assault them, they were imbattelled in this order.

The ordering of king Edwards battell,

The duke of Summerfet, and his brother the lord John of Summerfet led the fore-ward. The middle-ward was gouerned by the prince, vnder the conduct of the lord of saint John, and the lord Wenlocke (whome king Edward had aduanced to the degree of a baron.) The reere-ward was appointed to the rule of the earle of Deuonshire. Thus may ye perceiue, that king Edward was put to his shifts, how (to anye aduantage) to assaile his enemies.ouertheless, he being wel furnished with great artillerie, the same was aptlie lodged to annoie the enemies, that they receiued great damage thereby; and the duke of Gloucester, who lacked no policie, galled them greuouslie with the shot of arrowes: and they rewarded their aduersaries home againe with like paiement, both with shot of arrowes, and great artillerie, although they had not the like plentie of guns as the king had. The passages were so cumbersome, that it was not possible to come vpon anye euen hand, to ioint at handblowes.

The ordering of the lords host.

The duke of Gloucester.

Tewkesburie field.

The duke of Gloucester, vpon a politike purpose (as some haue written) recoiled backe with all his companie, which when the duke of Summerfet perceived, either moued therewith; or else bicause he was so sore annoied with the shot in that place where he and his fore-ward stood, like a knight more courageous than circumspect, came out of his strength with his whole battell, and aduanced himselfe somewhat

The duke of Summerfet.

what asides slips the kings bolward, and by certeine passages aforehand, and for that purpose prouided (to the kings part, although unknowne) he passed a lane, and came into a faire open close right before the king, where he was imbattelled, not doubting but the prince and the lord Wenlocke, with the middle-ward, had followed iust at his backe. But whether the lord Wenlocke dissembled the matter for king Edwards sake, or whether his hart serued him not, still he stood, and gaue the looking on.

Edw. Hall.

The king, or (as other haue) the duke of Gloucester, taking the aduantage that he aduentured for, turned againe face to face vnto the duke of Summerfet his battell, and winning the hedge and ditch of him, entred the close, and with great violence put him and his people vp towards the hill from whence they were descended. Where is to be noted, that when the king was come before his enemies, yet he gaue the onset, he perceived that vpon the right hand of their campe there was a parke, and much store of wood growing therein; and doubting least his aduersaries had laid an ambush within that wood, he chose forth of his companies two hundred speares, commanding them to keepe a file, like a quarter of a mile from the field, to attend vpon that corner of the wood out of the which the ambush, if anye were, was to issue, and to incounter with them, as occasion serued: but if they perceived that there was no ambush at all, then to imploie their seruice as they should see it expedient and behouefull for the time.

The politike foresight of the king.

This politike prouision for danger that might haue ensued (although there was none that waite forth) serued yet before the end of the battell, to great good purpose. For when those speares perfectlie vnderstood that there was no ambush within the wood, and withall saw conuenient time to imploie themselves, they came and brake with full randon vpon the duke of Summerfet and his bolward a flanke, in so violent wise vpon the sudden, that where they had before mough to doe with those with whom they were first matched, now with this new charge giuen on them by those two hundred speares, they were not a little dismayed; and to conclude, so discouraged, that straightwaie they toke them to flight. Some fled into the parke, other into the meadow there at hand, some into the lanes, & some hid them in ditches, each one making what shift he could, by the which he hoped best to escape: but manie neuertheless were beaten downe, slaine, and taken prisoners.

The battagall of the lords distressed.

The duke of Summerfet seeing this vnforsunate chance, as some write, turned to the middle-ward, and there finding the lord Wenlocke standing still, after he had reuiled him, and called him traitor, with his ar he stroke the braines out of his head. The duke of Gloucester pursuing after them that fled with the duke of Summerfet to their campe, where the rest of their armie stood, entred the trench, and after him the king, where he bare himselfe so knightlie, that therevpon the quenes part went to wacke, and was put to flight; the king and other falling in chase after them, so that manie were slaine, but especiallie at a mill in the meadow fast by the towne a great sort were drowned. Manie ran towards the towne, some to the church, and diuerse to the abbeye, and other to other places, where they thought best to saue themselves. [This was the last fought field or pight battell tried betwene the potentats of this land in king Edward the fourths daies (which chanced on the fourth of Maie, being saturday, in the eleauenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1471) as *Anglorum prelia affirmeth*, saing: *ultima postrema locus est Tewkesburia pugnae.*]

Abr. Flem.

Edw. Hall.
Prince Edward taken.

In the winning of the campe, such as stood to it were slaine out of hand Prince Edward was taken

as he fled towards the towne, by sir Richard Crofts, and kept close. In the field and chase were slaine, the lord John of Summerfet, called marquisse Dorset, Thomas Courtenie earle of Denonshire, sir John Delues, sir Edward Hampden, sir Robert Whittingham, and sir John Leukener, with thre thousand others. After the field was ended, proclamation was made, that whosoever could bring forth prince Edward alieue or dead, should haue an annuittie of a hundred pounds during his life, and the princes life to be saued, if he were brought forth alieue. Sir Richard Crofts, nothing mistrusting the kings promise, brought forth his prisoner prince Edward, being a faire and well proportioned young gentleman; whom when king Edward had well aduised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his realme with banier displayed.

Sir Richard Crofts bringeth the prince to king Edward now that he is slaine.

Wherevnto the prince boldly answered, saing; To recouer my fathers kingdome & heritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him after him to me lineallie descended. At which words king Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whom incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Greie marquisse Dorset, and William lord Hastings that stood by, suddenlie murdered: for the which cruell act, the more part of the doers in their latter daies thanke of the like cup, by the righteous iustice and due punishment of God. His bodie was homelie interred with the other simple cozples, in the church of the monastrie of blacke monks in Teukesburie.

After the victorie was thus atchieued, the king repaired to the abbeye church there, to giue God thanks for that good successe, which it had pleased him to blesse him with; and there finding a great number of his enemies, that were fled thither to saue themselves, he gaue them all his free pardon; albeit there was no franchise there for rebels, but that he might haue commanded them to haue bene hanged forth without breach of anye liberties of that church. He granted also that the dead bodies, as well of the lords as other, slaine in that battell, might be buried in the same church, or else where it pleased their friends or seruants, without anye quartering & branding, or setting by the heads or quarters in any publicke places. [And the patience and clemencie of this good king, who (besides the putting by of wrongs done to him by violence of foes without vengeance) freely forgave the offenders, and did so honorable temper his affections.]

There were found in the abbeye and other places of the towne, Edmund duke of Summerfet, John Lonsfrother lord prioz of S. John, sir Thomas Arlesham, sir Seruets Clifton, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, which were apprehended, and all of them being brought before the duke of Gloucester, sitting as constable of England, and the duke of Norfolk folke, as marshall in the middell of the towne, they were arreigned, condemned, and iudged to die; and so vpon the tuesday, being the seuenth of Maie, the said duke and the lord prioz, with the two forernamed knights, and twelue other knights, were on a scaffold, set by in the middle of the towne for that purpose, beheaded, and permitted to be buried, without anye other dismembryng, or setting by of their heads in anye one place or other.

The bodies of Summerfet & others beheaded.

The same tuesday, the king departed from Tewkesburie towards Gloucester, and by the waie had knowledge that quene Margaret was found in a poore house of religion, not far from thence, into the which she was withdrawen for safegard of hir selfe, on saturday in the morning, being the daie of the battell. She was after brought to London as prisoner,

Quene Margaret taken.

ner, and so kept, till his father ransomed him with great summes of monie, which he borrowed of Lewis the eleventh king of France. And because he was not able to make repaiment thereof, he sold unto the said Lewis (as the French writers affirme) the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicils, with the countie of Provence. King Edward being at Worcester, had advertisements brought forth of the north parts, that the people there were about to assemble in armour against him, in favour of king Henrie: whereupon he left the right way to London, and rode to Couentrie, meaning to increase the number of his people, and so with a puissant armie to go northwards.

Whereupon, comming to Couentrie the eleventh of Maie, and remaining there three daies, he well refreshed such as had bene with him at Lekeburie field. Whither was brought to him queene Margarete, from whence she was conueied to London, there to remaine in safe keeping (as before you haue hard.) Whilst he was busie in sending abroad unto his friends to leaue an armie, he was advertised that the commotion in the north was pacified. For after it was knowne abroad, how he obtained the victorie, as well at Lekeburie, as at Barnet, and in manner subdued all his enemies, the capitaine that had stirred the people to that rebellion, began to quail, and forsooke their companies.

Some of them made sute to the earle of Northumberland, that it might please him to be a mediator to the king for their pardon; so that now, there was no rebellion in all the north parts, but that as well the citie of York, as all other places, were at the kings commandement, ready in all things to obey him as true and loiall subiects. And this was confirmed by the earle of Northumberland's owne mouth, who on the fourteenth of Maie came to the king, as yet remaining at Couentrie: by reason whereof it was not thought needfull, that the king should trauell any further northward at that time, either about the pacifying of the people, or to see execution done upon the offenders, with all was there in good tranquillitie and quiet.

But now when all things seemed to be at rest, and no rebellion after so happie victories doubted, newes came to him before his coming to Couentrie, from the lords of his blood, abiding at London, that one Thomas Beaulieu, bastard sonne to that valiant capitaine the lord Thomas Fauconbridge (who had lately before bene sent to the sea by the earle of Warwick, and after fallen to practise piracie) had spoiled diuerse merchants ships, Portugals and others, in breach of the ancient amitie that long had continued betwixt the realms of England and Portugale; and furthermore, had now got to him a great number of macticers, out of all parts of the land, and manie traitors and misgouerned people from each quarter of the realme, beside diuerse also forth of other countries that delighted in theft and robberies, meaning to worke some exploit against the king.

And because his puissance increased daily, for having bene at Calis, and brought from thence into Kent manie euill disposed persons, he began to gather his power in that countie, meaning (as was thought) to attempt some great and wicked enterprise. After the kings comming to Couentrie, he receiued advertisements, that this bastard was come before London, with manie thousands of men by land, and also in ships by water, purposing to rob and spoile the citie. Maie Kentishmen were willing to assist him in this mischieuous enterprise, and other were forced against their wills to go with him, or else to aid him with their substance and monie, in so much that within a short time, he had got together sixtine

or seuentene thousand men, as they accompanied themselves.

With these he came before the citie of London the twelfth of Maie, in the quarrell (as he pretended) of king Henrie, whome he also meant to haue out of the Tower, & to restore him againe unto his crowne & roiall dignitie. And for that intent, he required to enter the citie with his people, that receiuing king Henrie forth of the Tower, they might passe with him through the citie, and so to march streight towards king Edward, whose destruction they vowed to pursue, with all their uttermost endeours. But the maiors and aldermen of the citie would not in any wise agree to satisfie their request herein, butterlie refusing to receiue him or any of his companie into the citie.

King Edward from time to time by posts was informed of all these doings, & by aduise of his council, the fourteenth of Maie, sent to the succours of the maiors and aldermen sixtine hundred of the choicest souldiers he had about him, that they might helpe to resist the enemies, till he had got such an armie together as was thought necessarie, meaning with all conuenient speed to come therewith to the rescue of the citie, and preservation of the queene, prince, and his daughters, that were within the Tower, not in verie good safegard, considering the euill dispositions of manie within the citie of London, that for the fauour they had borne to the earle of Warwick, and desire to be partakers of the spoile, cared not if the bastard might haue attained to his full purpose and wished intent.

On the sixteenth of Maie, king Edward set forth of Couentrie towards London. But here ye haue to vnderstand, that when the bastard could not be receiued into the citie, neither by gentle persuations, nor grauous threatnings, he made semblance to passe ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, ten miles from London, and thitherwards he drezle with his whole power by land, leauing his ships aforesaint Batharines and thereabouts. His pretense was, to spoile and destroie Westminster, and the suburbs of the citie on that side, and after to assault the citie it selfe, to trie if he might enter by force, and so to be reuenged of the citizens that had refused to receiue him. [Notwithstanding all which stirring of coles & proud port, with haughtinesse of hart & violence of hand thinking to beare downe the people, as an inundation or flowing of water streams doth all before it: yet he came short of his purpose, & pulled upon his owne pate small destruction: though he thought himselfe a man ordeined to glorie, & was tickled with the like flattering persuasion that one had in his hart, who said:

Magnam iter ascendes dat mihi gloria vires.

So as he was on wards upon his fornic, he was advertised, that king Edward was preparing to come forwards against him, assisted in manner with all the great lords of the realme, and others in great number, more than he had bene at any time before. By reason whereof, doubting what might follow, if passing the riuer he should fortune so to be inclosed, that he should be diuinen thereby to encounter with the kings power at such odds, he thought it best to alter his purpose; and so returning, came backe againe before London, & mustered his people in St. Georges field, ranged and placed in one entier battell.

And to the intent they might worke their purpose, before the kings comming to the rescue, they resolved with all their forces to assault the citie, and to enter it if they could by plaine strength, that putting it to the sacke, they might conuie the riches to their ships, which late in the riuer betwixt saint Batharins and Blacketwall, nere to Ratcliffe. Whereupon hauing brought certeine pecces of artillerie forth

Success sent to the citie of London.

The bastards purpose to spoile the suburbs of London.

Prop. lib. 4.

The bastard altereth his purpose.

The bassard
meaneth to
enter the cite
by force.

of their ships, they planted the same alongst the water side, right over against the cite, and shot off lustilie, to annoy the them within so much as was possible.

But the citizens on the other side lodged their great artillerie against their aduersaries, and with violent shot therof so galled them, that they durst not abide in anie place alongst the water side, but were driven euen from their owne ordinance. Yet the bassard not meaning to leaue anie waie vnassailed that might aduance his purpose, appointed a great number of his retinue to set fire on the bydige, so to open the passage, and to enter into the cite that way forth; and withall, he caused aboue thre thousand other to passe by ships ouer the Thames; giving order, that when they were got ouer, they should diuide themselves into two battels, the one to assault Algate, and the other Bishops gate, which order accordingly was executed.

Algate and
Bishops gate
assaulted.

For they did their best at both places to force the gates, not sparing to bend and discharge such guns as they had brought with them against the same, nor calling with arrowes to annoy those that there stood at defense: whereby much hurt was done, as well at the one place as the other, fire being set on both the gates, in purpose to haue burnt them by, and so to haue entered. The fire which they had kindled on the bydige little assailed them, although they burnt there to the number of a threescore houses. For the citizens had laid such peeces of ordinance directed in their waie, that although the passage had bene whole open, they should haue had hard entering that waie forth. The maior, aldermen, and other two shipfull citizens were in good arraie, and each man appointed and bestowed where was thought needfull.

Houses burnt
on the bydige.

The earle of Essex, and manie knights, esquires, and gentlemen, with their friends and seruants, came to aid the citizens, taking great paine to place them in order, for defense of the gates and walles: and furthermore, deuised how and in what sort they might make a sallie forth vpon the enemies to distresse them: and suertie, by the intermingling of such gentlemen and lords seruants in euerie part with the citizens, they were greatly encouraged to withstand their enemies. Yet the rebels, vnder the leading of one Spissing, bare themselves so stoutlie at Algate, that they wane the bulwarks there, and drove the citizens backe within the portculice, & entered with them, to the number of six or eight: but some of them were slaine with the fall of the portculice that was let downe vpon them, to keepe the rest due out, and those that were entered within the gate were suddenly dispatched.

The ballancie
of Robert
Basset alder-
man.

Herewith they lashed frelie the one part at the other with guns and bowes, although no great hurt was done with shot; till at length Robert Basset alderman (that was appointed to the keeping of this gate, with the most part of the citizens) and the recorder, named Wreswike, either of them being well armed in strong iaches, commanded the portculice to be drawn by, and mantenantly rushed forth vpon their enemies, putting them backe vnto saint Botholphes church. At the same instant, the earle Rivers, hauing got together a foure or five hundred men, well chosen and apparelled for the warre, issued forth at the posterne by the Towre, and assailing the Bentishmen, euen vpon the point as they were thus put backe, mightilie laid vpon them.

And first he plaged them with the swift and thicke flight of his arrowes, and after joining with them at hand strokes, slue and toke manie of them prisoners; so that the rebels were fullie put to flight, and followed first to Wile-end, and from thence some vnto Poplar, some to Stratford, and Stepnith, and in maner each waie forth about that part of the ci-

tie, the chase being followed for the space of two miles in length. Spanie of them were of Essex, and so made their course homewards; but the more part of them fled to the water side, and getting to their ships, passed ouer the Thames to the rest of their companie. The other likewise that were busie to assault Bishops gate, when they understood that their fellows were discomfited and fled from Algate, they likewise slipped awaie, and made the best that they could to saue themselves.

There were a seauen hundred of them that fled from Algate, and other places, slaine outright, beside the prisoners. And yet there were fiers burning all at once at Algate, Bishops gate, & on the bydige, and manie houses consumed with the same fiers. But now the bassard, vnder whom that companie was directed that had set fire on the bydige, when he saw that he might not preuaile, and understood the euill success of those which he had set ouer the Thames, he withdrew also, and left the bydige. Here the hardie manhood of Rafe Josselin alderman is not to be passed with silence; who (after he had balliantlie resisted the bassard & his band that assaulted the bydige) vpon their retire sallied forth vpon them, and following them in chase alongst the water side, till they came beyond Katchiffe, slue and toke verie manie of them.

Rafe Jos-
lin.

The bassard notwithstanding gathered his companies together, and with such as were willing to remaine with him incamped on Blackheath, by the space of thre daies next ensuing, to wit, the thirteenth, seauenteenth, and eighteenth of Aprill, utterlie despairing of his wished preie, sith he had bene repelled from London, to his bitter confusion. And now to conclude, hearing that king Edward was coming with a right puissant armie, the said bassard and his people durst no longer abide; but brake by and dispersed themselves, some one waie, and some an other. They of Calis got them thither againe with all speed, and such as were of other countries repaired likewise to their homes, and manie of the Bentishmen went also to their houses. The bassard with his mariners, and such riotous rebels, robbers, and wicked persons, as sought nothing but spoile, got them to Shipbourn, and with all their vessels drem downe to the coast.

The ballen
incamped
on Blackheath.

King Edward, hauing assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) and accompanied in maner with all the great lords of England, came to London the one and twentieth of Aprill, bring with him, where he was honourable receiued by the maior, aldermen, and other two shipfull citizens: where euen vpon their first meeting with him he dubbed diuerse of them knights; as the maior, the recorder, & other aldermen, and two shipfull commoners of the cite, which had manfullie and balliantlie acquit themselves against the bassard Fauconbridge & his wicked companie of rebels. Moreover, here is to be remembered, that poore king Henrie the first, a little before deprived (as ye haue heard) of his realme and imperiall crowne, was now in the Towre spoiled of his life, by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame can) who (to the intent that his brother king Edward might reigne in more suertie) murdered the said king Henrie with a dagger.

Edw. Hall
writing Henry
the first mur-
dered in the
Towre.

Whowbeit, some writers of that time, fauoring altogether the house of York, haue recorded, that after he understood what losses had chanced vnto his friends, and how not onelie his sonne, but also all other his chiefe partakers were dead and dispatched, he toke it so to hart, that of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholie, he died the thre and twentieth of Aprill. The dead corps on the Merscion euen was conueied with billes and glaues pomponlie (if you

An. Reg. 11.

you will call that a funerall pompe from the Tower to the church of saint Paule, and there laid on a bier of cotten bare faced, the same in presence of the beholders did bled; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thence he was caried to the Blackfriars, and bled there likewise: and on the next daie after, it was conueied in a boat, without priest or clerke, to the church of saint Dunstons, vnto the monasterie of Chertseye, distant from London fiftene miles, and there was it first buried: but after, it was remoued to Windsor, and there in a new vault, netwile intombed. He reigned eight and thirtie yeares, six moneths and od dates, and after his readeption of the crowne six moneths. He liued two and fiftie yeares, hauing by wife one oncle sonne, called Edward, prince of Wales.

He was of a seemlie stature, of bodie slender, to which proportion all other members were answerable; his face beautifull, wherein continually was resident the bountie of mind, with the which he was inwardlie imbued. Of his owne naturall inclination he abhorred all the vices as well of the bodie as of the soule. His patience was such, that of all the injuries to him done (which were innumerable) he neuer asked vengeance, thinking that for such aduersitie as chanced to him, his sinnes should be forgotten and forgiven. What losses soeuer happened vnto him, he neuer esteemed, nor made anie account thereof; but if anie thing were done, that might sound as an offense towards God, he sore lamented, and with great repentance sozowed for it.

So then berie unlike it is, that he died of anie wrath, indignation, and displeasure because his businesse about the keeping of the crowne on his head toke no better successe: except peraduenture ye will saie, that it grieved him, for that such slaughters and mischances as had chanced within this land, came to passe onlie through his follie and default in government: or (that more is) for his fathers, his grandfathers, and his owne vnjust usurping and deteining of the crowne. But howsoeuer it was, for these before remembred, and other the like properties of reputed holinesse, which was said to rest in him, it pleased God to worke miracles for him in his life time, as men haue listed to report.

Whereof, whereof, king Henrie the seauenth liued to Pope Inno the second, to haue him canonized a saint. But for that the canonizing of a king seemed to be more coslie than for a bishop, the said king left off his sute in that behalfe; thinking better to saue his monie, than to purchase a new holie daie of saint Henrie with so great a price, remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. ¶ But because princes princelie qualified, can not be too highlie praised, I will here record a collection of his commendable conditions, doings, and sayings, as I find them set downe to my hand, to his perpetuall remembrance; and right worthy of imitation, not onlie of such as are singled out from among infinite thousands, to be magnified with roialtie; but also of private and meane men that conuerse and liue one with another in the world.

This king hauing inioied as great prosperitie as fauourable fortune could afford, & as great troubles on the other side as the frowning could poure out; yet in both the states he was patient and vertuous, that he maie be a patterne of most perfect vertue, as he was a worthy example of fortunes inconstancie. He was plaine, bright, farre from fraud, wholely giuen to prayer, reading of scriptures, and almesdeeds; of such integritie of life, that the bishop which had bene his confessor ten yeares, auouched that he had not all that time committed anie mortall crime: so continent, as suspicion of vnchast life ne-

uer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shew of yong women with their bare breasts laid out presented before him, he immediatlie departed with these words: fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you be to blame.

Before his marriage, he liked not that women should enter his chamber, and for this respect he committed his two brethren by the mothers side, Jasper and Edmund, to most honest & vertuous prelates to be brought up. So farre he was from courtousnesse, that when the executors of his uncle the bishop of Winchester, surnamed the rich cardinall, would haue giuen him two thousand pounds, he plainelie refused it, willing them to discharge the will of the departed, and would scarcelie condescend at length to accept the same summe of monie toward the indowing of his colleges in Cambridge & Eaton. He was religiouslie affected (as the time then was) that at principall holidays, he would weare sackecloth next his skin. Wh he used none, but in most earnest matters these words: forsooth and forsooth.

He was so pitifull, that when he saw the quarter of a traitor against his crowne ouer Triplegate, he willed it to be taken awaie, with these words: I will not haue anie christian so cruellie humbled for my sake. For anie great offenses he willingly pardoned, and receiuing at a time a great blow by a wicked man which compassed his death, he onlie said; forsooth forsooth, ye do so wile to smite a king annointed so. An other also which thrust him into the side with a sword when he was prisoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was restored to his state and kingdome. Not long before his death, being demanded whie he had so long held the crowne of England vniustlie; he replied: My father was king of England, quietlie inioieng the crowne all his reigne; and his father my grandfater was also king of England, and I euen a child in my cradle was proclaimed and crowned king without anie interruption; and so held it fortie yeares well-nere, all the states doing homage vnto me, as to my antecessors: wherefore I maie saie with king Dauid; The lot is fallen vnto me in a faire ground; yea, I haue a goodlie heritage, my helpe is from the Lord which saueth the vpright in heart.

This good king, being of himselfe alwaies naturallie inclined to do good, and fearing least he might seme vnthankefull to almightie God for his great benefites bestowed vpon him, since the time he first took vpon him the regiment of his realme, determined about the six and twentieth yeare of his reigne, for his primer notable worke (as by the words of his will I find expessed) to erect and found two famous colleges in the honor and worship of his holy name, and for the increase of vertue, the dilatation of cunning, and establisment of christian faith, whereof the one in Cambridge, to be called his colledge of our ladye and saint Nicholas: and the other at Eaton beside Windsor, to be called his colledge of our blessed ladie.

And for the performance of this his deuout purpose, he infeofed certeine bishops, with other noble and worshipfull personages, by his letters patents, with lands and possessions, parcell of his inheritance of the duchie of Lancaster, to the cleare value of well nere foure & thirtie hundred pounds by yere. Which letters patents he after confirmed by his act of parliament, declaring also by his will vnto his said feoffees, his intent and meaning, how the same should be imployed vpon the edifications of his said two colleges. Whereof (in my iudgement) the deuise is so excellent, and the buildings so princelie and apt for that purpose, as I cannot omit to set forth vnto you the verie plot of the whole colledge in Cambridge, euen

The kings
colledge in
Cambridge.

such as I find mentioned almost verbatim in his will, supposing that if the rest of the house had proceeded according to the chappell already finished (as his full intent and meaning was) the like colledge could scant have bene found againe in anye christian land. The words of the will are thus.

The chappell. As touching the dimensions of the church of my said colledge of our ladye and S. Nicholas of Cambridge, I haue deuised and appointed, that the same church shall containe in length 288 fot of assise, with-
out anye gles, and all of the widenesse of fortye fot.

The bodie of the church. And the length of the same church from the west end unto the altars at the quiere boze, shall containe an hundred and twentie fot. And from the piousse's stall, unto the grace called *Gradus chori* ninetye fot; for thirtie six stalles on either side of the same quiere, answering to threescore and ten fellows, and ten priests conducts, which must be *De prima forma*. And from the said stalles unto the east end of the said church, threescore & two fot of assise. Also a reredosse bearing the roodloft, departing the quiere and the bodie of the church, containing in length fortye fot, and in breadth fourtene fot. The walles of the same church to be in height ninetye fot imbatelled, bawted, and chartered, sufficientlie butteraced, and euerye butterace fined with finials. And in the east end of the same church, shall be a window of nine daies, and betwixt euerye butterace a window of five daies.

The roodloft. And betwixt euerye of the same butteraces in the bodie of the church, on both sides of the same church, a closet with an altar therein, containing in length twentie fot, and in breadth ten fot, bawted and finished under the soile of the gles windows. And the pavement of the church to be enhanced foure fot above the ground without. And the height of the pavement of the quiere one fot and an halfe above the pavement of the church. And the pavement of the altar three fot above that. And on the north side of the quiere a vestrie containing in length fiftie fot, and in breadth twentie and two fot, departed into two houses beneath, & two houses above, which shall containe in height twentie two fot in all, with an entrie from the quiere bawted. And at the west end of the church a cloister square, the east pane containing in length an hundred seuentie and five fot, and the west pane as much. The north pane two hundred fot, and the south pane as much, of the which the deambulatorie thirtene fot wide, and in height twentie fot to the cozbill table, with cleare stoies and butteraces with finials, bawted & imbatelled. And the ground thereof foure fot lower than the church ground.

The cloister. And in the middle of the west pane of the cloister a strong tower square, containing foure and twentie fot within the walles. And in the height one hundred and twentie fot to the cozbill table. And foure small turrets ouer that fined with pinacles. And a doze into the said cloister inward, but outward none. And as touching the dimensions of the housing of the said colledge, I haue deuised and appointed in the south side of the said church a quadrant, closing to both ends of the same church; the east pane thereof shall containe two hundred and thirtie fot in length, and in breadth within the walles two and twentie fot. In the same panes middle, a tower for a gatehouse, containing in length thirtie fot, and in breadth two and twentie, and in height threescore fot, with three chambers ouer the gate, euerye one ouer the other.

The gate. And on either side of the same gate foure chambers, euerye one containing in length five & twentie fot, and in breadth two and twentie fot. And ouer euerye of these chambers, two chambers above of the same measure or more, with two towers outward, and two towers inward.

The south pane. The south pane shall containe in length two hun-

dred thirtie and eight fot, and in breadth two and twentie fot within, in which shall be seven chambers, euerye one containing in length nine and twentie fot, and in breadth twentie and two, with a chamber parcell of the piousse's lodging, containing in length thirtie and five fot, and with a chamber in the east corner of the same pane, containing in length twentie and five fot, and in breadth thirtie and two fot. And ouer euerye of all these chambers two chambers, and with five towers outward, and three towers inward. The west pane shall containe in length two hundred and thirtie fot, and in breadth within twentie & foure fot, in which at the end toward the church shall be a librarie, containing in length an hundred and ten fot, and in breadth twentie and foure fot. And vnder it a large house for reading and disputations, containing in length eleuen fot. And two chambers vnder the same librarie, each containing twentie and nine fot in length, and in breadth foure and twentie fot.

The west pane. And ouer the said librarie a house of the same largenesse, for diuerse stufte of the said colledge. In the other end of the same pane a hall, containing in length an hundred fot, vpon a bawt of twelue fot high, ordeined for the cellar and butterie: and the breadth of the hall six and thirtie fot. On euerye side thereof a baie window. And in the nether end of the same hall toward the middle of the same pane, a partrie & butterie, euerye of them in length twentie fot, and in breadth seuentene fot. And ouer that two chambers for officers. And at the nether end of the hall toward the west, a goodlie kitchen. And the same pane shall haue inward two towers, ordeined for the waies into the hall and librarie. And in euerye corner of the said quadrant, shall be two corner towers, one inward, and one outward, more than the towers above rehearsed.

The hall. And at the upper end of the hall, the piousse's lodging, that is to wit, more than the chambers for him above specified, a parlour on the ground, containing six and thirtie fot in length, and two and twentie fot in breadth, & two chambers above of the same quantitie. And westward closing thereto a kitchen for him, a larderhouse, stables, and other necessarie houseings and grounds. And westward beyond these houses, and the said kitchen ordeined for the hall, a bakehouse, a brewhouse, and other houses of office: betwixt which there is left a ground square of fourscore fot in euerye pane for wood and such stufte. And in the middle of the said large quadrant, shall be a conduit, goodlie deuised for the ease of the same colledge. And I will, that the edification proceed in large forme of my said colledge cleane and substantiall, setting apart superfluitie of so great curious workes of intaille and busie moulding.

The piousse's lodging. And I haue deuised and appointed that the precinct of my said colledge, as well on both sides of the garden from the colledge to the water, as in all other places of the same precinct, be inclosed with a substantiall wall, of the height of fourtene fot, with a large tower at the principall entrie against the middle of the east pane, out of the high street. And in the same tower a large gate, and another tower in the middle of the west end at the new bridge. And the same wall to be creasted, imbatelled, and fortified with towers, as manie as shall be thought convenient thereunto. And I will that my said colledge be edified of the most substantiall & best abiding stufte, of stone, lead, glasse, and iron, that maie best be had and prouided thereto. Thus much I haue enlarged by occasion of reading this good kings will: the cunning deuill wherof I leaue to the considerate iudgement of such as be expert in architecture, heartilie desiring almighty God to put into the heart of some noble prince of this land, one day to make perfect this

this roiall worke so charitablie begun.]

But now to returne to king Edward. He shall understand, that after his coming to London, hee rested there but one daie, or two at the most, taking his iournie forthright into Kent with all his armie, following the bassard, and other his complices, to sup-
passe them, if they were in anie place assembled a-
gaine to resist him. But after they were once disper-
sed, they durst not shew themselves againe in ar-
moz, those onlie excepted that were withdrawne un-
to Sandwich with the bassard; which for the more part
were mariners, about eight or nine hundred, besides
certeine other euill disposed persons, that accompa-
nied him as his souldiers, and men of warre, with
whose assistance the bassard kept that towne by
strength, hauing in the haven seuen and forty ships,
great and small, vnder his gouernance.

But vpon the kings approaching nere vnto those
parties, they sent to him for pardon, promising that
vpon a reasonable appointment; for the safeguard of
their liues, and other indemnities to be had for their
benefit, they would become his faithfull subiects, and
deliuer into his hands all the ships. Their offer the
king vpon great considerations, and by good delibe-
rate aduise of counsell, thought best to accept; and
theretvpon (being at that time in Canturburie) hee
granted to their petitions, and sent immediatlie un-
to Sandwich his brother Richard duke of Gloucester,
to receiue them to mercie, togither with all the ships,
which according to their promise they deliuered into
his hands.

But notwithstanding that (as some write) the
bassard Jfanconbridge, and other of his companie
that were got to Sandwich, had thus their pardons
by composition at the kings hand, we find neuerthe-
lesse, that the said bassard Jfanconbridge, being after-
wards at sea (a rousing belike, as he had vsed before)
came at length into the open haven at Southamp-
ton, and there taking land, was apprehended, and
shortlie after beheaded. This chanced (as should ap-
peare by Fabian) about the latter end of October.
Whereouer, Roger Laugban that had bene sent by
king Edward into Wales, anon after Tenke-
burie field (being a man of great power in that coun-
trie) to intrap and surprize by some secret sleight the
earle of Penbroke, the said earle being thereof aduer-
tised, took the same Roger, and without delay stroke
off his head.

After this, was the earle besieged in the towne of
Penbroke by Morgan Thomas; but the siege was
raised by David Thomas, brother to the said Mor-
gan, a faithfull friend to the earle; and then the earle
by his helpe was conuicted to Limbie, where he got
ships, and with his nepheue the lord Henrie earle of
Richmond sailed into Britaine, where, of the duke
they were courtcoulsie interteined; with assurance
made, that no creature should doe them anie wrong
or iniurie within his dominions. King Edward vi-
siting diuerse places in Kent, fate in iudgement on
such as had aided the bassard in the last commotion,
of whom diuerse were condemned and executed, as
striking one of the captiues that assaulted Algate,
whose head was set vp ouer the same gate; and so
likewise was the head of one Quintine, a butcher,
that was an other captiue amongst them, and
chefe of those that assaulted Bishops gate, as some
write.

Whereouer, at Canturburie the mayor of that citie
was executed, and diuerse other at Rochester, Spald-
ston and Blackheath: for the lord marshall and o-
ther iudges, being appointed to hold their oier and de-
terminer in that countrie of Kent, there were aboue
an hundred indicted and condemned. Diuerse also of
Clerg men that had bene partakers in this rebellion

with the bassard, & holpe to set fire on Bishops gate
and Algate, were hanged betwixt Stratford and
London. Many also of the wealthie commons in
Kent were put to grievous fines.

Now when the king had made an end of his bu-
sinesse in that countrie, he returned to London, com-
ming thither againe vpon Whitsun euen, being the
first of June. And hauing thus within the space of
eleuen weekes recovered in maner the whole posses-
sion of his realme, being relieved of the most part of
all his doubtfull feare, he ment to remoue all stops
out of the waie. Wherefore he sent the archbishop of
Dorke, brother to the earle of Warwicke, and to the
marques Montacute ouer to Guisnes, there to be
kept in safe custodie within the castell, where he con-
tinued a long season, till at length he was by friend-
ship deliuered, and shortlie after (through verie an-
guish of mind) departed this life; whome Laurence
Bath, and after him Thomas Rotheram in the see of
Dorke, did ordinarilie succeed. Beside this, John earle
of Oxford, which after Barnet field both manfullie
and valiantlie kept saint Michaels mount in Coz-
wall, either for lacke of aid, or perswaded by his
friends, gaue vp the mount, and yelded himselfe to
king Edward (his life onelie saued) which to him was
granted. But to be out of all doubtfull imaginations,
king Edward also sent him ouer the sea to the castell
of Hammes, where, by the space of twelue yerres hee
was in strong prison shut vp and warlike looked to.

King Edward was not a litle disquieted in mind,
for that the earls of Penbroke & Richmond were not
onlie escaped out of the realme, but also well receiued
and no waye interteined of the duke of Britaine: he
sent therefore in secret wise graue & close messengers
to the said duke, the which should not sticke to promise
the duke great and rich rewards, so that he would de-
liuer both the earles into their hands and possession.
The duke, after he had heard them that were sent,
made this answer, that he could not with his honor
deliuer them, to whome he had giuen his faith to see
them preserued from all iniurie: but this (he said) he
would doe for the king of England, that they should
be so looked vnto, as he needed not to doubt of any at-
tempt to be made against him by them, or by their
meanes.

The king receiuing this answer, wrote longinglie
to the duke of Britaine, that he would consider his
friendship with conuenient rewards, if it should
please him to be as good as his promise. The duke,
perceiuing gaine coming by the abode of the two
English earles in his countrie, caused them to be se-
parated in sunder, and all their seruants being Eng-
lishmen to be sequestred from them, and in their pla-
ces appointed Britains to attend them. In the thir-
teenth yere of his reigne, king Edward called his
high court of parlement at his palace of Westmin-
ster, in the which all lawes and ordinances made by
him before that daie were confirmed, and those that
king Henrie had abrogated, after his readeption of
the crowne, were againe reuiued. Also lawes were
made for the confiscation of traitors goods, and for
the restoring of them that were for his sake fled the
realme, which of his aduersaries had bene attainted
of high treason, and condemned to die.

Whereouer, towards his charges of late sustained,
a competent summe of monie was demanded, and
freelie granted. There was also a pardon granted al-
most for all offenses; and all men then being within
the realme, were released and discharged of all high
treasons and crimes, although they had taken part
with his aduersaries against him. In this season the
duke of Burgognie had fore wars with the French
king; and to be the more speedilie reuenged on his
aduersarie, he sent ambassadors into England, to
persuade

Fabian

The archbi-
shop of Dorke.

The earle of
Oxford.

1472

Anno Reg. 12.

Messengers
sent to the
duke of Brit-
taine.

1473

Anno Reg. 13.
Parliament.

Ambassadors

A pardon

Ambassadors
from the duke
of Burgognie

persuade king Edward to make warre also on the French king, for the recouerie of his ancient right to the realme of France, by the same French king against all equitie withholden and detained. In which attempt of his, there was some fauour of discret policie, and a poudent forecast for his greater safetie, besides the likelie possibilitie to obtaine that whereto he made chalenge: with the huger hostes (if the hardier hearts) are of most force, according to that saying:

Virius unius fortior.

And therefore, by procuring the king of Englands powder to loine with his, he supposed his purpose achievable with the more facilitie. King Edward not so much for the loue he bare to the duke of Burgognie, as for desire to be reuenged on the French king, whome he toke to be his enimie for aiding the earle of Marwick, quene Margaret, and his sonne prince Edward, with their complies, gaue god eare to the duke of Burgognie his messengers, and finally (after he had taken aduise of his counsell) the said messengers were answered, that king Edward in the beginning of the next yeare would land at Calis with a puissant armie, both to reuenge such iniuries as he had receiued at the French kings hands, and also to recouer his right, which he wrongfullie detained from him.

Opportunitie not to be neglected.

The earle of Daule.

In deed the time serued verie well for the Englishmen to achieve some high enterpryse in France at that present. For not onelie the duke of Burgognie as then made warre against the French king, but also manie great men within the realme of France, milking the manners of their king, began to haue secret intelligence with the said duke; and namelie Lewis of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Daule constable of France was secretlie confederate with the duke of Burgognie, intending verelie to bring the French king to some great hinderance, the better to haue his purpose accomplished in certaine weightie matters. King Edward vnderstanding all these things, was greatlie encouraged to make a iourne into France, and thereupon with all diligence prepared all things readie for the same.

A shift to recouer monie.

But because he wanted monie, and could not well charge his commons with a new subsidie, for that he had receiued the last yeare great summes of monie granted to him by parlement, he deuised this shift, to call afoze him a great number of the wealthiest sort of people in his realme; and to them declaring his need, and the requisite causes thereof, he demanded of euerie of them some portion of monie, which they sticke not to giue. And therefore the king willing to shew that this their liberalitie was verie acceptable to him, he called this grant of monie, A beneuolence: notwithstanding that manie with grudge gaue great sums toward that new found aid which of them might be called, A maleuolence. But the king vsed such gentle fashions toward them, with frendlie praiser of their assistance in his necessitie, that they could not otherwise do, but franklie and freelie yeld and giue him a reasonable and competent summe.

Abt. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Cccxvj.

¶ But here I will not let passe a pretie conceipt that happened in this gathering, in the which you shall not onelie note the humilitie of a king, but moze the fantasie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a widow, much abounding in substance, and no lesse growne in yeares, of whome he merilie demanded that she gladlie would giue him toward his great charges: By my trouth quoth she, for thy louelie countenance thou shalt haue even twentie pounds. The king looking scarce for the halfe of that summe, thanked hir, and louinglie kiss hir. Whether the flauor of his breath did so comfort hir stomach, or she esteemed the kisse of a king so pretious a iewel,

she swooze incontinentlie, that he should haue twentie pounds more, which she with the same will paid that she offered it. ¶ This yeare the duke of Creteker was found dead in the sea betwene Douer and Calis, but how he came there the certeintie could not be knowne.]

¶ When all things conuenient for such an enterpryse were in a readinesse, the king came to Douer, where he found five hundred ships and hoies readie to traue 10 sport him and his armie. And so the fourth daie of Iulie he passed ouer, and landed at Calis with great triumph; but his armie, hoies, and munitions of war scarce passed ouer in twentie daies. In this armie (being one of the best appointed that had passed out of England into France in manie yeares before) were fiftene hundred men of armes well horsed, of the which the most part were barbed and rightie trapped, and manie of them trimmed in one sute. There were also fiftene thousand archers with bowes and arrowes, of the which a great number were on horse 20 backe. There were also a great companie of other fighting men, and of such as serued to set by tents and paulions, to attend the artillerie and to inclose their campe, and otherwise to labour and be imployed in seruice.

In all this armie was there not one page. The king of England was at his annual highlie displeased with the duke of Burgognie, who in the word of a prince had promised to meet him at his landing, with two thousand men of armes and light horsemen, besides a great number of lanceknights and halberdiers, and that he would haue begun the war three moneths before the kings transporting; where 30 as contrarie the duke laie lingering at the siege of Bussie, and let passe the occasion of achieving a more profitable enterpryse. King Edward incontinentlie dispatched the lord Scales in post vnto the duke, to put him in remembrance of his promise, and to aduise him to come and loine with him before the summer were spent.

Before king Edward departed from Douer, he sent an officer of armes vnto the French king with a defiance. The French king, receiuing the king of Englands letters at the messengers hand, read the same; and after he had considered thereof at leisure, he called the English herald asse, and to him declared the little trust that was to be put in the duke of Burgognie and the constable, by whose procurement he knew that king Edward was procured to come at that season into France; and therefore it should be better for him to haue peace with an old enimie, than to stae upon the promises and familiaritie of a new dissembling friend, which peace did highlie please God, & was the thing that he most desired. ¶ But to giue the greater grace to the matter in hand, it is god to laie downe the forme of the French kings speech to the said herald, to whome he uttered these words in his wardrobe, as Edward Hall reporteth.

Sir I knowe and well wot, that the king of England your maister, is neither descended in these parts of his owne free motion, nor yet of vs required; but onelie entised and prouoked by the duke of Burgognie, and somewhat enforced by the commons of his realme. But now you may see that the season of the yeare passeth, and the duke of Burgognie is in poore estate, returning from Bussie almost discomfited. The constable also, with whome the king your some 60 reigne lord (I am sure) hath some intelligence, for fauour that your maister hath married his neece, is not so sure a friend as he is taken for. And if all the world knew how I haue promoted him, and what I haue done for him, they would little thinke, that he would so vntrulie handle me as he doth. For I assure you, he is a depe dissembler, & in continuall dissimulation

John S.

1461

Abt. Flem.

Edw. Hall.

fol. Cccxvj.

Abt. Flem.

Edw. Hall.

fol. Cccxvj.

Abt. Flem.

Edw. Hall.

fol. Cccxvj.

Abt. Flem.

Edw. Hall.

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Edw. Hall.

fol. Cccxvj.

Abt. Flem.

Edw. Hall.

fol. Cccxvj.

Abt. Flem.

Edw. Hall.

fol. Cccxvj.

on intenteth to lead his life, interteining all men for his owne profit. And although the king pour maister be vnware of all his other promyses, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is, he shall be euer dissembled withall. And therefore I saie to you, and not to your maister, that he were better haue a peace with an old enemie, than the promyses and familiaritie of a new dissembling frend, which peace most pleasest God, and is the thing that I most doe desire.]

Excellence of
dissembling

When he had thus said, he gaue the herald three hundred crownes, promising him a thousand crownes if anie god appointment came to passe. This herald was borne in Normandie, who being more couetous of the crownes than secret (according as of dutie by his office he ought to haue bene) promised to doe all things that in him laie, and further shewed waies by the which the French king might enter into the port of treatie for peace, the which he doubted not would sort to a good conclusion. The French king glad to heare these things, gaue to the herald when he should depart, beside the other reward, a peece of crimson velvet of thirtie yards long. The lord Scales, comming to the duke of Burgognie before Poule, could not persuaide him to raise his field, and (as it stood him vpon) to come and ioine with king Edward, till at length constrained thereto by other means, he left Poule vnconquered, and sending the most part of his armie into Lorraine, came with a small companie to king Edward lieng before Calis.

The duke of
Burgognie
promitteth to
king Edward

King Edward at the first comming of the duke vnto him, seemed much to reprove his vnwise dealing, in making so slow hast to ioine with him at this time, sith for his sake, and at his sute, he had passed the seas with his armie, to the intent to make wars in France in reuenge of both their iniuries; the time seruing their turnes so well as they could wish or desire, the opportunitie whereof could neuer happilie be recovered againe. The duke after he had excused himselfe, with alledging the dishonour that should haue rebounded to him, if he had left the siege of Poule without meane of some shew of composition, encouraged king Edward to aduance forward with manie golden promyses, aswell of his owne part, as of the constable. The king agreed to the dukes persuasion, and so set forward.

The constable
of France a
sage dullard
was.

But yet when he was entred into the dukes countries, the Englishmen were not so frendlie interteined as they looked to haue bene: for at their comming to Peronne, there were but a few suffered to enter the gates, the remnant were vsuall to lodge in the fields, better purueied of their owne, than of the dukes provision. And at their comming before saint Quintines (which towne the constable had promised to deliuer into the hands of the duke of Burgognie) the artillerie shot off, and they of the towne came forth both on horsebacke and fot to skirmish with them that approached, of the which two or three were slaine. This interteinement seemed strange to king Edward, pondering the last daies promise with this daies doing. But the duke excused the matter, and would haue persuaied him to make countenance to besiege the towne, that the constable might haue a colour to render it into his hands, as though he did it by constraint.

The duke of
Burgognie
deceitfully

But the king, remembering what had bene told to his herald by the French king, how he should be dissembled with, perceiued the French kings words to be to true, and therefore thought it more sure to heare the false words of the constable and the duke, than to giue credit to their vntrue and deceitfull doings. The Englishmen returned vnto their campe in a great chafe towards the constable; and the next daie to increase their displeasure, an other cozousie was ministered, that marked soer, for duke Charles of

Burgognie toke his leaue suddenlie of king Edward, alledging that he must needs see his armie in Artois, promising shortly with all his puissance to returne againe to the great commoditie of them both. This departing much troubled the king of England, because he looked for no such thing; but thought rather that he should haue had the duke his continuall fellow in armes; and therefore this dissembling and vnstedfast working caused the king to thinke that he neuer thought, and to doe that he neuer intended.

The French king in this meane while had assembled a mightie power; ouer the which he had made monsieur Robert de Cloutille capitaine, whome he sent to Artois, to defend the frontiers there against the king of Englands entrie, and he himselfe tarried still at Senlis: but though he shewed countenance thus of warre, yet inwardlie desirous of peace, according to the aduise giuen him by the English herald, he caused a varlet or peoman (as I may call him) to be put in a coat armour of France, which for hast was made of a trumpet baner. For king Lewis was a man nothing precise in outward shewes of honoz, oftentimes hauing neither officer of armes, trumpet in his court, nor other rotall appurtenances belonging to the port of a prince, which should be glorious and replenished with pompe, as the poet saith:

Regia mirifica fulgent insignia regis.

This counterfeit herald, being thoughtlie instructed in his charge, was sent to the king of England, and so passing forth: when he approached the English campe, he put on his coat of armes, & being espied of the outriders, was brought to a tent, where the lord Howard and the lord Stanleie were at dinner, of whome he was courteously receiued, and by them conueied to the kings presence, vnto whom he declared his message so witillie, that in the end he obtained a safe conduct for one hundred horses, for such persons as his maister should appoint to meet, as manie to be assigned by king Edward in some indifferent place betwene both armies, to haue a like safe conduct from his said maister, as he receiued from him. The words of which herald are worth the noting, reported in writers as followeth.

A messenger
sent to the
king of Eng-
land.

Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall. fol.
Cxxix, cxxx.

The heralds oration to the king
*uttered with boldnesse of face and
libertie of toong.*

Right high and mightie prince, right puissant and noble king, if your excellent wisdom did perfectlie know, or your high knowledge did apparantlie perceiue, what inward affection and feruent desire the king my maister hath alwaies had, to haue a perfect peace, a sure unitie, & a brotherlie concord, betwene your noble person and your realme, and his honorable personage and his dominions, you would (for truths sake) should confesse and saie, that neuer christian prince more thirsted for an amitie, nor yet no louer hath more sought to attaine to the fauour of his paramour, than he hath sought to haue with you a perpetuall frendship, amitie, and alliance: to the intent that the subiects of both the realms, quietly liuing vnder two princes, confederate and combined together in an indissoluble confederacie and league, may mutually imbrace ech other in their harts, may personallie haue resort and frequent each others

others princes territoriez and dominions, with their merchandizes and wares: and finallye, the one to live with the other, as friends with friends, brother with brother, companion with companion, in continuall loue, rest, and tranquillitie. And for his part he doth affirme & saie, that since he received first the crowne of his kingdome, and was annointed with the holie ampull, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined a nie war, or thing preiudiciall toward your roiall person, your realme, or your people.

If you peradventure will saie, that he supported & maintained the earle of Warwick against your maiestie, he suerlie that doth & will denie: for he aided him against the duke of Burgognie, whom he knew not onelie to be his extreame enimie, but also to laie in wait (both by sea and land) either to take him, or utterly to destroye him. Which duke of Burgognie, onelie for his owne cause, hath excited and sollicitid your highnesse to come over the troublous and tempestuous seas, to the intent to cause (yea in manner to compell) the king my master, to condescend to such treatie and appointment, as should be to his onlie profit, and neither to your honour, nor yet to your game. For if he & such other as daile flattered him for their peculiar profits (as he had manie indeed that daile sucked at his elbow) had once obtained the thing that they breathed for, all your affaires were put in obliuion, and left at large for them, or their assistants, euen as they be at this daie. Hath not the duke of Burgognie caused you first to come into France, & after to set forward your armie; and in conclusion, for lacke of his promise, to lose the faire season of the yeare, and to lie in the fields in winter? Which warre (if it continue) shall neither be profitable to you, nor to your nobilitie, nor yet pleasant but painefull to your communitie: and finallye to both the realmes, and especiallie to merchant men shall bring both miserie, pouertie, and calamitie.

Came the duke of Burgognie from Russe to Calis, onlie to visit you: Knde he all that post hath onelie to blind you: Returned he backe into Lozaine againe for anie cause, but onelie to leaue you desolate, & to abandon you: Did he or the constable keepe anie one promise with you? Why do you then beleue, and yet still trust them, in whome you neuer found faith nor fidelitie: But if God will it so ordeine, that you and my master may toine in league and amitie, I dare both saie and sweare, that the fine stele neuer cleaued faster to the adamant stone, than he will sticke & claspe with you, both in wealth and wo, in prosperitie and aduersitie. And if it shall please you, to harken to anie reasonable treatie, I being a poore man, shall on ieopardie of my life which is my chiefe treasure, undertake, that this communication shall sort and come to such an effect, that both you & your nobilitie shall be glad and reioise, and your

commons shall be contented and pleased, and they that haue deceived you, shall be both abashed and ashamed. Most humble beseeching your highnesse, if your pleasure shall incline this waie, that I may haue a sure safe conduct for one hundred hoxses, for such personages as the king my master shall send into you with further intimati-
on of his mind and purpose. And if your pleasure shall be to haue the communicati-
on in anie place indifferent betwene both the armies, then shall I warrant you the like safe conduct for your men, as you do send for ours.

When he had accomplished his message and instructions, the king of England and his counsell highlie commended his audacitie, his tongue, and his sobernesse, giuing to him in rewarde a faire gilt cup, with a hundred angels; deliuering him a safe conduct according to his request and demand, with the which he with speed departed, hauing with him an English herald to bring a like safe conduct from the French king.]

After that the safe conducts were deliuered on both parts, the ambassadours met at a village beside Amiens. On the king of Englands side, the lord Howard; sir Thomas Saintleger; doctor Sporton after bishop of Elic, & chancellor of England, were these. For the French king, the bassard of Bourbon admiral of France; the lord Saint Pierre; & the bishop of Curer called Heberge, were appointed as principall. The Englishmen demanded the whole realme of France, or at the least Normandie and whole Aquitaine. The allegations were proued by the Englishmen, and politikelie defended by the Frenchmen, so that with arguments, without conclusion, the day passed, and the commissioners departed, and made relation to their masters. The French king and his counsell would not consent, that the Englishmen should haue one foot of land within France; but rather determined to put him selfe & the whole realme in hazard and aduensure.

At the next meeting the commissioners agreed by on certaine articles, which were of both the princes accepted and allowed. It was first accorded, that the French king should paie to the king of England without delaie scauentie & five thousand crownes of the sunne; and yearelie fiftie thousand crownes to be paid at London during king Edwards life. And further it was agreed, that Charles the Dolphin should marrie the ladie Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king Edward, and they two to haue for the maintenance of their estates the whole duchie of Guien, or else fiftie thousand crownes yearelie to be paid within the Tower of London by the space of nine yeares; and at the end of that terme, the Dolphin and his wife to haue the whole duchie of Guien, and of the charge the French king to be cleerelie acquit. And it was also concluded, that the two princes should come to an interview, and there take a corporall oth for the performance of this peace, either in sight of other.

On the king of Englands part were compysed as allies (if they would there to assent) the dukes of Burgognie and Britaine. It was also couenanted, that after the whole summe aforesaid of seuentie and five thousand crownes were paid to king Edward, he should leaue in hostage the lord Howard, and sir John Cheinie master of his hoxse, untill he with all his armie was passed the seas. This agreement was verie acceptable to the French king; for he saw himselfe and his realme thereby deliuered of great perill that was at hand; for not onelie he should haue

Communi-
cations appen-
ted for that
yeare.

Articles of
agreement be-
tweene king
Edward and
the French
king.

Want of me-
nie procuring
peace.

biene assailed (if this peace had not taken place) both by the power of England and Burgognie, but also by the duke of Britaine, and diuerse of his owne people, as the constable and others. The king of England also understanding his owne state, for want of monie, to mainteine the warres, if they should long continue (though otherwise he desired to haue attempted some high enterpryse against the Frenchmen) was the more easilie induced to agree by those of his counsell, that loued peace better than warre, and their wiues soft beds better than hard armes; and a stonie lodging.

But the duke of Glocester & others, whose swords thirsted for French blood, cried out on this peace; saying that all their trauell, paines, & expenses were to their shame lost and cast awaie, and nothing gained but a continuall mocke (and daillie derision of the French king and all his minions. This imagination took effect without delay. For a gentleman of the French kings chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demand of an Englishman, how manie battels king Edward had vanquished? He answered, nine: wherein he himselfe personallie had bene. A great honour said the Frenchman. But I praise you (quoth he smiling) how manie hath he lost? The Englishman perceiving what he meant, said: one, which you by policie, and by no strength, haue caused him to lose.

Well said the Frenchman, you maie ponder in a paire of balance, the gaine of nine gotten battels, and the rebuke of this one in this maner lost: for I tell you, that we haue this saying; The force of England hath and doth surmount the force of France: but the ingenious wits of the Frenchmen excell the dull braines of Englishmen. For in all battels you haue bene the gainers, but in leaguers and treaties our wits haue made you losers: so that you maie content your felices with the losse in treaties, for the spoile that you gat in warres and battels. This communication was reported to the French king, who priuie sent for the Englishman to supper, and not onlie made him good chere, but also gaue him a thousand crownes, to praise the peace and to helpe to mainteine the same. Yet neuertheless, he being not a little moued with these brags, declared all the communication to the duke of Glocester; who sware, that he would neuer haue set foot out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the Frenchmen once to assaie the strength & puissance of the Englishmen: but what so euer he thought, all things were transferred vnto an other end than he could imagine.]

When the duke of Burgognie heard that there was a peace in hand betwixt king Edward and the French king, he came in no small hast from Lutzeburgh, onelie accompanied with sixtene horses into the king of Englands lodging, and began as one in a great chafe soze to blame his doings, declaring in plaine termes how dishonorable this peace should be vnto him, hauing atchiued nothing of that about the which he came. The king of England, after he had giuen him leaue to speake his fantasie, answered him somewhat roundlie againe, openlie reprimanding him for his promise-breaking and vncourteous dealing with him: where for his cause chafie he had passed the seas, and now found him not to keepe touch in any one point which he had couenanted. But to adde more weight to the matter in hand, sith it was so seruicelie debated betwene the two potentats, let vs heare what talke historiens report to haue bene interchanged betwene them. The king of England (saith mine author) not a little abashed both at the dukes sudden coming, and his fierce countenance, like one that would rather bite than bite, deman-

ded of him the cause of his sudden coming. The duke sharpelie answered, to know whether he had either entered into any communication, or onelie had absolutelie concluded a peace betwene the French king and him. King Edward declared how that for sundrie and diuerse great and urgent causes, touching as well the vniuersall publike wealth of the whole christianitie, as their owne priuate commoditie and the quietnesse of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie for terme of nine yeares, in the which were comprised, as followes and friends, both he and the duke of Britaine, requiring him to condescend and agree to the same.

O Lord, oh saint George (quoth the duke of Burgognie) haue you thus done in deed? Haue you passed the seas, entered into France, and without killing of a poxe die, or burning of a felie theperote, and haue taken a shamefull truce? Did your noble ancestoz, Edward the third, euer make armie into France (as he made manie) in the which he did not either gaine victorie in battell, or profit in conquering cities, towncs, and countries? That victorious prince, as nere kin to me, as you to king Henrie the fifth, I meane whose blood you haue either rightfullie or wrongfullie (God knoweth) extinguished & destroyed, with a small puissance entered into France, conquered whole Normandie, and not alonelie conquered it, but peaceablie kept it, and neuer would either comen or agree to any league, vntill he had the whole realme of France offered him; & was thereof made regent and heire apparant. And you without any thing doing, or any honour or profit gaining, haue condescended to a peace, both as honourable and as profitable to you as a peasecod, and not so wholesome as a pomegranat. Thinke you that I either moued you, or once intised you to take this iournie for my peculiar advantage or commoditie (which of my power am able to reuenge mine owne causes, without helpe of others) but onelie to haue you recouer your old rights and possessions, which were from you both tortiouslie and wrongfullie withheld? And to the intent that you shall know that I haue no need of your aid, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the French king, till you be passed the sea, and haue bene there thre moneths.

When duke Charles had thus said, he furiously threw downe his chaire, and would haue departed. But the king him said & said: Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leasure what you would, you must and shall heare againe what you would not. And first, as concerning our entrie into France, no man liuing knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so well to remember it as you: for if you haue not fullie put your greatest things (to be had in memorie) in your booke of oblivion, you be not yet out of mind how the French king, for all your power, took from you the faire towne of Amiens, and the strong pile of saint Quintins, with diuerse other towncs, which you neither durst nor yet were able either to rescue or defend. Since which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your friends; yea, of your priuie chamber and secret counsell (by whome all your secrets be to him revealed and made open) you know or haue better cause to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined to besiege the towne of Aulse, you thought your selfe in a great doubt, whether you should lose more at home by your absence (the French king dreaming and waiting like a fox for his preie) or gaine more in Germanie by your power and presence. And to keepe the wolfe from the fold, that is, the French king from your castles and dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause whie you

" you so false praie me, so soze laboured and intised me
 " to passe ouer the sea, promising mounteins of gold,
 " which turned into snow and waisted into water, boar-
 " ding and craking to send ho:smen and footmen; and
 " yet shewing neither lackie nor page. If we had made
 " our enterprize for our selfe solie and in our owne quar-
 " rel, thinke you that we would haue expected your
 " comining? If the aduenture had bene for to haue
 " recouered our right, imagine you that we would
 " haue passed the sea so slenderlie as we did, looking for
 " your aid? Nay, nay, you should haue well knowen,
 " if we had intended a conquest, that we would haue
 " so stronglie inuaded & set on the realme of France,
 " that what with sauer of burning of towncs, and in-
 " fectiō of the aier, corrupted by the multitude of dead
 " carcasses of our staine enimies, your countries of
 " Flanders & Brabant should haue had cankes enow
 " to wonder at: trusting that that which we had got-
 " ten, we would haue kept as well as anie of our suc-
 " cessors haue done.

" But bicause the verie occasion of the warre was
 " yours, and that you wilfullie (I will not saie coward-
 " lie) did not prosecute the same, the French king, who
 " neuer offended me nor my subiects (except in main-
 " taining the earle of Warwicke, for the displeasure
 " that you bare him against me) offered me, being de-
 " stitute of all your succour and aid, both honourable
 " and honest ouertures of peace, which offers I was in
 " manner enforced (by verie reason) to incline to and
 " accept, and so haue concluded a truce, which (God
 " willing) I will both keepe and obserue. God send you
 " joy (quoth the duke) and so abruptly ended his talke
 " for that time.

The departure
 from the king
 in a rage.

The constable
 of France
 his offer to
 Ed. Edward.

Abr. Fl. ex
 Edw. Hall, fol.
 CCXXXij,
 CCXXXij,

" Herewith (being in a great rage) he bad the king of
 " England farewell, and suddenlie toke his horse, and
 " rode againe to Lutzenburgh, promising not to enter
 " into anie league with the French king, till king Ed-
 " ward was passed the seas againe into England, and
 " had bene there thre moneths: but this promise was
 " not performed, for of necessitie he toke a wiser waie,
 " and agreed with the French king upon a truce im-
 " mediatlie after the departure of the English armie
 " out of his countrie. The constable of France also,
 " doubting that his vntruth would be disclosed to his
 " destruction, by means of this agreement betwene
 " the kings of England and France, as soone as he
 " heard they were entred into communication there-
 " of, sent to king Edward, requiring him not to credit
 " the French kings promises, which he would no longer
 " obserue, than untill he should once vnderstand,
 " that he was on the other side of the sea: and rather
 " than he should agree for want of monie, he offered to
 " lend him fiftie thousand crownes. But the king of
 " England, sith the accord was passed and agreed,
 " would not change anie thing for the promises of so
 " slipper a merchant as he knew the constable to be.

" Then was the constable in manner on all sides
 " in despayre, but yet he wrote to the French king by
 " his messengers, beseeching him to giue no credit or
 " beleafe to anie tale told or fained against him, with-
 " out hearing his answer, affirming that the king had
 " alwaies knowen his trust and fidelitie toward the
 " crowne of France, and so should he still find him till
 " his dying daie; promising and warranting him, if
 " that it should stand with his pleasure, that he would
 " so compasse the duke of Burgognie, that they two
 " should vtterlie destroye the king of England and his
 " armie per they returned. The counsellors of the
 " French king made answer, that their master and the
 " king of England were ioined and confedered in a
 " sure amitie. Wherefore they would in no wise know
 " nor condescend to anie thing that might be either
 " preiudiciall, or once sound to the detriment of the
 " Englishmen: but they said, that the king their ma-

" ster much trusted the constable, and that for his sake
 " he would talke with them in his priuie chamber. The
 " French king, before their entrie into his chamber,
 " caused the lord of Containe, seruant vnto the duke of
 " Burgognie, accompanied with the lord of Argen-
 " ton, one of his priuie counsell, to stand secretlie be-
 " hind a seeling or hanging in his chamber, & he him-
 " selfe sat in a chaire directlie before that place, so that
 " what soeuer were purposed to him, they standing be-
 " hind the cloth, might plainlie see and easilie heare the
 " same.

" Leues de Creuell and his fellow entered into the
 " kings chamber, of nothing thinking lesse than of the
 " spirits inclosed. They declared what paine their mas-
 " ter had taken for the French kings sake, to send,
 " moue and entise the duke of Burgognie to leaue,
 " and cleaue to forsake the king of England, which
 " duke they found in such a rage and furie against
 " the Englishmen, that at their request he was not
 " onelie vtterlie determined to forsake and refuse
 " their amitie, but also would send out aduenturers and
 " lanceknights, to rob and spoile them in their retur-
 " ning. And in speaking these words (thinking suerlie
 " much to please the king) the said Leues counterfeited
 " the fashion and gesture of the duke of Burgog-
 " nie, and began to stampe with his foot on the ground,
 " and beat with his fist on the table, swearing by saint
 " George that the king of England was not extracted
 " of anie noble house, but was a yeomans sonne; and
 " that when he was not worth one halfe penie, he was
 " refozed to his kingdome, and made king onlie by
 " his aid, repprouing and reuiling him with such ill
 " words, and so shamefull termes, that all the hearers
 " abhorred it.

" The French king, faining that he was thicke of
 " hearing, caused him to reiterate his saying againe,
 " who so counterfeited the verie gesture of the dukes
 " angrie countenance and rozing voice, that no man
 " hath seene a better counterfeitor or actor in anie co-
 " medie or tragedie. The lord of Containe was soze dis-
 " pleased to see his master made a iesting stocke; but
 " he kept all these things secret, till his returne to his
 " master. When the pageant was played, the king bad
 " the messengers of the constable to haue him com-
 " mended to his brother their master, and to declare to
 " him that as newes rose & grew, he would therof ad-
 " uertise him, & so gaue them licence to depart to their
 " master, who thought himselte now to be in great
 " suertie of his estate, when in deed he was neuer so
 " nere his fall and perdition: esteeming the duke of
 " Burgognie to be his assured friend, who hated him
 " more than a Patime or Turke, accompting also
 " the French king to haue no ill suspition in him, who
 " neither trusted nor yet beleued anie word, writing
 " or message that was either written or sent from him.
 " Such end hath dissimulation, such fruit springeth of
 " double dealing and craftie conuicieng. For if either
 " the constable had bene faithfull to the king his mas-
 " ter, as of bounden dutie and allegiance he ought to
 " be, or else had kept his promise made to the king of
 " England and duke of Burgognie, and not dallied
 " and dissembled with them, he had suerlie in his enter-
 " mitie bene aided, succoured and comforted of one of
 " these thre at the least; where now he was of all thre
 " forsaken, and yet not forsaken, but sought for, looked
 " for, and watched for; not for his profit or promotion,
 " but for his vndoying and destruction: whereof he was
 " the principall procurer, as manie a one besides; where-
 " to the poet had an eie, when he made this outcrie of
 " inward griefe seasoned with sorrow and repentance:

Heu patior telas vulnera facta meis.

" After the peace was concluded, the Englishmen
 " were permitted to enter into the towne of Amiens,
 " and there to buye all such necessarie things as they
 " wanted,

Shamefull
 & slanderous
 words &
 against the
 of England.

wanted, and had plenty of wine (for the French king had sent into their armie a hundred carts of the best wine that could be gotten) and god there made them of his owne costs. For at the enterie of euerie gate, there were two long tables set on euerie side of the street where they should passe; and at euerie table five or six gentlemen of the best companions of all the countie were appointed to intertaine the Englishmen as they entered, not onelie to see them serued without lacking (but also to drinke and make god chere, and keepe companie with them. And euer as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the bidels and in maner enforced to drinke, wherefore they came they paid no monie, but were sent scot free.] This chere lasted three or foure daies not onelie to the French kings cost, but also to his quietnesse at length, doubting to haue bene disposed of his towne.

For on a daie there entered the number of nine thousand Englishmen well armed in sundrie companies, so that no Frenchman durst once forbid them to enter. But finally, order was taken by the king of England, who meant no deceit, that no greater number should enter than was conuenient, and the other were called backe; so that the French king and his counsell were well quieted, and rid of casting further perils than need required. After this, both the kings entered together at Picquenie on the water of Some three leagues above Amiens, shewing great courtesie either to other. The letters of both their agreements were opened and red, & then either prince laid his right hand on the missall, and his left hand on the holie crosse (as it was termed) and toke there a solemne oth to obserue and keepe the treatie for nine yeares concluded betwene them, with all their confederates and alies, compysed, mentioned and specified in the same, and further to accomplish the marriage of their children.

There was with either prince twelve noble men at this meeting, which was upon a bridge cast ouer the water of Some, a grate being set ouerthwart the same in the midst, so from side to side, that the one prince could not come vnto the other; but onelie to imbrace ech other, in putting their armes through the holes of the grate. There were foure Englishmen appointed to stand with the Frenchmen on the bridge to see their demeanour; and likewise foure Frenchmen were appointed to the Englishmen for the same purpose. There were with the king of England his brother the duke of Clarence, the earle of Northumberland, the bishop of Ely his chancellor, the lord Hastings his chamberleine, and eight others. They had louing and verie familiar talke together a good space, both afore their companie, and secretlie alone, whilste their companie (of courtesie) withdrew somewhat backe.

But it is noteworthie which I read touching both the kings meeting, the manner of their attire, and demeanour; namelie that when the token of meeting by the spot of the artillerie was knowne, the French king with twelve noble men entered the bridge, and came to the closerie, with whom was John duke of Bourbon, and the cardinall his brother, a prelat more meet for a ladies carper, than for an ecclesiasticall pulpit, and ten other, amongst whom the lord of Argenton was in like disguised attire as the French king wore, for so was his pleasure that daie to haue him adorned. The king of England and foure other with him were appavelled in cloth of gold frised, having on his bonet of blacke velvet a flower: delice of gold, set with verie rich and orient stones; he was a goodlie faire and beautifull prince, beginning a litle to grow in flesh. Now when he approached nere the grate, he toke off his cap, and made a low and solemne obet-

sance: the French king made to him an humble reuerence, but after his fashion somewhat homelie. King Lewes imbraced king Edward through the barriers, saleng: Cousine you be right heartilie wel come into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more desired to see and speake with, than with you: and now landed be almightie God, we be here met together for a good and godlie purpose, whereof I doubt not but that we shall haue cause to reioisse. The king of England thanked him, and answered to his words so soberlie, so grauelie, and so princelie, that the Frenchmen thereat not a litle mused. The chancelor of England made there a solemne oration in laud and praise of peace, concluding on a prophesie, which said that at Picquenie should be concluded a peace both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and France.

When the oth was taken and swoyne (as before you haue heard) the French king said merilie to king Edward; Brother, if you will take pains to come to Paris, you shall be feasted and intertained with ladies; and I shall appoint you the cardinall of Bourbon for your confessor, which shall gladlie absolve you of such sinnes, if anie be committed. The king of England toke these words pleasantlie and thankfullie, for he was informed that the cardinall was a good companion, and a chapleine meet for such a dallieng pastime. When this communication was merilie ended, the French king, intending to shew himselfe like a maister amongst his seruants, made all his companie to draw backe from him, meaning to commune with the king of England secretlie. The Englishmen withdrew to them without any commandement: Then the two kings communed alone secretlie, I thinke not to the profit of the constable of France. The French king demanded of king Edward, whether the duke of Burgognie would accept the truce: King Edward answered that he would once againe make an offer; and then vpon the refusal, he would referre and report the truth to them both. Then king Lewes began to speake of the duke of Britaine, whom he would faine haue excepted out of the league. To whom the king of England answered; Brother, I require you to moue no warre to the duke of Britaine; for on my fidelitie, in the time of my need and aduerlitie, I neuer found a more friendlie, sure and stedfast louer than he.

Then king Lewes called his companie againe, and with most lowlie and amiable commendations toke his leaue of the king of England, speaking certaine friendlie words to euerie Englishman: king Edward doing likewise to the Frenchmen. Then both at one time departed from the barriers, & mounted on horsebacke, and departed; the French king to Amiens, and king Edward to his armie. So without was sent out of the French kings house, all things necessarie for a prince, inso much that neither torches nor torchets lacked vntill. When the French king was departed from Picquenie, he called to him the lord of Argenton, saleng: By the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince, he at the first becke would gladlie see Paris, where he might fortune to find such pleasant and talkatiue dames, which with faire words & pleasant pastimes might so allure him to their fantasies; that it might had occasion in him to come ouer the sea againe, which I would not gladlie see. For his progenitors haue borne too long and too often both in Paris and Normandie. On this side the sea I loue neither his sight nor his companie; but when he is at home I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friend.

The French king, after this departing, soe desired to make warre on the duke of Britaine: which he could not doe, except he were left out of the treatie.

Wherefore

As from ex
Hall,
in County.

The enter-
dow between
king Edward
the fourth, &
the French
king.

*Of timber
brought to the
grate where
the kings be
sate in the
Tower.

As from
Hall,
in County.

The manner
the English,
and manner
the French.

French tone.

Therefore he sent the lord of Buchage, and the lord of saint Pierre, to the king of England, intreating him by all waies and motions possible, to leaue the duke of Britaine for his alie, and not to haue him comprehended in the league. The king of England hearing them so serioullie and so feruentlie speake against the duke of Britaine; with an earnest countenance answered, saieing: My lords, I assure you, if I were peaceable at home in my realme, yet for the defense of the duke of Britaine and his countrie, I would passe the seas againe, against all them that either would doo him iniurie, or make warre vpon him. The French lords nothing further saieing, much marvelled why the king of England so fuerlie claue to the duke of Britains partie: but they knew not (or else at the least remembred not) that Henrie earle of Richmond was within the power and dominion of the duke of Britaine, whome king Edwards had taste euer gaue him would make once a title to the crowne of England, as next heire to the house of Lancaster. For he knew well, that if the duke of Britaine would transport him into England (where hee had both kinsfolks and friends) with neuer so small an aid (yea, though it were but the shadow of an arme) then were he enforced newlie to begin againe a conquest, as though he had neuer wonne the crowne, nor obtained the possession of the realme, which was the verie cause why he stucke so close to the duke of Britains part.

The same night the lords returned to Amiens, and reported to their maister king Edwards answer, who therewith was not the best pleased. But pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedie but to dissemble the matter. This same night also, there came the lord Howard, and two other of the king of Englands counsell, who had bene coadiutors to ward the peace, to the French king to supper. The lord Howard said to the French king secretlie in his eare, that if it stood with his pleasure, he could persuade the king of England to come to Amiens, yea, peradventure as farre as Paris, familiarlie and friendlie to solace himselfe with him, as his trustie friend and faithfull brother. The French king, to whom this motion was nothing pleasant, calling for water, washed, and rose without anie answer making: but he said to one of his counsell, that he imagined in his owne conceipt, that this request would be made. The Englishmen began againe to commune of that matter, the Frenchmen politikelie brake their communication, saieing: that the king with all celeritie must march forward against the duke of Burgognie.

Although this motion seemed onelie to increase loue and continuall amitie betwene the princes; yet the Frenchmen, hauing in their perfect remembrance the innumerable damages and hurts, which they of late daies had sustained by the English nation (whereby continuall hatred increased against them in France) thought by policie and wisdom, with faire words and friendlie countenance, to put by this request, and to motion them rather to depart homeward, than to picke them forward to Paris; where peradventure they might be so interlined at this time, that they would at another come thither, both undesired and vnwelcomed. This peace was said to be made onelie by the Holie-ghost, because that on the daie of meeting, a white dove sat on the top of the king of Englands tent: whether the fate there to dye him, or came thither as a token giuen by God, I referre it to your iudgment. At this treatie and meeting was not the duke of Gloucester, nor other lords which were not content with this truce; but the duke came afterwards to Amiens, with diuerse other lords of England, to the French king,

which both highlie feasted them, and also presented them with plate and hories well garnished.

King Edward, considering what gaine the Englishmen had gotten by making warre in France; and what miserie, what calamitie, and what pouertie the French nation had suffered, and manie yeares sustained, by reason of the said warres; determined clearelie rather to pacifie and intertaine the English nation by faire words and great rewards (although it were to his great charge) than by too much hardnesse to put himselfe, his nobilitie & realme in hazard, by giuing them battell, as his predecessours had vnwollente done at Poitiers, and at Agincourt. Wherefore to bueie peace, he granted king Edward for a yearelie tribute fiftie thousand crownes, to be paid at London; which, accounting a crowne at foure shillings, amounteth to ten thousand pounds. And to haue the fanout and good will of his chiefe counsellors, he gaue great pensions, amounting to the summe of sixtene thousand crownes a yeare, that is to saie: to his chancelor, to the lord Hastings his chiefe chamberleine, a man of no lesse wit than vertue, and of great authoritie with his maister, and that not without cause; for he had as well in time of aduersitie, as in the faire flattering world, well and truelie serued him: and to the lord Howard, to sir Thomas Montgomerie, to sir Thomas Senteleger, to sir John Cheinie maister of the kings hories, to the marques Dorset, sonne to the queene, and diuerse other, he gaue great and liberall rewards, to the intent to keepe himselfe in amitie with England, while he wan and obtained his purpose and desire in other places.

These persons had giuen to them great gifts, beside yearelie pensions. For Argenton his counsellor affirmed of his owne knowledge, that the lord Howard had in lesse than the tearme of two yeares, for reward in monie and plate, foure and thentie thousand crownes; & at the time of this meeting, he gaue to the lord Hastings the kings chiefe chamberleine, (as the Frenchmen write) an hundred markes of siluer, made in plate, whereof euerie marke is eight ounces sterling. But the English writers affirme, that he gaue the lord Hastings foure and thentie dozen bolles, that is to saie, twelue dozen gilt, & twelue dozen ungilt, euerie cup twelue senetene nobles: which gift, either betokened in him a great liberall nature, or else a great and especiall confidence that he had reposed in the said lord chamberleine. Beside this, he gaue him yearelie two thousand crownes pension, the which summe he sent to him by Piers Cleret, one of the maisters of his house, giuing him in charge to receiue of him an acquittance for the receipt of the same pension, to the intent that it should appeare in time to come, that the chancelor, chamberleine, admerall, maisters of the hories to the king of England, and manie other of his counsell, had bin in fee and pensionaries of the French king, whose yearelie acquittances (the lord Hastings onelie excepted) remaine of record to be shewed in the chamber of accounts in the palace of Paris.

When Piers Cleret had paid the pension to the lord Hastings, he gentlie demanded of him an acquittance for his discharge. Which request when he denied, he then onlie asked of him a bill of these lines to be directed to the king, testifying the receipt of the pension: to the intent that the king your maister should not thinke the pension to be imbevelled. The lord Hastings, although he knew that Piers demanded nothing but reason, answered him: Sir, this gift cometh onelie of the liberall pleasure of the king his maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinat will that I shall haue it, then put you it into my sace; and if not, I praye you render to him

his gift againe: for neither he nor you shall haue either letter, acquittance, or scroll signed with my hand of the receipt of anie pension, to the intent to brag another daie, that the kings chamberleine of England hath bene pensionarie with the French king, & shew his acquittance in the chamber of accounts, to his dishonour. Whers left his monie behind, and made relation of all things to his maister: which although that he had not his will, yet he much more praised the wisdom and policie of the lord Hastings, than of the other pensionaries, commanding him perforce to be paid, without anie discharge demanding.]

When the king of England had receiued his monie, and his nobilitie their rewards, he trussed up his tents, laded his baggage, and departed towards Calis. [But per he came there, he remembryng the craftie dissimulation, and the vntrue dealing of Helmes earle of saint Paule, high constable of France, intending to declare him to the French king in his verie true likenesse and portrature, sent vnto him two letters of credence, twittyn by the said constable, with the true report of all such wordes and messages as had bene to him sent, and declared by the said constable and his ambassadours. Which letters the French king gladlie receiued, and thankfullie accepted, as the chiefe instrument to bring the constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, such is the end of dissemblers.] When king Edward was come to Calis, and had set all things in an order, he took ship, and sailed with a prosperous wind into England, and was roiallie receiued vpon Blackheath by the maiors of London and the magistrates, and five hundred commoners apparrelled in murrie, the eight and twentieth daie of September, and so conueied through the cite of Westminster, where for a while (after his long labour) he reposed himselfe: enerie daie almost talking with the queene his wife of the marriage of his daughter, whome he caused to be called Dolphine: thinking nothing surer than that marriage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which marriage caused him to dissemble, and do things which afterward chanced greatlie to the French kings profit, & smallie to his.]

About the same season, the French king, to compass his purpose for the getting of the constable into his hands, took truce with the duke of Burgonie for nine yeares, as a contractor in the league, and not comprehender as an other princes alie. The king of England aduertised hereof, sent ouer sir Thomas Spontgonmerie to the French king, offering to passe the seas againe the next summer in his aid, to make warres on the duke Burgonie: so that the French king should paie to him fiftie thousand crownes for the losse which he should susteine in his custome, by reason that the wolles at Calis (because of the warres) could haue no bent, and also paie halfe the charges and halfe the wages of his souldiers and men of warre. The French king thanked the king of England for his gentle offer, but he alledged that the truce was already concluded, so that he could not then attempt anie thing against the same without reproch to his honour.

But the truth was, the French king neither loved the sight nor liked the companie of the king of England on that side the sea; but when he was here at home, he both loved him as his brother, and took him as his friend. Sir Thomas Spontgonmerie was with plate richlie rewarded, and so dispatched. Where returned with him the lord Howard and sir John Cheynie, which were hostages with the French king, till the English armie were returned into England. King Edward, hauing established all things in good order, as men might iudge, both within his realme and without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that

Henrie the earle of Richmond (one of the bloud of king Henrie the first) was alieue, and at libertie in Britaine: therefore to attempt to shew the mind of Francis duke of Britaine, he sent ouer vnto the said duke, one doctor Stillington, and two other his ambassadours laden with no small summe of gold.

These ambassadours, declaring their message, affirmed that the king their maister willed to haue the earle of Richmond onelie for this purpose, to ioine with him in aliance by marriage, and so to plucke by all the leauings of discord betwene him and the contrarie faction. The duke gentlie heard the orators. And though at the first he by excuses denied their request, yet at the length, beleuing that king Edward would giue to the earle his eldest daughter, the labie Elizabeth in marriage, he consented to deliuer him, and receiued of the English orators a great summe of monie. But per they were imbarked with their price, the duke being aduertised, that the earle of Richmond was not so earnestlie sought for, to be coupled in marriage with king Edwards daughter; but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, caused his treasurer Peter Lancoile to conueie the said earle of Richmond into a sanctuarie at St. Spalo, where the English ambassadours then laie, onelie staing for a conuenient wind: who complained, that they were euill vsed, to be spoiled both of their monie and merchandize.

Yet because the matter was so handled, that it seemed the earle escaped into the sanctuarie through their owne negligence, after they had receiued him into their hands, they were sone answered: but yet promise was made, that the earle should be safelie kept, either in the sanctuarie, or else as prisoner in the dukes house, that they should not need to feare him more than his shadow. And thus the king of England purchased for his monie the keeping of his enemie, the space onelie of thre daies and no more. King Edward was somewhat displeased with this chance, but yet trusting that the duke of Britaine would (according to promise) see the earle of Richmond safelie kept from doing anie graunce to him or his subjects, put all doubts therof out of his mind, and began to studie how to keepe a liberall princelie house, and there vpon storing his chests with monie, he imploied no small portion in good housekeeping.

But hauing spoken thus much of the earle of Richmond, whome Edward Hall compareth to a sheepe betrayed into the teeth and clauies of the wolfe, you shall vnderstand, that at such time as his troubles were set fresh abroach, and he knowing that he was going towards his death, for vertie penitenselle and inward thought, fell into a feruent and sore ague. In which verie season, one John Cheulet, so esteemed among the princes of Britaine as few were in all the countrie, and in much credit, and well accepted with the duke, was (when these things were thus concluded) for his solace in the countrie. Who being hereof certified, was chased with the abhominacion of the fact, resorted to the court, and familiarlie came to the dukes presence, where he stood so sadlie and so pale, without anie word speaking, that the duke was much abashed, and suddenlie marvelled at his sad and frowning countenance, and demanded of him what should signifie that dampshynesse of mind, and inward sighing, the which by his countenance manifestlie appeared and was euident. He modestlie answered, Most noble and redoubted lord, this palenesse of visage and deadlie looke doth prognosticate the time of my death to approach and be at hand, which if it had chanced to me before this daie, I assure you, it had much lesse hurt me. For then had I not bene reserved to feele the dolorous pangis and sorrowfull sighings, which a fact by you done (that I thought impossible

Henrie earle of Richmond,

Ambassadours into Britaine

The earle of Richmond taken sanctuarie.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvij.

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C. xxviij.

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1475
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Ambassadours
into Britaine

The earle of
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Abbr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall
fol. C. xxviij.

Edw. Hall.

impossible

“ (impossible to be obtained) hath printed in my stomach
and in my heart deeple grauen: so that I well per-
ceiue, that either I shall lose my life, or else liue in
perpetuall distresse and continuall miserie.

“ For you my singular god lord, by your vertuous
acts and noble feats, haue gotten to you in manner
an immortall fame, which in euerie mans mouth is
extolled & auanced aboue the high clouds. But alas
me seemeth (I praye you pardon me my rudenesse)
that now that you haue obtained so high praise
and glorie, you nothing lesse regard than to keepe
and preserue the same inuolate, considering that
you, forgetting your faith and faithfull promise made
to Henrie earle of Richmond, haue deliuered the
most innocent yong gentleman to the cruell tor-
mentors, to be afflicted, rent in peces, and slaine.
“ Wherefore all such as loue you, of the which number
I am one, cannot chuse but lament & be sorie, when
they see openlie the fame and glorie of your most re-
nowned name, by such a disolatie and vnruth-
gainst promise, to be both blotted and stained with a
perpetuall note of slander and infamie. Peace mine
owne god John (quoth the duke) I praise thee, be leue
me there is no such thing like to happen to the earle of
Richmond: for king Edward hath sent for him, to
make of him, being his suspected enimie, his good
and faire sonne in law.

“ Well well (quoth John) my redoubted lord, giue
credence vnto me: the earle Henrie is at the ve-
rie brinke to perishe, whome if you permit once to set
but one foot out of your power and dominion, there
is no mortall creature able hereafter to deliuer him
from death. The duke being moued with the persua-
sions of John Cheulet, which either little belued, or
finallie suspected king Edward, to desire the earle
for anie fraud or deceit, or else seduced by blind aua-
rice and lone of monie, more than honestie, fidelitie,
or wisdome would require, did not consider what he
vndoubtedly did, or what he undoubtedly should haue
done. Wherefore, with all diligence he sent forth Pe-
ter Landoise his chiefe treasurer, commanding him
to intercept and stae the earle of Richmond, in all
hast possible, as before you haue heard.]

“ In this yeare deceased sir John Crosbie knight,
(not long before this, maior of London) and was bu-
ried in the parish church of saint Helen in Bishops
gate street, vnto the repairing of which parish church
he gaue five hundred marks, and thirtie pounds to be
distributed to poore householders in the ward of Bish-
ops gate: to the repairing of the parish church at
Penelworth in Spidlese forty pounds: to the repar-
ing of London wall one hundred pounds: toward
the making of a new tower of stone at the south
end of London brdge, if the same were begun by the
maior and communalitie within ten yeares next af-
ter his decess, one hundred pounds: to the repara-
tions of Rochester brdge ten pounds: to euerie
the prisons in and about London liberallie. Also he
gaue to the wardens and communalitie of the gro-
cers in London two large pots of silver chased halfe
guilt, weting thirtene pounds and five ounces of
Troy twight, to be occupied in their common hall,
and elsewhere, at their discretions.

In this yeare were inhanced to the honour of
knighthood, after the custome of England, in the
time of peace the kings eldest son Edward prince of
Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earle of Chester, his
second sonne the duke of York, and with them the
earle of Lincoln sonne and heire, the duke of Suff-
olke, the lord Thomas Greie, the quenes sonne, and
Richard his brother, the earle of Shrewsburie, the
earle of Wilshire, master Edward Woodville, the
lord Penill, the lord Barkleis sonne and heire, the
lord Audelies sonne and heire, the lord saint Amand,

the lord Stanleis sonne and heire, the lord Suttons
sonne and heire, the lord Hastings sonne and heire,
the lord Ferrers of Charles sonne and heire, ma-
ster Herbert brother to the earle of Penbroke, ma-
ster Waughan Brian chiefe iudge, William one of
the iudges of the common pleas, master Wooding-
ham, master Brian Stapleton, knecut, William, sonne
of the lord Thomas marquess, Dorset, before din-
ner, and so in the habit of a marquess aboue the ha-
bit of his knighthood he began the table of knights
in saint Edwards chamber. At that time he ordeined
that the kings chamberleine should go with the an-
cient and well nurtered knight, to aduertise and teach
the order of knighthood to the esquier, being in the
baine. The king himselfe came in person and did ho-
nour to all the companie with his noble counsell.]

This yeare the duke of Burgonie was slaine, by
the Switzers, before the towne of Prancie in Lou-
raigne, after whose death the French king wan all the
townes which the said duke held in Picardie and Ar-
tois. And because that the towne of Bullen and coun-
tie of Bullennois appertained by right of inheritance
vnto the lord Bertham de la Cour, earle of Au-
uergne, the French king bought of him his right and
title in the same, and recompensed him with other
lands in the countie of Fozess, and in other places.
And because the forenamed towne and countie were
holden of the earle doun of Artois, he changed the
tenure, and auowed to hold the same towne & coun-
tie of our ladie of Bolongne, and therof did homage
to the image in the great church of Bolongne, offer-
ring there an hart of gold, weting two thousand
croiwnes; ordeining further, that his heires and suc-
cessors at their entrie into their estates, by them-
selues or their deputies, should offer an hart of like
wright and value, as a relesse and homage for the
same towne and countie.

This yeare was Robert Bassett maior of Lon-
don, who did sharpe correction vpon bakers, for ma-
king of light bread, he caused diuerse of them to be
set on the pillorie in Cornhill. And also one Agnes
Daintie a butterwife for selling of butter new and
old mingled together, being first trapped with butter
dishes, was then set on the pillorie. The countesse of
Driford deceased and was buried at Windesore. Also
this yeare Richard Ratson one of the lycrifies of
London, caused to be builded one house in the church
yard of S. Marie hospitall without Bishops gate
of London, where the maior of that cite and his bre-
thren the aldermen use to sit and heare the sermons
in the Easter holidaies, as in times past appeared
by an inscription on the front of the same house, now
by wethering defaced, which I haue read in these
wordes: Prate for the soules of Richard Ratson late
Shercer and alderman of London, and Isabel his
wife, of whose gods this worke was made and foun-
ded. Anno Dom. 1488.]

By the diligence of Ralph Tosseline maior of
London, the wall about London was new made be-
twixt Algate and Creplegate: he caused the space
field to be searched for claie, and bricke to be made
and burnt there: he also caused chalker to be brought
out of Kent, and in the same space field to be burnt
into lime, for the furtherance of that worke. The ma-
ior with his companie of the drapers made all that
part betwixt Bishops gate and Alhalowes church in
the same wall. Bishops gate itselfe was new built
by the merchants Almans of the Stillard, and from
Alhalowes church toward space gate a great part
of the same was builded of the gods, & by the erec-
tors of sir John Crosbie sometimes an alderman of
London, as may appeare by his armes in two places
fired. The companie of Skinners made that part of
the

Ab. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 72.
John
Crosbie his
gift to the
cite.

I.S. pag. 74.
Ratson
made by the
king.

William

1476
Anno Reg.
The death of
the duke of
Burgonie

Ab. Fl.
I.S. pag. 74.
Agnes Daintie
set on the
pillorie.

1477
Part of a
don wall
built.

Sheweth
new built.

the wall betwene Algate and Buries markes towards Bishops gate, as may appeare by their armes in these places fired: the other companies of the citie made the other deale of the said wall, which was a great worke to be done in one yeare.

Also this yeare Thomas Burdet an esquier of Arrol in Warwicksheire, sonne to sir Nicholas Burdet (who was great butler of Poymandie in Henrie the first daies) was beheaded for a word spoken in this sort. King Edward in his progresse hunted in Thomas Burdets parke at Arrol, and slue manie of his deer, amongst the which was a white bucke, whereof Thomas Burdet made great account. And therefore when he understood thereof, he wished the buckes head in his bellie that moued the king to kill it. Which tale being told to the king, Burdet was apprehended and accused of treason, for wishing the buckes head (horne and all) in the kings bellie: he was condemned, drawne from the Tower of London to Albaine, and there beheaded, and then buried in the Greie friers church at London. Wherefore it is good counsell that the wiseman giueth, saieing: *Keep thy tong & keep thy life, for manie times we see, that speech offendeth & procureth mischefe, where silence is author neither of the one nor the other, as it is true and in praise of silence spoken by the poet:*

-nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse loquutum.]

About this season, through great mishap, the sparke of priuie malice was newlie kindled betwixt the king and his brother the duke of Clarence, inasmuch that where one of the dukes seruants was suddenlie accused (I can not saie whether of truth, or vntrulie suspected by the dukes enemies) of poisoning, forcerie or enchantment, and thereof condemned, and put to execution for the same, the duke which might not suffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conscience iudged) nor yet forbear but to murmur and reprove the doing thereof, moued the king with his daile exclamation to take such displeasure with him, that finally the duke was cast into the Tower, and therewith aduised for a traitor, and priuie drowned in a butt of malmesie, the eleuenth of March, in the beginning of the seuenteenth yeare of the kings reigne.

Some haue reported, that the cause of this noble mans death rose of a foolish prophesie, which was, that after R. Edward one should reigne, whose first letter of his name should be a C. Wherewith the king and quene were sore troubled, and began to conceive a greuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And as the diuell is wont to inumber the minds of men which delight in such diuells fantasies, they said afterward, that that prophesie lost not his effect, when after king Edward, Gloucester vsurped his kingdome. And ther alledged, that the cause of his death was for that the duke, being destitute of a wife, by the meanes of his sister the ladie Margaret, duchesse of Burgognie, procured to haue the ladie Marie, daughter and heire to his husband duke Charles.

Which marriage king Edward (enuieng the prosperitie of his brother) both gaine said and disurbed, and thereby old malice renewed betwixt them: which the quene and his blood (euer mistrusting, and priuie barking at the kings image) ceased not to increase. But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death; yet he much did both lament his unfortunate chance, & repent his sudden execution: inasmuch that when any person sued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomable saie, & openlie speake: *Oh unfortunate brother, for whose life not one would make sute.* Openlie and apparant meaning by such words, that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie

he was deceiued and brought to confusion.

This duke left behind him two yong infants begot of the bodie of his wife, the daughter of Richard late earle of Marwike: which children by destinie as it were, or by their owne merits, following the steps of their ancestors, succeeded them in like misfortune and semblable euill chance. For Edward his heire, whom king Edward had created earle of Marwike was three and twentie yeares after, in the time of Henrie the seauenth, atteinted of treason, and on the Tower hill lost his head. Margaret his sole daughter married to sir Richard Pole knight, and by Henrie the eight restored to the name, title, & possessions of the earldome of Salisburie, was at length for treason committed against the said Henrie the eight atteinted in open parlement; and sixtie two yeares after his father had suffered death in the Tower, she on the greene within the same place was beheaded. In whose person died the verie surname of Plantagenet, which from Geffrie Plantagenet so long in the blood roiall of this realme had flourished and continued.

After the death of this duke, by reason of great heat and disemperance of aire, happened so fierce & quicke a pestilence, that sixtene yeares warre past consumed not the thirde part of the people, that one lie foure moneths miserable and pittfullie dispatched & brought to their graues. So that if the number had bene kept by multiplieng of unities, & out of them to haue raised a complet number, it would haue moued matter of verie great admiration. But it should seeme that they were infinit, if consideration be had of the comparision, inferred for the more effectually setting forth of that cruell and ceaselesse contagion. And suerlie it soundeth to reason, that the pestilence should fetch a waie so manie thousands, as in iudgement by proportion of sixtene yeares warre one maie gather; and manie more to. For euery man knoweth that in warres, time, place, persons, and meanes are limited: time of warre begun and ended; place circumscribed; persons imbatteled, and weapons also whereby the fight is tried: so that all these haue their limitations, beyond which they haue no extant. But the pestilence, being a general infection of the aire, an element ordeined to maintain life, though it haue a limitation in respect of the totall compasse of the world; yet whole climats maie be poisoned: and it were not absurd to saie, that all and euery part of the aire maie be pestilentlie corrupted; and so consequentlie not limited: therefore full well it maie be said of the pestilence (procuring so great a depopulation) as one saith of surfering: *Ense cadunt multi, perimit sed crapula plures.*

The counsellors of the yong duchesse of Burgognie sent to R. Edward for aid against the French king. About the same time had the quene of England sent to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, for the preferment of his brother Anthoine erle of Rulers to the yong damsell. But the counsell of Flanders, considering that he was but an earle of meane estate, and she the greatest inheritrice of all christendome at that time, gaue but deafe eare to so vnnimot a request. So which desire, if the Flemings had but giuen a liking eare by outward semblance, and with gentle words delayed the sute, she had bene both succoured and defended. Whether king Edward was not contented with this refusal, or that he was loth to breake with the French king, he would in no wise consent to send an armie into Flanders against the French king: but yet he sent ambassadours to him with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to grow to some reasonable order & agreement with the yong duchesse of Burgognie, or at the least to take a truce with hir at his request.

Alb. j.

The

Edward erle of warwike some & heire to George duke of Clarence.

Margaret duchesse of Salisburie.

A great pestilence.

Anson.

1478.
Anno Reg. 18.

Sumpt for a horse spoken betwixt

Engageant.

Begler of the Greie priore.

Anno Reg. 17.
George duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of malmesie.

Propheticalles touching the same.

The ambassadours of England were highlie reuered, bountifullie feasted, and liberallie rewarded, but answer to their desire had they none; saying that hostile after, the French king would send ambassadours, hostages, and pledges to the king of England their maister, for the perfecting and concluding of all things depending betwene them two; so that their soueraigne lord & they should haue cause to be contented and pleased. These faire words were one lie delaies to due time, untill he might haue space to spoile the yong damsell of hir townes and countreies. And beside this, to staie king Edward from taking part with hir, he wrote to him, that if he would ioine with him in aid, he should haue and inioine to him and his heires the whole countie & countrie of Flanders, discharged of homage, superlortie and reioit, to be claimed by the French king, or his successors.

Large offers made to the king of England by the French king.

He also wrote that he should haue the whole duchie of Brabant, whereof the French king offered at his owne cost and charge to conquer foure of the chiefest and strongest townes within the said duchie, & them in quiet possession to deliuer to the king of England: granting further to paie him ten thousand angels toward his charges, with munitions of warre and artillerie, which he promised to lend him, with men and carriage for the conueiance of the same. The king of England refused to make any warres against those countries that were thus offered to him: but if the French king would make him partner of his conquests in Picardie, rendering to him part of the townes already gotten, as Bologne, Spontereil, and Abail, then he would suerlie take his part, and aid him with men at his owne costs and charges.

Thus passed faire words and golden promises betwene these two princes: and in the meane time the yong duchesse of Burgognie was spoiled of hir townes, castles & territories, till at length for maintenance she condescended to marrie with Maximilian sonne to the emperour Frederike, that he might keepe the wolfe from the fold. King Edward in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne began (more than he was before accustomed) to serch the forfeiture of penall lawes and statutes, as well of the cheefe of his nobilitie as of other gentlemen, being proprietaries of great possessions, or abundantlie furnished with goods; likewise of merchants, and other inferior persons. By reason whereof, it was of all men iudged that he would proue hereafter a foie and a rigorous prince among his subiects. But this his new inuented practise and couetous meaning (by reason of foureine affaires and abridgement of his daies in this transitory life, which were within two yeares after consumed) took some (but not great) effect.

Abn. Fl. ex l. 5. pag. 747, 748. Pestilence.

In this yeare was great mortallitie and death by the pestilence, not onelie in London, but in diuerse parts of the realme, which began in the latter end of September in the yeare last before passed, and continued all this yeare till the beginning of Nouember, which was about fourtene moneths: in the which space died innumerable of people in the said citie & else-where. This yeare also the maior of London being in Paules, kneeling in his deuotions at saint Okenwalds thyrine, Robert Wiffeld one of the thiriffes vnadvisedlie kneeled doune nigh vnto the maior: whereof afterward the maior charged him to haue done more than becomed him. But the thiriffe answering rudelie and stubboznie, would not acknowledge to haue committed any offense: for the which he was afterward by a court of aldermen fined at fiftie pounds to be paid toward the reparations of the conduits in London, which was trulie paid. This yeare Thomas Alam one of the thirifs of

London newlie builded the great conduit in Cheape, of his owne charges. This yeare also king Edward began his Christmasse at Woking, and at fine daies end remoued to Grenewich, where he kept out the other part of his Christmasse with great roialtie.

Ambassadours were sent to and fro betwixt the king of England and France, and still the French king fed the king of England with faire words, putting him in hope to match his sonne and heire the Dolphin with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to the king of England, according to the conclusions of agreement had and made at Picquente betwixt them, although in verie deed he meant nothing lesse. His ambassadours euer made excuses if any thing were amisse, and he used to send change of ambassadours; so that if those which had bene here before, and were returned, had said or promised any thing (though they were authorized so to do) which might turne to their maisters hinderance, the other that came after, might excuse themselves by ignorance of that matter; affirming that they wanted commission once to talke or meddle with that matter: or if he perceived that any thing was like to be concluded contrarie to his mind, for a shift he would call his ambassadours home in great hast, and after send an other with new instructions nothing depending on the old.

Thus the French king used to dally with king Edward in the case of this marriage, onelie to keepe him still in amitie. And certeinlie the king of England, being a man of no suspicious nature, thought sooner that the sunne should haue fallen from his circle, than that the French king would haue dissembled or broken promise with him. But there is none so sone beguiled, as he that least mistrusteth; nor any so able to deceiue, as he to whome most credence is giuen. But as in mistrusting nothing, is great lightnesse; so in too much trusting, is too much follie: which well appeared in this matter. For the French king, by cloking his inward determinate purpose with great dissimulation and large promises, kept him still in friendship with the king of England, till he had wrought a great part of his will against the yong duchesse of Burgognie. Which king Edward would not haue suffered, if he had put any great doubt in the French kings faire promises, considering that the crowne of France was in this meane time so much increased in dominions, to the great reinforcement of that realme.

On the two and twentieth of Februarie were five notable thieues put to death, for robbing the church called saint Martins le grand in London, and other places; three of them were drawne to the Tower hill, hanged & burnt, the other two were pressed to death. A foie and seuerer kind of execution no doubt, but yet thought by iustice meritorious in the malefactors, for their offenses of sacrilege. Heinous enough had it bene to spoile a priuat man of his goods, and by law of nations punishable with death; but much more horrible, that prophane persons with polluted hands should prouide or openlie so touch holie & consecrated things, as to take them out of a sacred place, where (for holy uses) they were dedicated, & apply them to the satisfieng of the corrupt concupiscences of their owne hearts, the bottomlesse gulfe thereof because no booties nor spoiles could satifie; it stood with the high praise of iustice that they and their ceaselesse desires were seuered by deserved death; wherefore it is wiselie said by the comical poet of such greedy guts:

Quam quis audis poscit escam auariter,

Decipitur in transfenna perique auaritia.

In this yeare king Edward required great sums of monie to be lent him. The citizens of London granted him five thousand marks, which were seized of the six and twentie wards: which five thousand marks

Unadvised & brutishlie deuotion punctured with a sin.

Plac. in 2d.

marks was truly repaid againe in the next yeare following. ¶ Also this yeare on Whitfundaie k. Edward the fourth created the lord Berkeley, vicount Berkeley, at Crènewich. ¶ In this yeare also an house on London bridge called the common steege, or pitvie, fell downe into the Thames, where thorough it five persons were drowned. ¶ This yeare the king with his quene kept a roiall Christmas at Windsor.

Also this yeare was one Richard Chawyle ma-
10 for of London, whose king Edward so greatlie favoured, that he took him (with certeine of his brethren the aldermen, & commons of the citie of London) into the forrest of Waltham, where was ordeined for them a pleasant lodge of greene boughs, in which lodge they dined with great chere; & the king would not go to dinner untill he saw them served. Whereover he caused the lord chamberlaine, with other lords, to chere the said maior and his companie sundrie times whilst they were at dinner. After dinner they went a hunting with the king, and sue manie deare, as well red as fallow, whereof the king gave unto the maior and his companie good plentie, and sent unto the ladie maistrice and hir sisters the aldermens wives, two harts, six bucks, and a tun of wine to make them merrie with, which was eaten in the diapers hall. The cause of which bountie thus shewed by the king, was (as most men did take) for that the maior was a merchant of wonderful adventures into manie and sundrie countries. By reason whereof, the king had pearlelie of him notable summes of monie for his customes, beside other pleasures that he had shewed unto the king before times. ¶ This yeare the Scots began to stir, against whom the king sent the duke of Gloucester & manie others, which returned againe without any notable battell.]

In this berie season James the third of that name king of Scots sent into England a solemne ambassage for to haue the ladie Cicilie, king Edwards second daughter, to be married to his eldest sonne James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothesaie, and earle of Caricke. King Edward and his counsell, perceiving that this affinitie should be both honourable and profitable to the realme, did not onelie grant to his desire; but also before hand disbursed certeine summes of monie, to the onelie intent that the marriage hereafter should neither be hindered nor broken. With this condition, that if the said marriage by anie accidentall meane should in time to come take none effect; or that king Edward would notifie to the king of Scots, or his counsell, that his pleasure was determined to haue the said marriage dissolved: then the prouost and merchants of the towne of Edinburgh, should be bound for repayment of the said summes againe. All which things were with great deliberation concluded, passed, and sealed, in hope of continuall peace and indissoluble amitie.

But king James was knowne to be a man so wedded to his owne opinion, that he could not abide them that would speake contrarie to his fantasie: by means whereof, he was altogether led by the counsell and aduise of men of base linage, whose for their flatterie he had promoted unto great dignities and honourable offices. By which persons diuerse of the nobilitie of his realme were greatlie misused and put to trouble, both with imprisonment, exactions, & death; insomuch that some of them went into voluntarie exile. Amongst whom Alexander duke of Albanie, brother to king James, being exiled into France, & passing through England, taried with k. Edward; and upon occasion moued him to make warre against his brother, the said king James, for that he forgetting his oth, promise, and affinitie concluded with king Edward, caused his subsidies to make roads and forayes into the English borders,

spoiling, burning, and killing king Edwards liege people.

King Edward, not a little displeased with this unpriencelie doing, prouoked and set on also by the duke of Albanie, determined to invade Scotland with an armie, as well to reuenge his owne iniuries received at the hands of king James, as to helpe to restore the duke of Albanie unto his countrie and possessions againe. Whereupon all the winter season he mustered his men, prepared his ordinance, rigged his ships, and left nothing unpoudered for such aournie: so that in the beginning of the yeare, all things appertaining to the warre, and necessarie for his voyage, were in a readinesse. To be the cheffaine of his host, and lieutenant generall, Richard duke of Gloucester was appointed by his brother king Edward; and with him were adioined as allocats, Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie lord steward of the kings house, the lord Lonell, the lord Greiesstocke, and diuerse other noble men and worthie knights.

These valliant capteins came to Alnewike in Northumberland, about the beginning of Iulie, where they first incamped themselves, & marshalled their host. The foreward was led by the earle of Northumberland, under whose standard were the lord Scrope of Bolton, sir John Middelton, sir John Wilsfield, and diuerse other knights, esquires, & soldiers, to the number of six thousand and seauen hundred. In the middleward was the duke of Gloucester, and with him the duke of Albanie, the lord Lonell, the lord Greiesstocke, sir Edward Mordun, and other, to the number of five thousand & eight hundred men. The lord Percie was appointed to follow, accompanied with three thousand. The lord Stanleie led the wing on the right hand of the dukes battell with four thousand men of Lancashire & Cheshire. The lord Fitz Hugh, sir William a Barre, sir James Harrington, with the number of two thousand soldiers, guided the left wing. And beside all these, there were one thousand appointed to giue their attendance on the ordinance.

¶ In this yeare Edmund Shato goldsmith and maior of London newlie builded Creplegate from the foundation, which gate in old time had bene a prison, whereunto such citizens and other as were arrested for debt (or like trespasses) were committed, as they be now to the counters, as mate appeare by a writ of king Edward the second, in these wordes: *Rex vice London salutem. Ex gravi querela capti & detenti in prisona nostra de Creplegate, pro x. li. quas coram Radulpho Sandwico, tunc custode civitatis nostre London, & 1. de Blackwell custode recognovit. debitorum, &c.* King Edward held his Christmas at Eltham, and kept his estate all the whole feast in his great chamber; and the quene in hir chamber, where were dwellie more than two thousand persons. The same yeare on Candlemas day, he with his quene went on procession from saint Stephens chapel into Westminster hall, accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Greie, & sir James Liddall, ambassadors from Scotland. And at his proceeding out of his chamber he made sir John Wood vnder-treasurer of England, & sir William Catesbie one of the iustices of the oemnon places, knights.]

But to returne to the kings affaires concerning Scotland. The roiall armie aforesaid, not intending to lose time, came suddenly by the water side to the towne of Berwick, and there (that with force, and what with feare of so great an armie) took and entered the towne: but the earle of Bothwell, being capitaine of the castell, would in no wise deliver it; wherefore the capteins, upon good and deliberate aduise, planted a strong siege round about it. When this siege was laid, the two dukes and all the other soldiers.

Preparation for warre against Scotland.

1482 Anno Reg. 22. An armie sent into Scotland.

Abr. Fl. ex I. & pag. 749. Creplegate builded.

Records.

Anno reg. 23. 1483

Berwick taken by the Englishmen.

diets except the lord Stanleie, sir John Clouington treasurer of the kings house, sir William a Parre, and foure thousand men that were left behind to keepe the siege before the castell departed from Berwikke toward Edenburgh; and in marching thitherward, they burnt and destroyed manie townes and battles. King James hauing small confidence in his communitie, and lesse trust in his nobilitie, kept himselfe within the castell of Edenburgh.

The duke of Glocester entered into the towne, and at the especiall desire of the duke of Albanie saued the towne, and the inhabitants from fire, bloud, and spoile, taking onelie of the merchants, such presents as they gentlie offered to him and his capteins, causing Cartier principall king at armes to make a publicke proclamation at the high crosse in the market place of Edenburgh; by the which he warned and admonished king James, to keepe, obserue, and performe, all such promises, compacts, covenants, and agreements, as he had concluded and sealed with the king of England, and also to make sufficient recompense vnto his subjects, for the tyrannie, spoile, and crueltie which he and his people had committed and done, contrarie to the league, within the marches of his realme of England, before the first daie of August next ensuing: and further without delaye to restore his brother the duke of Albanie to his estate, & all his possessions, offices, and authorities, in as large maner as he occupied & inioied the same before. Else the duke of Glocester, lieutenant generall for the king of England, was readie at hand to destroy him, his people, and countries, with slaughter, flame, and famine.

King James would make no answer, neither by word nor writing, but kept himselfe close within the castell. But the lords of Scotland lieng at Hadington with a great puissance, determined first to practise with the duke of Glocester for a peace, and after by some meanes to allure the duke of Albanie from the Englishmanitie. And vpon this motion, the second daie of August they wrote to the duke of Glocester, requiring that the mariage betwene the prince of Scotland, and king Edwards daughter might be accomplished, according to the covenants; and further, that a peace from thenceforth might be lounglie concluded betwene both the realmes. The duke of Glocester answered againe vnto these demands; that for the article of the mariage, he knew not the king his brothers determinate pleasure, either for the affirmance or deniall of the same; but nevertheless he desired full restitution of all the sums of monie pressed out in lone vpon the same mariage. And as for peace, he assured them that he would agree to none, except the castell of Berwikke might be to him deliuered; or at the least wise, that he should undertake that the siege lieng afore the same should not be troubled by the king of Scots, nor by anie of his subjects, nor by his or their procurement or meanes.

The Scottish lords, vpon this answer and demands of the duke of Glocester, sent to him the elect of Spurre, and the lord Wernleie, which excused the matter touching the repayment of the monie: for that the time of the lawfull contract of the said mariage was not yet come, and no daie appointed for the monie to be paid before the contract begun. But for further assurance either for the contract to be made, or for the payment of the monie, they promised the rebnto accordingly (as reason should require) to agree. Secondly, as touching the castell of Berwikke, they alleged that it appertained to the realme of Scotland, as the old inheritance of the same.

The duke, notwithstanding all that they could saie, would agree to no peace, except the castell of Berwikke might be deliuered to the king of England,

And so the messengers departed. The same daie the archbishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, lord Campbell, and lord Andew lord of Anandale chancelor of Scotland, wrote to the duke of Albanie, a solemne and an autenticall instrument, signed and sealed with their hands and seales, concerning a generall pardon to him and his seruants, vpon certeine conditions to be granted; which conditions seemed to be so reasonable, that the duke of Albanie, desirous to be restored to his old estate, possessions, and native countrie, willingly accepted the same.

But before he departed from the duke of Glocester, he promised both by word and writing of his owne hand, to do and performe all such things, as he before that time had sworn and promised to king Edward: notwithstanding anie agreement now made, or after to be made with the lords of Scotland. And for performance of the effect hereof, he againe took a corporall oath, and sealed the writing before the duke of Glocester, in the English campe at Levington besides Hadington, the third daie of August, in the yeare 1482. After he was restored, the lords of Scotland proclaimed him great lieutenant of Scotland; and in the kings name made proclamation, that all men within eight daies should be ready at Crauthaus, both to raise the siege before the castell, and for the recouering againe of the towne of Berwikke.

The duke of Albanie wrote all this preparation to the duke of Glocester, requiring him to haue no mistrust in his dealings. The duke of Glocester wrote to him againe his mind verie roundlie, promising that he with his armie would defend the besiegers from all enemies that should attempt to trouble them, or else die in the quarell. To be briefe, when the lords of Scotland saw that it booted them not to assaie the raising of the siege, except they should make account to be fought with all, they determined to deliuer the castell of Berwikke to the Englishmen, so that there vpon there might be an abstinence of warre taken for a season.

And herewith they sent to the duke of Glocester a charter indented, which was dated the foure and twentieth daie of August, in the said yeare 1482, contracted betwene the duke of Glocester lieutenant generall for the king of England, & Alexander duke of Albanie lieutenant for James king of Scots; that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, as well by sea as by land, to begin the eighth daie of September next comming, & to indure till the fourth daie of Nouember next following. And in the same season, the towne & castle of Berwikke to be occupied and remaine in the reall possession of such, as by the king of Englands deputies should be appointed.

Herevnto the duke of Glocester agreed, and so then was the castell of Berwikke deliuered to the lord Stanleie, and other thereto appointed; who therein put both Englishmen and artillerie, sufficient to defend it against all Scotland, for six months. The duke of Albanie also caused the prouost and burgeses of Edenburgh, to make a sufficient instrument obligatorie to king Edward, for the true satisfaction and contentation of the same monie, which he also sent by the said prouost to the duke of Glocester to Alnwick: the better copie whereof hereafter followeth.

The true copie of the said in-

strument obligatorie.

It is knowne to all men by these present letters, by Walter Bertram, prouost of the towne of Edenburgh in Scotland, and the whole

The bishop elect of Spurre sent to the duke of Glocester.

The elect of Spurre deliuered.

Ab. El. elect of Spurre.

whole fellowship, merchants, burgesses, & communalitie of the same towne, to be bound and obliged by these presents, unto the most excellent, and most mightie prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. That where it was communed and agreed betwene his excellencie on the one part, and the right high & mightie prince our soueraigne lord, James king of Scots on the other part, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solemnized and had betwixt a mightie and excellent prince James the first begotten sonne and heire apparant to our soueraigne lord aforesaid, & the right noble princeesse Cicilie, daughter to the said Edward k. of England; and for the said mariage to haue bene performed, certeine and diuers great summes of monie bene paid and contented by the most excellent prince, unto our soueraigne lord aforesaid, as by certeine writings betwixt the said princes thereupon made moze at large plainlie appeares.

That if it be the pleasure of the said Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage to be performed and completed, according to the said communication in writing, that then it shall be well and trulie, without fraud, deceit, or collusion observed, kept, and accomplished on the partie of our soueraigne lord aforesaid, & the nobles spirituall and temporall of the realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of the said excellent prince Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage performed and completed; that then we Walter, prouost, burgesses, merchants, and commons of the aboue named towne of Edinburgh, or any of vs, shall paie and content to the king of England aforesaid, all the summes of monie that was paid for the said mariage, at such like termes & daies immediatlie insuing after the refusall of the said mariage, and in such like maner & forme as the said summes were afore delivered, contented and paid; that then this obligation and bond to be void, and of no strength. Provided alwaies, that the said Edward king of England, shall giue knowledge of his pleasure and election in the premises in taking or refusing of the said mariage, or of repayment of the said sums of monie, to our said soueraigne lord, or lords of his counsell, or to vs the said prouost, merchants, or any of vs, within the realme of Scotland, being for the time, betwixt this & the feast of Allhalowes next to come.

To the which paiement well and trulie to be made, we bind and oblige vs, & our heires, successors, executors, and all our goods, merchandises, & things what soeuer they be, where soeuer, or in what place, by water or by land, on this side the sea or beyond, we shall happen to be found, anie league, anie cruce or safegard made or to be made, notwithstanding. In witness whereof to this our present writing, and letters of bond, we, the said prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communi-

tie, haue set our common seale of the said towne of Edinburgh, the fourth daie of August, the yeare of our Lord God, 1482. Given in the presence of the right mightie prince Richard duke of Gloucester, Alexander duke of Albanie, the reuerend father in God James bishop of Dunkeld, & the right noble lord Herrie earle of Northumberland, Colin earle of Argile, Thomas lord Stanleie, maister Alexander English, and others, &c.

So that you see it was contained in the said instrument or writing, that king Edward should intimate his pleasure unto the said prouost and burgesses of Edinburgh, before the feast of Allsaints next following, whether he would the mariage should take place, or that he would haue the payment of the monie. According to which article, king Edward sent Garter his principall king of armes, and Northumberland hersele, to declare his refusall of the mariage, and the election and choise of the repayment of the monie. They came to Edinburgh eight daies before the feast of Allsaints, where (according to their commission and instructions) Garter declared the pleasure of the king his master, unto the prouost and burgesses of Edinburgh, to whom he openlie said as followeth.

Garter king of armes is sent into Scotland.

The intimation of Garter king of armes to the Edinburghers.



Garter king of armes, seruant, prouost and messenger unto the most high and mightie prince, my most dread soueraigne lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, by vertue of certeine letters of procuracie here readie to be shewed come, by my said soueraigne lord made and giuen, make notice and giue knowledge unto you prouost, burgesses, merchants and communalitie of the towne of Edinburgh in Scotland, that whereas it was sometime communed and agreed betwene my said soueraigne lord on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince James king of Scots on the other partie, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solemnized, and had betwene James the first begotten sonne of the said king of Scots, and ladie Cicilie, daughter to my said soueraigne lord the king of England.

And for the said mariage to haue bene performed, certeine and diuers great summes of monie bene paid and contented by my said soueraigne lord, which summes of monie, in case of refusall of the said mariage, by my said soueraigne lord to be made and declared, by the said prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communalitie, and euery one of you are bound and obliged by your letters, vnder your common seale of your towne of Edinburgh, to repaie unto his highnes vnder like forme, & at such termes as they were first paid. So that the king my soueraigne lord would make notice and knowledge of his pleasure and election in taking or refusing of the said mariage, of the repayment of the said sums of monie, before

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxlvij.

before the feast of Allhalowes next to come; like as in your said letters, bearing date at Edinburgh the fourth daie of August last past, it was contained all at large.

The pleasure and election of my said sovereign lord, for diuerse causes and considerations him mouing, is to refuse the accomplishment of the said marriage, and to haue the repayment of all such summes of monie, as (by occasion of the said betrudd marriage) his highnesse had paid. The said repayment to be had of you prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communalitie, and euerie of you, your heires and successours, according to your bond and obligation afoze rehearsed. And therefore I giue you notice & knowledge by this writing, which I deliuer vnto you, within the terme in your said letters limited and expessed, to all intents and effects, which thereof may insue.

When Cartier had thus declared all things giuen to him in charge, the prouost and other burgesses made answer, that they now knowing the kings determinat pleasure, would (according to their bond) prepare for the repayment of the said summes; and gentle interteining Cartier conuied him to Berwikke, from whence he departed to Helwaskell, to the duke of Gloucester, making relation to him of all his doings: which duke with all speed returned to Wythuton, and there abode. Shortly after Cartiers departing, the duke of Albanie, thinking to obtaine againe the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of captiuitie and prison, wherin he had a certeine space continued (not without the dukes assent, which besieged him in the castell of Edinburgh a little before) and set him at large, of whome outwardlie he receiued great thanks, when inwardlie nothing but reuenging & confusion was in the kings stomacke fullie settled. So that shortly after in the kings presence he was in leopordie of his life, and all vnprovidid for dread of death, constrained to take a small balinge, and to saile into France, where shortly after riding by the men of armes, which encountered at the tilt, by Lewis then duke of Orleans, after French king, he was with mischarging of a pike by fortunes peruerse countenance pittifullie slaine and brought to death, leading after him one onellie son named John, which being banished Scotland, inhabited & married in France, and there died.

How dolorous, how sorrowfull is it to write, and much more painefull to remember the chanches and infortunities that happened within two yeares in England & Scotland, betwene naturall brethren. For king Edward, set on by such as enuied the estate of the duke of Clarence, forgetting nature and brotherlie amitie, consented to the death of his said brother. James king of Scots, putting in obliuion that Alexander his brother was the onellie organ and instrument, by whome he obtained libertie & freedom, seduced and led by vile and malicious persons, which malignd at the glorie and indifferent iudice of the duke of Albanie, imagined and compassed his death, and exiled him for ever. What a pernicious serpent, what a venomous toade, and what a pestiferous scorpion is that diuillish helpe, called priue enuie? Against it no fortresse can defend, no cave can hide, no wood can shadowe, no fowle can escape, nor no beast can auoid. His poison is so strong, that neuer man in authoritie could escape from the biting of his teeth, scratching of his talles, blasting of his breath, & filth of his taile. Notable therefore is the Greke epigram

in this behalfe, touching enuie of this kind, which saith, that a worse thing than enuie there is not in the world, and yet hath it some goodnesse in it; for it consumeth the eyes and the hart of the enuious. The words in theirowne tonge sententiouslie sound thus:

ὁ φθόνος ὁ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐνὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐν δυνάμει
τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ἐν δυνάμει καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν.

Although king Edward reioiced that his businesse came to so good a conclusion with the Scots, yet he was about the same time soze disquieted in his mind towards the French king, whome he now perceived to haue dallied with him, as touching the agreement of the marriage to be had betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter the ladie Elizabeth. For the lord Howard, being as then returned out of France, certified the king (of his owne knowledge) how that he being present, saw the ladie Margaret of Austria daughter to duke Maximilian, come to the emperor Frederike, receiued into France with great pompe and roialtie, and at Ambois to the Dolphin contracted and espoused. King Edward highlie displeased with such double and vnjust dealing of the French king, called his nobles together, and opened to them his graces; who promised him for reuenge thereof, to be readie with all their powers to make warres in France at his pleasure and appointment.

But whilst he was busie in hand to make his purueiance for warres thus against France, whether it was with melancholie and anger, which he took with the French kings doings and uncourteous usage; or were it by any superfluous surfeit (to the which he was verie much giuen) he suddenly fell sicke, and was so greivouslie taken, that in the end he perceived his naturall strength in such wise to decaye, that there was little hope of recouerie in the cunning of his physicians, whome he perceived onlie to prolong his life for a small time. Wherefore he began to make readie for his passage into another world, not forgetting (as after shall appeare) to exhort the nobles of his realme (aboue all things) to an vnitie among themselves. And hauing (as he took it) made an attonement betwixt the parties that were knowne to be scant friends, he commended vnto their grace wisdoms the gouernment of his sonne the prince, and of his brother the duke of York, during the time of their tender yeares. But it shall not be amisse to adde in this place the words which he is said to haue spoken on his death-bed, which were in effect as followeth.

The words of king Edward vttered by him on his death-bed.



My welbeloued and no lesse betrudd friends, counsellors, and allies, if we mortall men would vailie and hourlie with our selues reuolue, and intentiuelie in our hearts ingraue, or in our minds seriousslie ponder, the fragile and fading imbecillitie of our humane nature, and the vnstabilitie of the same: we should apparantlie perceiue, that we being called reasonable creatures, and in that predicament compared and ioined with angels, be more worthy to be named and deemed persons vnreasonable, and rather to be associate in that name with brute beasts called vnreasonable (of whose life and death no creature speaketh) rather than in that point to be resembled to the angelicall societie and reasonable companie. For while health in vs flourisheth, or prosperitie aboundeth, or the glosing world laugheth, which is he, so reasonable of vs all, that can saie (if he will not crosse from the truth) that he once in a while remembereth

Abt. Fl. et
Edw. Hall.
Coxley
Coxley

his fatal end, or the prescribed terme of his indur-
ring; or once prouided by labour, studie, or otherwise,
to set a stedfast and sure number for the securitie, profit,
and continuance either of his possessions & domin-
ions, or of his sequels and posteritie which after him
shall naturallie succede. Such is the blindness of our
fraile and weake nature, ever giuen to carnall con-
cupiscence and woollie delectations, daileie darke-
ned and seduced with that lithargious and deceiua-
ble serpent called hope of long life, that all we put in
obliuion our due tie present, and lesse remember the
politike prouidence for things to come: for blindlie
we walke in this fraile life, till we fall groueling
with our eyes suddenlie vpon death.

The vanities of this world be to vs so agreeable,
that when we begin to liue, we esteeme our life a
whole world; which once ouerpassed, it sheweth no bet-
ter but dust diuyn atwaie with a puffe of wind. I
speake this to you of my selfe, and for your selues to
you; for lamenting and inwardlie bewailing, that I
did not performe & finally consummate such politike
deuises, & god and goodlie ordinances, in my long life
and peaceable prosperitie, which then I fullie de-
termined to haue begun, set forward, and completlie
to haue finished. Which now for the extreame paines
and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the small
terme of my naturall life, I can neither performe,
neither yet liue to see either to take effect, or to fort-
to anie god conclusion.

For God I call to record, my heart was fullie set,
and my mind deliberatie determined, so to haue a-
dorned this realme with wholesome lawes, statutes
and ordinances; so to haue trained and brought vp
mine infants and children in vertue, learning, actiue-
tie, and policie, that, what with their totall puissance,
& your friendlie assistance, the proudest prince of Eu-
rope durst not once attempt to moue ante hostilitie,
against them, you, or this realme. But oh Lord, all
things that I of long time haue in my mind reuol-
ued and imagined, that stealing these death goeth
about to subuert, and in the moment of an heure
clerelie to ouertred. Wherefore (as men saie) I now
being diuyn to the verie hard wall, haue perfect
confidence and sure hope in the appoyued fidelitie,
and constant integritie, which I haue euer experi-
mented and knowne to be rooted and planted in
the hearts of your louing bodie, towards me and
mine.

So that I may saie and auouch, that neuer prince
bearing scepter and crowne ouer realmes and regi-
ons, hath found or proued more faithfull counsell-
ors, nor truer subiects, than I haue done of you;
nor neuer potentate nor gouernour put more assi-
stance and trust in his bassals and seruants, than I,
since the adeption of the crowne, firmelie haue fixed
in your circumspect wisdoms and sober discretions.
And now of very force compelled, lieng in a doubtfull
hope, betwene liuing and dieng, betwene remem-
brance and obliuion, I doe require you, and instantlie
moue you, that as I haue found you faithfull, obedi-
ent, and to all my requestes and desires (while I was
here in health conuersant with you) diligent and in-
tentive: so after my death, my hope is with a sure
anchor grounded, & mine inward conceipt vndoubt-
edlie resolved, that the especiall confidence and in-
ward fidelitie, which so long hath continued betwene
vs, being together liuing, shall not wholie by my
death be extinct and banished like smoke.

For what aualeth friendship in life, when trust
deceiueth after death? What profiteth amitie in appa-
rant presence, when confidence is fraudulentlie be-
guiled in absence? What loue groweth by coniunc-
tion of matrimonie, if the offspring after doe not a-
gree and accord? What profiteth princes to ad-
uance and promote their subiects, if after their death,
the bountifullnesse by them shewed, be of the recei-
uers of the same and their sequels neither regarded
nor yet remembred? The parents make the marri-
age for an indissoluble amitie. Princes promote som-
time for fauour, sometime for desert, & sometime for
pleasure: yet (if you will consider) the verie scope, to
the which all gifts of promotions doe finally tend,
is to haue loue, fauour, faithfull counsell, and diligent
seruice, of such as be by them promoted and crated,
not onelie in their owne lines, being but briefe and
transitorie: but also that they and their progenie,
calling to remembrance the fauor, estimation, and
aduancement, which they of so liberall and munifi-
cent a prince had receiued and obtained, shoulde with
speare and shield, long and wit, hand and pen, conti-
nuallie studie to defend, counsell and preferre, not
onelie him during his life; but also to serue, assist, and
mainteine his sequels and lineall succession, as the
verie images and carnall portraictures of his stirpe,
line, and stemme, naturallie descended.

In this case am I, whome you know, not without
vnspakable trouble & most dangerous war to haue
obtained the scepter and diadems of this realme and
empire. During which reigne, I haue had either little
peace, or small tranquillitie: and now when I thought
my selfe sure of a quiet life, and woollie rest, death
hath blowne his terrible trumpet, calling and sum-
moning me (as I trust) to perpetuall tranquillitie
and eternall quietnesse. Therefore now, for the per-
fect and vnmoueable confidence that I haue euer
had in you, and for the wise and loue that you haue
euer shewed vnto me, I commend and deliuer into
your gouernance, both this noble realme, and my
naturall children, and your kinsmen. My children
by your diligent oversight and politike prouision to
be taught, informed, and instructed, not onelie in the
sciences liberall, vertues morall, and good litera-
ture: but also to be practised in trickes of martiall
actiuitie, and diligent exercise of prudent policie. For
I haue heard clarkes saie, although I am vnlette-
red, that fortunate is that realme where philosophers
reigne, or where kings be philosophers and louers of
wisedom.

In this tender age, you may with and turne
them into euerie forme and fashion. If you bring
them up in vertue, you shall haue vertuous princes.
If you set them to learning, your gouernours shall
be men of knowledge. If you teach them actiuitie,
you shall haue valiant capteins. If they practise poli-
cie, you shall haue both politike and prudent rulers.
On the other side, if by your negligence they fall to
vice (as youth is to all euill prone and readie) not
onelie their honor, but also your honestie shall be
spotted and appalled. If they be sluggards and giuen
to sloth, the publike wealth of this realme must
shortlie decaie. If they be vnlearned, they may by
flatterie some be blinded, and by adulation often de-
ceiued. If they lacke actiuitie, euerie creature (be he
neuer so base of birth) shall soile and ouerthrow them
like dum beastes and beastlie daffards. Therefore I
desire you, and in Gods name adure you, rather to
studie to make them rich in goodlie knowledge, and
vertuous qualities; than to take paine to glorifie
them with abundance of woollie treasure, and
mundane superfluitie.

And certainlie, when they come to ripenesse of
age, and shall peraduenture consider, that by your o-
mission and negligent education, they haue not such
graces, nor are indued with such notable qualities
as they might haue bene, if you had performed the
trust to you by me committed: they shall not onelie
deplore and lament their vngarnished estate, and na-
ked condition; but also it may fortune, that they shall
conceiue

conceale inwardlie against you such a negligent truth, that the sequels thereof may rather turne to displeasure than thanks, and sooner to an ingratitude than to a reward. My kingdome also I leave in your gouernance, during the minoritye of my children, charging you (on your honours oths and fidelitie made and sware to me) so indifferentlie to order and gouerne the subiects of the same, both with iustice and mercie, that the wilis of malefactors haue not too large a scope, nor the hartis of the good people by too much extremite be neither forsoothfullie damned, nor unkindlie kept vnder. Wh I am so sleepe, that I must make an end. And now before you all I commend my soule to almightie God my sauiour and redeemer, my bodie to the wormes of the earth, my kingdome to the prince my sonne: and to you my louing friends my heart, my trust, and my whole confidence. [And euen with that he fell on sleepe.]

Having thus spoken, and set things in god staie, as might be supposed, he shortly after departed this life at Westminster the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1483, after he had reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, and eight daies. His bodie was with fune rail pompe conueied to Windsor, and there buried. He left behind him issue by the queene his wife two sonnes, Edward and Richard, with five daughters; Elizabeth that was after queene, married to Henrie the seauenth; Cicilie married to the viscount Welles; Margaret a nunne professed in Ston or Dertford, as sir Thomas More saith; Anne married to the lord Thomas Howard, after earle of Surrie, and duke of Norfolk; Katharine wedded to the lord William Courtenie sonne to the earle of Denonshire. Beside these he left behind him likewise a base sonne named Arthur, that was after viscount Lisle. For the description of his person & qualities I will referre you to that which sir Thomas More hath written of him in that historie, which he wrote and left unfinished of his sonne Edward the first, and of his brother king Richard the third: which we shall (God willing) hereafter make you partaker of, as we find the same recorded among his other workes, word for word; when first we haue (according to our begun order) rehearsed such writers of our nation as liued in his daies.

As first, Nicholas Berton borne in Suffolke a Carmelit frier in Cippelwich, prouinciall of his order through England; Henrie Parker a Carmelit frier of Doncaster, preached against the pride of prelates, and for such doctrine as he set forth, was imprisoned with his fellow Thomas Holden, and a certeine blacke frier also for the like cause; Parker was forced to recant thre speciall articles, as Bale noteth out of Leland; John Harding an equier borne in the north parts, wrote a chronicle in English verse, and among other speciall points therein touched, he gathered all the submissions and homages had and made by the Scottissh kings, euen from the daies of king Athelstan [whereby it euidentlie may appeare, how the Scottissh kingdome euen in manner from the first establishing thereof here in Britaine, hath bene appertaining vnto the kings of England, and holden of them as their cheefe & superior lords.]

William Iue a doctor of diuinitie and prebendarie of saint Pauls in London; Thomas Willton a diuine, and deane of the said church of Pauls in London; Julian Bemis, a gentlewoman indued with excellent gifts both of bodie and mind, wrote certeine treatises of hawking and hunting, delighting greatly hir selfe in those exercises and pastimes;

she wrote also a booke of the lawes of armes, and knowledge appertaining to heralds; John Stamberie borne in the west parts of this realme, a Carmelit frier, and confessor to king Henrie the first, he was also maister of Eaton colledge, and after was made bishop of Bangor, and removed from thence to the see of Hereford; John Bluclele an Augustine frier, prouinciall of his order; John Fortescue a iudge and chancelor of England, wrote diuerse treatises concerning the law and politike gouernement.

Rochus a Charterhouse monke borne in London, of honest parents, and studied in the vniuersitie of Paris; he wrote diuerse epigrams; John Heyas borne also in London was fellow of Ballioll colledge in Oxford, and after went into Italie, where he heard Guarinus that excellent philosopher read in Ferrara, he proued an excellent physician and a skilfull lawier, there was not in Italie (whilst he remained there) that passed him in eloquence & knowledge of both the tongues, Græke and Latine; Walter Hunt a Carmelit frier, a great diuine, and for his excellencie in learning sent from the whole bodie of this realme, vnto the generall counsell holden first at Ferrara, and after at Florence by pope Eugenius the fourth, where he disputed among other with the Grækes, in defense of the order and ceremonies of the Latine church; Thomas Wighenhal a monke of the order called Hermonistratensis in the abbey of Durham in Dorsetholke.

John Gunthorpe went into Italie, where he heard that eloquent learned man Guarinus read in Ferrara, after his comming home into England he was deane of Welles, and keeper of the priuie seal; John Hambrois an excellent musician, and for his notable cunning therein made doctor of musike; William Carton wrote a chronicle called *Fructus temporum*, and an appendice vnto *Crusica*, beside diuerse other bookes and translations; John Spiluerston a Carmelit frier of Bristow, and prouinciall of his order through England, Ireland, and Scotland, at length (because he defended such of his order as preached against endowments of the church with temporall possessions) he was brought into trouble, committed to prison in castell S. Angelo in Rome, where he continued thre yeares, and at length was deliuered thorough certeine of the cardinals that were appointed his iudges; David Spogan a Welsh man, tresuro of the church of Landaffe, wrote of the antiquities of Wales, & a description of the countrie.

John Tiptoft, a noble man borne, a great traveler, excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerse treatises, and finally lost his head in the yeare 1471, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt the houses of York and Lancaster; John Shirwood bishop of Durham; Thomas Bent an excellent philosopher; Robert Huggon borne in Dorsetholke in a towne called Hardingham, wrote certeine vaine prophesies; John Partfeld a learned physician; William Greene a Carmelit frier; Thomas Horton borne in Bristow an alcumist; John Peare a monke of Bristow; Richard Poland borne in Dorsetholke a Franciscane frier, and a doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Spilling a monke of Westminster, a doctor of diuinitie and preferred to the bishopricke of Hereford; Scogan a learned gentleman and student for a time in Oxford, of a pleasant wit, and bent to merrie deuises, in respect whereof he was called into the court, where giuing himselfe to his naturall inclination of mirth & pleasant pastime, he played manie sporting parts, although not in such vniuall maner as hath bene of him reported.

Thus farre the prosperous reigne of Edward the fourth, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.



The historie of king Edward the fift, and king Richard the third vnfinished, written

by maister Thomas More then one of the vnder shiriffes

of London, about the yeare of our Lord 1513, accor-
ding to a copie of his owne hand, printed
among his other workes.

King Edward the fourth
of that name, after that he
had liued fiftie & three yeeres,
seven moneths, and six daies,
and thereof reigned two and
twenty yeeres, one moneth,
& eight daies, died at West-
minster the ninth daie of A-
prill, the yeare of our redemption, a thousand foure
hundred fourescore and thre; leaving much faire is-
sue, that is to wit, Edward the prince, a thirtene
yeares of age; Richard duke of Yorke two yeares
yonger; Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was af-
ter to be queene, wife vnto king Henrie the seuenth,
and mother vnto the eight; Cicillie, not so fortunate
as faire; Bridget, which representing the vertue of
hir, whose name she bare, professed and obserued a re-
ligious life in Wertsford, an house of close nunnes;
Anne, that was after honorable married vnto Tho-
mas, then lord Howard, and after earle of Surrie;
and Isaharine, which long time tolled in either for-
tune, sometime in wealth, oft in aduersitie, at the
last, if this be the last (for yet she liueth) is by the be-
nignitie of hir nepheue king Henrie the eight, in
verie prosperous estate, and worthy hir birth and
vertue.

148
The line at
the end of
the page
was printed.

The line of
the people.

This noble prince decessed at his palace of West-
minster, and with great funerall honoz and heauines
of his people from thence conueied, was interred at
Windsor. A king of such gouernance & behauior, in
time of peace (for in warre each part must needs be o-
thers crimie) that there was neuer anie prince of
this land, attaining the crowne by battell, so hearti-
lie beloued with the substance of the people: no; hee
himselfe so speciallie in anie part of his life, as at the
time of his death. Which fauour and affection, yet af-
ter his decess, by the crueltie, mischief, and trou-
ble of the tempestuous world that followed, highlie
toward him more increased. At such time as he died,
the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for king
Henries sake the first, whome he deposed, was well
allwaged, & in effect quenched, in that manie of them
were dead in more than twentie yerres of his reigne,
a great part of a long life: and manie of them in
the meane season growne into his fauour, of which
he was neuer strange.

149
The line at
the end of
the page
was printed.

He was a goodlie personage, and princelie to be-
hold, of heart couragious, politike in counsell, in ad-
uersitie nothing abashed, in prosperitie rather iollfull
than proud, in peace iust and mercifull, in warre
charpe and fierce, in the field bold and hardie, and na-
theles no further (than wisdom would) aduenturous,

whose warres who so well considered, he shall no lesse
commend his wisdom where he voided, than his
manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage
louelie, of bodie mightie, strong, and cleane made:
howbeit, in his latter daies with ouer liberall diet
somewhat corpulent and bozelle, and nathelesse not
vncamelie. He was of youth greatlie giuen to flesh-
lie wantonnesse: from which health of bodie, in great
prosperitie and fortune, without a speciall grace hard-
lie restraineth, the poet implieng no lesse and saleng:

*Mens erit apta capi tunc cum latissima rerum,
Et feges in pingui luxuriabit humo.*

This fault not greatlie greued the people: for
neither could anie one mans pleasure stretch and ex-
tend to the displeasure of verie manie, and was with-
out violence, and ouer that in his latter daies lesseed,
and well left. In which time of his latter daies this
realme was in quiet and prosperous estate, no feare
of outward enemies, no warre in hand, no; none to-
ward, but such as no man looked for. The people to-
ward the prince, not in a constrained feare, but in a
willing and louing obedience: among themselues
the commons in good peace. The lords, whome hee
knew at variance, himselfe in his death bed appea-
sed: he had left all gathering of monie (which is the
onely thing that withdraueth the hearts of English
men from the prince) no; anie thing intended he to
take in hand, by which he should be disuen therto: for
his tribute out of France he had before obtained;
and the yeare foregoing his death, he had obtained
Berwike.

And albeit that all the time of his reigne he was
with his people, so benigne, courteous, and so fami-
liar, that no part of his vertues was more esteemed:
yet the condition in the end of his daies (in which ma-
nie princes by a long continued soveriegnitie decline
into a proud port from debonaire behauior: of their be-
ginning) marvellouslie in him grew and increased:
so farre forth, that in summer (the last that euer hee
saw) his highnes being at Windsor in hunting, sent
for the maiors & aldermen of London to him: none
other errand, but to haue them hunt & be merrie with
him, where he made them not so statelie, but so
frendlie and familiar there, and sent benison from
thence so frelie into the citie, that no one thing in
manie daies before gat him either more hearts, or
more heartie fauour amongst the common people;
which oftentimes more esteeme and take for greater
kindnesse a little courtesie, than a great benefit.

So decessed (as I haue said) this noble king, in
that time in which his life was most desired. Whose
loue of his people, and their entier affection toward
him,

See before
pag. 705.

him, had bene to his noble chyliden (having in themselves also as manie gifts of nature, as manie princelie vertues, as much goodlie towardnesse as their age could receiue) a maruellous fortreffe and sure armoz, if diuision and dissention of their frends had not vnarmed them, and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of souereigntie prouoked him to their destruction: which if either kind or kindnesse had holden place, must needs haue bene their chiefe defense. For Richard the duke of Gloucester, by nature their vncle, by office their protectoz, to their father beholden, to themselves by oth and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that bind man and man together, without anie respect of God or the world, unnaturalie contrived to bereue them, not onelie their dignitie, but also their liues.

But forsomuch as this dukes demeanoz ministrereth in effect all the whole matter thereof this booke shall intreat, it is therefore conuenient somewhat to shew you yet the further go, what manner of man this was, that could find in his hart such mischief to conceiue.

Richard duke of
York.

Richard duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre, but by law to challenge the crowne, putting his claime into the parliament, where his cause was either for right or fauor so farre forth advanced, that king Henrie his blond (albeit he had a goodlie prince) vtterlie reieted, the crowne was by authoritie of parliament intailed vnto the duke of Yorke and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of king Henrie. But the duke not induryn: so long to tarrie, but intending vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in king Henrie his life, was with manie nobles of the realme at Wakefield slaine, leaving thre sonnes, Edward, George, and Richard.

Edward.

George duke of
Clarence.

* had not yet

All thre as they were great states of birth, so were they great and statelie of stomack, greedie and ambitious of authoritie, and impatient of partners. Edward reneging his fathers death, beprised king Henrie, and attained the crowne. George duke of Clarence was a goodlie noble prince, and at all times fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enemies * his brother against him. For were it by the queene and lords of his blond, which highlie maligned the kings kindred (as women commonlie not of malice, but of nature hate them whome their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the duke himselfe, intending to be king; at the least wilful treason was there laid to his charge: and finally, were he faultlesse, were he faultlesse, attainted was he by parliament, and iudged to the death, and there vpon hastily drowned in a butt of malmesie. Whose death king Edward (albeit he commanded it) when he wist it was done, pitiously bewailed, and sorrowfullie repented.

The description
of Richard the
third.

Richard the third sonne, of whome we now intreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both, litle of stature, ill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlike, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, watthfull, enuious, and from afore his birth neuer stoward. It is for truth reported, that the duchesse his mother had so much adoe in his trauell, that she could not be deliuered of him vncut; and that he came into the world with the feet forwarde, as men be borne outwarde, and (as the same runneth also) not vntoed, whether men of hatred report about the truth, or else that nature changed his course in his beginning, which in the course of his life manie things unnaturalie committed, so that the full consequence of these

qualities, with the defects of fauour and amiable proportion, gaue proofe to this rule of physiognomie:

Distortum vultum sequitur distorta morum.

None euill capteine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was more meetly than for peace. Sundrie victories had he, sometimes ouerthrowes; but neuer on default as for his owne person, either of hardinesse or politike order. Free was he called of dispense, and somewhat about his power libell: with large gifts he gat him vnstedfast friendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoile in other places, and got him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a depe dissembler, lowlie of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardlie compantable where he inwardlie hated, not letting to kisse whome he thought to kill: despitious and cruell, not for euill will alway, but offer for ambition, and either for the lucre or increase of his estate.

Friend and so was much what indifferent, where his aduantage grew, he spared no mans death whose life withstode his purpose. He lue with his owne hands king Henrie the first, being prisoner in the Tower, as men constantlie said, and that without commandement or knowledge of the king, which would vndoubtedlie (if he had intended that thing) haue appointed that butcherlie office to some other, than his owne bozne brother. Some wise men also twene, that his dytt couertlie coueied, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openlie, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintlie than he that were hartlie minded to his wealth.

The death
of king Henrie
the first.

And they that thus deeme, thinke that he long time in kings Edwards life forthought to be king; in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to deceasse (as in deed he did) while his chyliden were yong. And they deeme, that for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, whose life must needs haue hindered him so intending, whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephue the yong king, or enterprised to be king himselfe. But of all this point is there no certentie, and who so diuiness vpon coniectures, maie as well shot to farre as to short.

Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the selfe night, in which king Edward died, one Willebroke, long yer morning, came in great hast to the house of one Wottier dwelling in Redecrofte-streete without Creplegate: and when he was with hastie rapping quickelie letten in, he showed vnto Wottier, that king Edward was departed. By my truth man quoth Wottier, then will my maister the duke of Gloucester be king. What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to saie; whether he being toward him, anie thing knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had anie inckeling thereof: for he was not likelie to speake it of nought.

But now to retorne to the course of this historie. Where it that the duke of Gloucester had of old foyminded this conclusion, or was now at erst thereunto moued, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong princes, his nephues (as oportunitie & likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certeine it is that he contriued their destruction, with the usurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himselfe. And forsomuch as he well wist and holpe to mainteine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betwene the queens kindred and the kings blond, either partie enuenging others authoritie, he now thought that their diuision should be (as it was in deed) a furtherlie beginning to the pursuit of his intent.

May he was resolved, that the same was a sure ground

ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first (under the pretext of reuenging of old displeasure) abate the anger and ignorance of the one partie to the destruction of the other; and then win to his purpose as manie as he could, and those that could not be wonne, might be lost per they looked therefore. For of one thing was he certeine, that if his intent were perceiued, he should some haue made peace betwene both the parties with his owne blood. King Edward in his life, albeit that this dissention betwene his frends somewhat irked him: yet in his godd health he somewhat the lesse regarded it: because he thought whatsoeuer businesse should fall betwene them, himselfe should alwaie be able to rule both the parties.

But in his last sicknesse, when he perceiued his naturall strength so fore infiebled, that he despaired all recoverie, then he, considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted than that that hapned; yet well foreseeing that manie harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselves, & good counsell of their frends, of which either partie should counsell for their owne commoditie, & rather by pleasant aduise to win themselves fauor, than by profitable aduertisement to doo the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especiall the lord marquisse Dorset the quenes sonne by his first husband.

Delings lord chamberlain: charged of the quene & taken.

So did he also William the lord Hastings a noble man, then lord chamberleine, against whom the quene speciallie grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him: and also for that he thought him secretlie familiar with the king in wanton companie. He kinted also bare him fore, as well for that the king had made him capitaine of Calis, which office the lord Rivers, brother to the quene, claimed of the kings former promise, as for diuerse other great graces which he receiued, that they looked for. When these lords, with diuerse other of both the parties, were come in presence, the king sitting vp himselfe, and vnderfett with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wise said vnto them.

The oration of the king on
his death-bed.



My lords, my dere kinsmen and alies, in what plight I lie you see, and I feele. By which the lesse while I looke to liue with you, the more depelie am I moued to care in what case I leaue you, for such as I leaue you, such be my children like to find you. Which if they should (as God forbid) find you at variance, might hap to fall themselves at warre, yer their discretion would serue to set you at peace. Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the onelie suertie to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you loue them, if ech of you hate other: if they were men, your faithfullnesse happilie would suffice. But childhood must be maintained by mens authoritie, and slipper youth vnderpropped with elder counsell, which neither they can haue but ye giue it, noz ye giue it if ye graue not.

For where ech labourereth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of ech of others person impugnereth ech others counsell, there must it needs be long yer a-

nie good conclusion go forward. And also while either partie labourereth to be chiefe, flatterie shall haue more place than plaine and faithfull aduise: of which much needs insue the euill bringing vp of the prince, whose mind in tender youth inferi, shall redilie fall to mischæfe and riot, and draw downe with his noble relinc to ruine. But if grace turne him to wisdom: which if God send, then they that by euill meanes befoze pleased him best, shall after fall furthest out of fauour: so that euer at length euill drifts shall draw to nought, and godd plaine waies prosper.

Great variance hath there long bene betwene you, not alwaie for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended, our misconstruction turneth vnto woole: or a small displeasure done vs, either our owne affection or euill twings aggreueth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be all men, that we be christian men, this shall I leaue for preachers to tell you; and yet I wot nere whether anie preachers words ought more to moue you, than his that is by & by going to the place that they all preach of.

But this shall I desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my blood, the other of mine alies; and ech of you with other either of kindred or affinitie, which spiritual kindred of affinitie, if the sacraments of Christs church beare that weight with vs that would God they did, should no lesse moue vs to charitie, than the respect of fleshlie consanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the woole, for the selfe cause that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where find we so deadlie debate, as among them, which by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of baine glorie and soveriegnitie, which among states where she once entereth, creepeth forth so farre, till with diuision and variance she turneth all to mischæfe: first longing to be next vnto the best, after ward equall with the best, & at last chæfe and aboue the best.

The nature of ambition.

Of which immoderat appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what losse, what sorow, what trouble hath within these few yeares growne in this realme, I praise God as well forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foresene, as I haue with my more paine than pleasure proued, by Gods blessed ladie (that was euer his oth) I would neuer haue wonne the courtlesie of mens knees, with the losse of so manie heads. But sithens things passed can not be gaine called, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we haue taken so great hurt afoze, that we estlowes fall not in that occasion againe.

Now be those græfs passed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likelie right well to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder

your cosins my childzen, if God send them life and you loue. Of which two things, the lesse losse were they, by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realme alwaie find kings, and peradventure as good kings.

But if you among your selues in a childes reigne fall at debate, manie a good man shall perishe, and happilie he too, and ye too, yet this land find peace againe. Wherefore in these last wordes that euer I looke to speake with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer bozne to me; for the loue that I haue euer bozne vnto you; for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all; from this tyme forwarde (all griefs forgotten) ech of you loue other. Which I herelie trust you will, if ye anie thing earthlie regard, either God or your king, affinitie or kindred, this realme, your owne countrie, or your owne suertie. And therewithall the king no longer induring to sit by, laid him downe on his right side, his face towards them: and none was there present that could refraine from weeping.

I counterfet
and pretended
reconcile-
ment.

But the lords recomforting him with as good wordes as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their wordes appeared, ech forgave other, and ioined their hands together, when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their hearts were farre asunder. As soon as the king was departed, the noble prince his sonne dyed toward London, which at the time of his deceasse kept his household at Ludlow in Wales, which countrie being farre off from the law and recourse to iustice, was begun to be farre out of good rule, and warden wild robbers and reauers, wal-king at libertie uncorrected. And for this occasion the prince was in the life of his father sent thither, to the end that the authoritie of his presence should refraine euill disposed persons from the boldnesse of their former outrages.

Lord Rivers.

To the gouernance and ordering of this yong prince at his sending thither, was there appointed sir Anthonie Wodvile lord Rivers, and brother vnto the queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politike in counsell. Adioined were there vnto him other of the same parties; and in effect euerie one as he was next of kin vnto the queene, so was he planted next about the prince. That dytt by the queene not vnwiselie deuised, whereby his blood might of youth be rooted into the princes fauour, the duke of Gloucester turned vnto their destruction; and vpon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappie building. For whome soeuer he perceiued either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them some by mouth, & some by writing.

The duke of
Gloucesters
solicitations.

Day, he sent secret messengers saing, that it neither was reason, nor in anie wise to be suffered, that the yong king their maister and kinsman, should be in the hands and custodie of his mothers kindred, so questioned in maner from their companie and attendance, of which euerie one ought him as faithfull seruice as they, and manie of them farre more honourable part of kin than his mothers side. Whose blood (quoth he) sauing the kings pleasure, was full vnmeterelie to be matched with his: which now to be as who say removed from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth he) neither honourable to

his maiestie nor to vs, and also to his grace no suertie, to haue the mightiest of his frends from him; and vnto vs no little icopardie, to suffer our well pynned euill willers to grow in ouer-great authoritie with the prince in youth; namely, which is light of beleafe and some persuaded.

Pe remember I trow king Edward himselfe, albeit he was a man of age & discretion, yet was he in manie things ruled by the bend, more than should either with his honor, or our profit, or with the commoditie of any man else, except onlie the immoderate aduancement of themselves. Which, whether they feared thirsted after their owne weale, or our too, it were hard (I wene) to gesse. And if some folks friendship had not holden better place with the king, than anie respect of kindred, they might peradventure easilie haue betrayed and brought to confusion some of vs per this. Why not as easilie as they haue done some other alreadie, as none of his roiall blood as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and thanks be to his grace that perill is past. Whobeyt as great is growling, if we suffer this yong king in our enemies hand, which without his witting might abuse the name of his commandement, to anie of our vnder-king, which thing God defend and god prouision forbid.

Of which god prouision none of vs hath anie thing the lesse need, for the late made attonement, in which the kings pleasure had more place than the parties willes. For none of vs (I beleue) is so vnwise, ouer-
30 some to trust a new frend made of an old foe; or to thinke that an hourlie kindnes, suddenie contracted in one houre, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomachs, than a long accustomed malice manie yeares rooted. With these wordes and writings, and such other, the duke of Gloucester some set on fire them that were of themselves easie to kindle, & in speciallie twaine, Edward duke of Buckingham, and William lord Hastings then chamberleine, both men of honour & of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestrie, the other by his office and the kings fauour. These two, not bearing ech to other so much loue, as hatred both
40 vnto the queenes part: in this point accorded together with the duke of Gloucester, that they would vnterlie remoue from the kings companie all his mothers frends, vnder the name of their enemies.

Vpon this concluded the duke of Gloucester, vnderstanding that the lords, which at that time were about the king, intended to bring him by to his coronation accompanied with such power of their frends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering and great assemble of people and in maner of open warre, whereof the end (he wist) was doubtfull, and in which the king being on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: he secretlie therfore by diuers means caused the queene to be persuaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were need, and also should be
50 ieopardous, the king to come by strong.

For whereas now euerie lord loued other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the coronation and honor of the king: if the lords of his kindred should assemble in the kings name much people, they should giue the lords, betwixt whome and them had bene sometime debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kings safeguard, whome no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, than the new attonement. For which cause they should assemble on the other partie much people againe for their defense, whose power the wist well far stretched: and thus should all the realme fall on a roze. And of all the hurt that thereof should insue, which was likelie
not

not to be little, and the most harme there like to fall where the least would, all the world would put hir and hir hindered in the twight, and saie that they had vnwisellie and vntrulie also broken the amitie & peace, that the king hir husband so prudentlie made, be-cause his kin and hirs in his death bed, and which the other partie faithfullie obserued.

The queene, being in this wise perswaded, such word sent vnto hir sonne, and vnto hir brother being about the king, and ouer that the duke of Gloucester him- self, and other lords the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king so reuerentlie, and to the queenes friends here so louinglie, that they nothing earthlie mistrust- ing, brought the king vp in great haile, not in good speed, with a sober companie. Now was the king in his waie to London gone from Northampton, when these dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham came thi- ther, where remained behind the lord Riuer the kings vnkle, intending on the morrow to follow the king, and to be with him at Stonie Stratford [cer- teine] miles thence earlie per he departed. So was there made that night much friendlie chere betwene these dukes & the lord Riuer a great while. But inco- nient, after that they were openlie with great cour- tesie departed, and the lord Riuer lodged, the dukes secretlie with a few of their most priuie friends set them downe in counsell, wherein they spent a great part of the night.

The parties
the duke of
Buckingham
& Gloucester.

And at their rising in the dawning of the daie, they sent about priuie to their seruants in their In- 30 lodgings about, giuing them commandement to make themselves thortlie readie, for their lords were to haste backward. Upon which messages, manie of their folke were attendant, when manie of the lord Riuer's seruants were vnreadie. Now had these dukes taken also into their custodie the keies of the In, that none should passe forth without their licence. And ouer this, in the high waie toward Stonie Stratford, where the king lay, they had besetted cer- teine of their folke, that should send backe againe, 40 and compell to returne, anie man that were gotten out of Northampton, toward Stonie Stratford, till they should giue other licence. For as much as the dukes themselves intended for the shew of their dis- gence, to be the first that should that daie attend vpon the kings highnesse out of that towne, thus bare they folke in hand.

But when the lord Riuer vnderstand the gates closed, and the waies on euerie side beset, neither his seruants nor himselfe suffered to gone out, percei- 50 uing well so great a thing without his knowledge not begun for naught, comparing this manner pre- sent with this last nights chere, in so few houres so great a change, maruellouslie misliked. Howbeit, sith he could not get awaie, and keepe himselfe close, he would not, least he should seeme to hide himselfe for some secret feare of his owne fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himselfe; he determined vpon the suertie of his owne conscience, to go boldlie to them, and inquire what this matter might meane. 60 Whom as soon as they saw, they began to quarrell with him and saie, that he intended to set distance be- twene the king and them, and to bring them to con- fusion, but it should not lie in his power.

The lord Ri-
uer in
the

And when he began (as he was a verie well spo- ken man) in goodlie wise to excuse himselfe, they tar- ried not the end of his answer, but thortlie took him, and put him in ward, and that done, forthwith went to horsebacke, and took the waie to Stonie Strat- ford, where they found the king with his companie, ready to leape on horsebacke, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, because it was too straight for both companies. And as soon as they came in his presence, they light adowne with all their

companie about them. To whom the duke of Buc- kingham said, So afore gentlemen, & pomen keepe your romes. And thus in a goodlie arate, they came to the king, and on their knees in verie humble wise saluted his grace, which receiued them in verie iolous and amiable manner, nothing earthlie knowing nor mistrusting as yet.

But euen by and by in his presence they plied a quarrell to the lord Richard Greie, the kings other 10 brother by his mother, saieing, that he with the lord marquesse his brother, & the lord Riuer's vnkle, had compassed to rule the king and the realme, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroe the noble blood of the Realme. Toward the accomplishing wherof they said that the lord marquesse had entered into the Tower of London, & thence ta- ken out the kings treasure, and sent men to the sea, All which things these dukes wist well were done for 20 good purposes and necessarie, by the whole counsell at London, saieing that somewhat they must saie.

Vnto which words the king answered, What my brother marquesse hath done I cannot saie, but in good faith I dare well answer for mine vnkle Riuer's and my brother here, that they be innocent of anie such matter. Pea my liege (quoth the duke of Buc- kingham) they haue kept their dealing in these mat- ters farre fro the knowledge of your good grace. And 30 forthwith they arrested the lord Richard and sir Tho- mas Daughan knight, in the kings presence; and brought the king and all backe vnto Northampton, where they took againe further counsell. And there they sent awaie from the king, whom it pleased them, and set new seruants about him, such as liked better them than him. At which dealing he wept, and was nothing content; but it boded not.

And at dinner, the duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his owne table vnto the lord Riuer, prai- sing him to be of good chere: all should be well inough. And he thanked the duke, and praied the mes- senger to beare it to his nephue the lord Richard, 40 with the same message for his comfort, who he thought had moze need of comfort, as one to whom such aduersitie was strange. But himselfe had bene all his daies in tye therewith, & therefore could beare it the better. But for all this comfortable courtesie of the duke of Gloucester, he sent the lord Riuer, and the lord Richard, with sir Thomas Daughan into the north countrie, into diuerse places to prison, and af- terward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclu- 50 sion beheaded.

In this wise the duke of Gloucester took vpon himselfe the order and gouernance of the yong king, whom with much honor and humble reuerence he conueied upward towards the citie. But anon, the tidings of this matter came hastily to the queene a little before the midnight following, and that in the forest wise, that the king hir son was taken, hir bro- ther, hir sonne, & hir other friends arrested, and sent no man with whither, to be done with God wot what. 60 With which tidings the queene in great sight & hea- uinesse, bewailing hir childes reigne, hir friends mis- chance, and hir owne infortune, damming the time that ever she dissuaded the gathering of powder about the king, gat hir selfe in all the hast possible with hir yonger sonne and hir daughters out of the palace of Westminster, in which she then laie, into the sanctua- rie, lodging hir selfe and hir companie there in the abbats place.

Now came there one in likewise not long after midnight from the lord chamberleine, to doctor Ho- theram the archbishop of Dorke, then chancelor of England, to his place not farre from Westminster, And for that he shewed his seruants that he had ti- dings of so great importance, that his maister gaue

A a a.ij.

him

The lord
Greie is quar-
relled against.

The death of
the lord Ri-
uer & other.

The queene
taken; sanctu-
arie.

him in charge, not to forbeare his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in, to his bed side. Whom he heard that these dukes were gone backe with the kings grace from Stonie Stratford vnto Northampton. Notwithstanding sir (quoth he) my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no feare: for he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him (quoth the archbishop) be it as well as it will, it will neuer be so well as we haue seene it.

And there vpon, by and by after the messenger departed, he caused in all the hall all his seruants to be called by, and so with his owne household about him, and euerie man weaponed, he took the great seals with him, and came yet before daie vnto the queene. About whom he found much heavinesse, rumber, haile and businesse, cariage and conueiance of hir stuffe in to sanctuarie, chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trusted all on mens backs, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some comming for more, some breaking downe the walles to bring in the next waie, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carrie a wyong waie: such made their lucre of others losse, praising a bottie above beautie, to whome the poets verse may be well applied, to wit:

*Tam. lib. 2.
eleg. 3.*

The desolate
state of the
queene.

Ferrea non Penem sed predam sacula laudant.

The queene hir selfe sate alone aloft on the rushes all desolate and dismayd, whome the archbishop comforted in best manner he could, shewing hir that he trusted the matter was nothing so feare as she took it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of feare by the message sent him from the lord chamberleine. Ah too worth him (quoth she) for he is one of them that laboureth to destroye me and my blood. Hadame (quoth he) be ye of god chere, for I assure you, if they crowne any other king than your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morowe crowne his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in likewise as that noble prince your husband deliuered it vnto me; so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of your sonne: and therewith he betooke hir the great seale, and departed home againe, yet in the dawning of the daie.

By which time, he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boates of the duke of Glocesters seruants, watching that no man should go to sanctuarie, nor none could passe vnsearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as speciallie in the citie, the people diuerlie diuining vpon this dealing. And some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for fauour of the queene, or for feare of themselves, assembled in sundrie companies, and went stockmele in harnesse: and many also, for that they reckoned this demeanour attempted, not so speciallie against the other lords, as against the king himselfe in the disturbance of his coronation. But then by and by the lords assembled together at [a certeine place.]

Toward which meeting, the archbishop of Yorke feareing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to his ouermuch lightnesse, that he so suddenlie had yielded by the great seale to the queene, to whome the custodie thereof nothing pertained, without expectall commandement of the king, secretlie sent for the seale againe, and brought it with him after the custodial manner. And at this meeting the lord Hastings (whose truth toward the king no man doubted, nor needed to doubt) perswaded the lords to beleue, that the duke of Glocester was sure and fastlie faithfull to his prince, and that the lord Rivers, and lord Richard with the other knights, were for matters attempted by them against the duke of Glocester and Buckingham, put vnder arrest for their surterie, not for the kings scopardie: and that they were also in safegard,

and there no longer should remaine, than till the matter were, not by the dukes onelic, but also by all the other lords of the kings counsell indifferently examined, & by others discretions ordered, and either iudged or appealed.

But one thing he aduised them betwix, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth, yet they knew the truth; nor turning their priuate granges into the common hurt, irritating and prouoking men vnto anger, and disturbing the kings coronation, towards which the dukes were comming by, that they might peradventure bring the matter so farre out of ioint, that it should neuer be brought in frame againe. Which strife if it should hap (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things equal: yet should the authoritie be on that side where the king is himselfe. With these perswasions of the lord Hastings, whereof part himselfe beleued, of part he wist the contrarie, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But speciallie by that, that the dukes of Glocester and Buckingham were so nere and came so shortlie on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice: semblance than to his coronation, causing the same to be blown about, that these lords and knights which were taken, had contriued the destruction of the dukes of Glocester and Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realme, to the end that themselves would alone demean and gouerne the king at their pleasure.

And for the colourable profe thereof, such of the dukes seruants as rode with the carts of their stuffe that were taken (among which stuffe, no maruell though some were harnesse, which at the breaking vp of that household must needs either be brought alwaie or cast alwaie) they shewed vnto the people all the waies as they went; & so here be the barrels of harnesse that these traitors had priuillie conueid in their carriage to destroye the noble lords withall. This deuise albeit that it made the matter to wise men more bulshelles, well perceiuing that the intendours of such a purpose would rather haue had their harnesse on their backs, than to haue bound them vp in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well satisfied, and said it were almesse to hang them.

When the king approached nere to the citie, Edmund Shato goldsmith, then maior, with William White, and John Matthew shirriffes, and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with fure hundred boile of the citizens, in violet, receiued him reuerentlie at Harnesse; and riding from thence accompanied him in to the citie, which he entered the fourth daie of Maie, the first and last yeare of his reigne. But the duke of Glocester bare him in open sight so reuerentlie to the prince, with all semblance of lowlinesse, that from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, he was suddenlie fallen in so great trust, that at the counsell next assembled he was made the onelic man, chosen and thought most meet to be protector of the king and his realme, so that (were it desinite or were it folle) the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to kepe.

At which counsell also, the archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, which had deliuered by the great seale to the queene, was thereof greatlie reprobred, and the seale taken from him, and deliuered to doctor Russell bishop of Lincoln, a wise man and a god, and of much experience, and one of the best learned men vndoubtedlie that England had in his time. Diuerse lords and knights were appointed vnto diuerse romes. The lord chamberleine and some other kept still their offices that they had before. Now all were it so that the protector so soze thirsted for the finishing of that he had begun, that thought euerie daie a yeare till it were achieved: yet durst he no further

Heurthelesse
he was deppre-
ued therof
shortlie after.

The kings
comming to
London.

The duke of
Glocester
made priuillie
to kepe.

The best of
Lincolnes
made the
chancellor.

ther attempt, as long as he had but halfe his pzeie in his hand.

And why? Well did he wēt, that if he depofed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in fanguarie, or fhould happilie be fhorte conueied to his fathers libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the lords at the counsell, he propofed to them, that it was a heinous deed of the queene, & proceeding of great malice toward the kings counsellors, that the fhould keepe in fanguarie the kings brother from him, whose fpeciall pleasure & comfort were to haue his brother with him. And that by hir done to none other intent, but to bying all the lords in obloquie and murmur of the people.

As though they were not to be trusted with the kings brother, that by the assent of the nobles of the land, were appointed as the kings nextest friends, to the tuition of his owne totall person. The prosperitie whereof standeth (quoth he) not all in keeping from enemies, or ill viue, but partlie also in recreation, and moderate pleasure: which he cannot (in this tender youth) take in the companie of ancient persons, but in the familiar conuerfation of those that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age: and neuertheless of estate conuenient to accompanie his noble maiestie. Wherefore, with whom rather, than with his owne brother?

And if anie man thinke this consideration light (which I thinke none thinks that loues the king) let him consider, that sometime without small things, greater cannot stand. And verelie, it reboundeth greatlie to the dishonour both of the kings highnesse, and of all vs that beue about his grace, to haue it run in euerie mans mouth, not in this realme onlie, but also in other lands (as euill words walke far) that the kings brother should be faine to keepe fanguarie. For euerie man will twene, that no man will so do for; naught. And such euill opinion once fastned in mens hearts, hard it is to wrecst out, and may grow to more graue than anie man can here diuine.

Wherefore me thinketh it were not worst to send vnto the queene, for the redress of this matter, some honorable trustie man, such as both tendereth the kings weale and the honour of his counsell, and is also in fauour and credence with hir. For all which considerations, none seemeth more meetlie, than our reuerend father here present, my lord cardinall, who may in this matter do most good of anie man, if it please him to take the paine; which I doubt not of his goodnesse he will not refuse for the kings sake and ours, and welch of the young duke himfelfe, the kings most honorable brother, and (after my souereigne lord himfelfe) my most deere nephew, considered that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and obloquie now going, and the hearts auoided that thereof might infue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the realme.

And if the be percase so obffinate, and so pzeffellie set vpon hir owne will, that neither his wife and faithfull aduertisement can not moue hir, nor anie mans reason content hir; then shall we by mine aduise, by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose continuall companie he shall be so well cherished and so honorable intreated, that all the world shall to our honour and hir reproch perceiue, that it was onelie malice, frowardnesse, or follie, that caused hir to keepe him there. This is my purpose and mind in this matter for this time, except anie of your lordships anie thing perceiue to the contrarie; for neuer shall I (by Gods grace) so wed my selfe to mine owne will, but that I shall be readie to change it vpon your better aduices.

When the protector had said, all the counsell affirmed, that the motion was good and reasonable; and to the king and the duke his brother, honorable; and a thing that should cease great murmur in the realme, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliuer him. Which thing the archbishop of Dorke, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most conuenient, took vpon him to moue hir, and therein to do his bittermost deuoir. Howbeit, if she could be in no wise intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other as were of the spiritualtie present, that it were not in anie wise to be attempted to take him out against hir will.

For it should be a thing that would turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuilege of that holie place should now be broken, which had so manie yeares be kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so manie had confirmed, and which holie ground was more than five hundred yeares ago (by saint Peter in his owne person in spirit accompanied with great multitudes of angels by night) so speciallie halowed, & dedicated to God (for the proue therof, they haue yet in the abbey saint Peters cope to shew) that from that time hitherward, was there neuer so vnderuout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holie a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.

And therefore (quoth the archbishop of Dorke) God forbid that anie man should for anie thing carthlie, enterprise to breake the immunitie & libertie of the sacred fanguarie, that hath bene the safegard of so manie a good mans life. And I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace, we shall not need it. But for anie maner need, I would not we should do it. I trust that the shall be with reason contented, and all things in good maner obteneid. And if it happen that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it so farre forth do my best, that ye shall all well perceiue, that no lacke of my deuoir, but the mothers dread and womanish feare shall be the let.

Womanish feare, naie womanish frowardnes (quoth the duke of Buckingham) for I dare take it vpon my soule, she well knoweth the needeth no such thing to feare, either for hir son or for hir selfe. For as for hir, here is no man that will be at war with women. Would God some of the men of hir kin were women too, & then should all be some in rest. Howbeit there is none of hir kin the lesse loued, for that they be hir kin, but for their owne euill deseruing. And naielesse, if we loued neither hir nor hir kin, yet were there no cause to thinke that wee should hate the kings noble brother, to whose grace we our selues be of kin. Whose honoz, if she as much desired as our dishonoz, and as much regard took to his wealth as to hir owne will, she would be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the king, as anie of vs be. For if she haue anie wit (as would God she had as good will as she hath shew wit) she reckoneth hir selfe no wiser than she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull mind she nothing doubteth, but verelie beloneth and knoweth, that they would be as lozie of his harme as hir selfe, and yet would haue him from hir if she bide there: and we all (I thinke) contented, that both be with hir, if she come thence, and bide in such place where they may with their honoz be. Now then, if she refuse in the deliuerance of him, to follow the counsell of them, whose wisdom she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth; it is easie to perceiue, that frowardnesse letteth hir, and not feare. But go to, suppose that she feare (as who maie let hir to feare hir owne shadow) the more she feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we feare to leaue him in hir hands.

For if she cast such fond doubts, that she feare his hurt: then will she feare that he shall be set thence.

A a a a l i j.

For

Reasons why it was not thought meet to fetch the queens son out of fanguarie.

The duke of Buckingham's words against the queene.

Edward cardinall thought that this man was faine with the queene for the currenting of his name.

For the will some thinke, that if men were let (which God forbid) upon so great a mischief, the sanctuarie would little let them: which good men might (as me thinketh) without sinne somewhat lesse regard than they do. Now then, if the doubt, least he might be fetched from hir, is it not likelie enough that the shall send him some where out of the realme? Mercie I loke for none other. And I doubt not, but they now as fore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if the might happen to bring that to passe (as it were no great maiestie, the letting hir alone) all the world would saie, that we were a wise sort of counsellors about a king, that let his brother be cast awaie vnder our noses.

Of sanctuarie
1162.

And therefore, I insure you faithfullie for my mind, I will rather (manger hir mind) fetch him awaie, than leaue him there, till hir forwardnesse and fond feare conueie him awaie. And yet will I breake no sanctuarie therfore. For verely, sith the priuileges of that place, and other like, haue bene of long continuance, I am not he that would be about to breake them. And in god faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say naie, but that it is a deed of pitie, that such men as the sea, or their euill debtors haue brought in pouertie, should haue some place of libertie, to keepe their bodies out of danger of their cruell creditors.

And also, if the crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as traitors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for theues, of which these places be full, and which neuer fall from the craft, after they once fall thereto, it is pitie the sanctuarie should serue them. And much more, mankillers, whome God bad to take from the altar and kill them, if their murder were wilfull. And where it is other wise, there need we not the sanctuaries that God appointed in the old law. For if either necessitie, his owne defense, or misfortune draweth him to that deed, a pardon serueth, which either the law granteth of course, or the king of pitie maie. Then loke me now how few sanctuarie men there be, whome anie fauourable necessitie compellied to go thither. And then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonlie therein of them, whom wilfull vnrightheasnes hath brought to naught.

Westminster
and saint
Martha.

The abuse of
sanctuaries.

What a rabble of theues, muttherers, and malicious heinous traitors, and that in two places speciallie; the one at the elbow of the citie, the other in the verie bowels. I dare well answere it, weie the good that they do, with the hurt that commeth of them, and ye shall find it much better to lacke both, than haue both. And this I saie, although they were not abused as they now be, & so long haue be, that I feare me euer they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the mendment, as though God & S. Peter were the patrones of vngratious living. Now vnrightheasnes riot & run in debt, vpon boldnesse of these places, yea, and rich men run thither with poore mens goods, there they build, there they spend, & bid there creditors go whistle them. Mens wiues run thither with their husbands plate, & saie they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Theues bring thither their stolen goods, and there liue thereon.

There deuise they new robberies, nightlie they scale out, they rob, and reave, and kill, and come in againe, as though those places gaue them not onelie a safegard for the harme they haue done, but a licence also to do more. Howbeit, much of this mischief (if wise men would set their hands to it) might be amended, with great thanks to God, and no breach of the priuilege. The residue, sith so long ago, I wrote nere what pope, and what prince more pitious than pollicke, hath granted it, & other men since, of a cer-

teine religious feare, haue not broken it, let vs take a paine therewith, and let it a Gods name stand in force, as farre forth as reason will, which is not fullie so farre forth, as may serue to let vs of the fetching forth of this noble man to his honoz and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can be a sanctuarie man.

A sanctuarie serueth alwaie to defend the bodie of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onlie, but also of lawfull hurt: for against vnlawfull harmes, neuer pope nor king intended to priuilege anie one place, for that priuilege hath euerie place. Knoweth anie man, anie place wherein it is lawfull one man to do another wrong? That no man vnlawfullie take hurt, that libertie, the king, the law, and verie nature forbiddeth in euerie place, and maketh (to that regard) for euerie man euerie place a sanctuarie. But where a man is by lawfull means in perill, there needeth he the tuition of some speciall priuilege, which is the onelie ground and cause of all sanctuaries.

From which necessitie, this noble prince is farre, whose loue to his king, nature and kindred proueth; whose innocencie to all the world, his tender youth proueth; and so sanctuarie, as for him, neither none he needeth, nor also none can haue. When come not to sanctuarie, as they come to baptism, to require it by their godfathers; he must aske it himselfe that must haue it, and reason; sith no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him saie, need to require it. What will then hath ponder babe, which and if he had discretion to require it, if need were, I dare say would now be right angrie with them that keepe him there: And I would thinke without anie scruple of conscience, without anie breach of priuilege, to be somewhat more homelie with them that be there sanctuarie men in deed.

For if one go to sanctuarie with another mans goods, who should not the king, leauing his bodie at libertie, satisfie the partie of his goods, even within the sanctuarie? For neither king nor pope can giue anie place such a priuilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to paie. And with that, diuerse of the clergie that were present (whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought) agreed plainelie, that by the law of God, and of the church, the goods of a sanctuarie man should be deliuered in payment of his debts, and stolen goods to the owner, and onlie libertie reserued him to get his liuing with the labor of his hands.]

Mercie (quoth the duke) I thinke you say verie truth. And what if a mans wife will take sanctuarie, because she lust to run fro hir husband, I would wene if she could alledge none other cause, he maie lawfullie without anie displeasure to saint Peter, take hir out of saint Peters church by the arine. And if no bodie maie be taken out of sanctuarie, that saith he will bide there; then if a child will take sanctuarie, because he feareth to go to schule, his maister must let him alone. And as simple as that sample is, yet is there lesse reason in our case than in that: for therein, though it be a childlike feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is there none at all. And verelie, I haue often heard of sanctuarie men, but I neuer heard earst of sanctuarie children.

And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, who so maie haue deserued to need it, if they thinke it for their suertie, let them keepe it. But he can be no sanctuarie man, that neither hath wisdom to desire it, nor malice to deserue it; whose life or libertie can by no lawfull proceesse stand in ieopardie. And he that taketh one out of sanctuarie to do him good, I saie plainlie, that he breakeeth no sanctuarie. When the duke had done, the tempo: all men of oie, and a god part

part of the spirituell also, thinking no hurt earthlie meant toward the yong babe, condescended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he should be fet-
ched. Howbeit they thought it all best, in the auoi-
ding of all manner of rumoz, that the lord cardinall
should first assaie to get him with hir god will.

Whereupon all the counsell came vnto the Starre
chamber at Westminster; and the lord cardinall, lea-
ving the protector with the counsell in the Star cham-
ber, departed into the sanctuarie to the quene, with
diuers other lords with him: were it for the respect of
his honoz, or that the should by presence of so manie
perceiue, that this errand was not one mans mind:
or were it, for that the protector intended not in this
matter to trust anie one man alone; or else, that if
the finallie were determined to keepe him, some of
that companie had happlie secret instruction, incon-
tinent (mangle hir mind) to take him, and to leave
hir no respite to conueie him, which she was likelie to
mind after this matter broken to hir, if hir time
would in anie wise serue hir.

When the quene and these lords were come tog-
ther in presence, the lord cardinall shewed vnto hir,
that it was thought vnto the protector, and vnto the
whole counsell, that hir keeping of the kings brother
in that place, was the thing which highlie sounded,
not onelie to the great rumoz of the people and their
obloquie; but also to the importable græfe and dis-
pleasure of the kings roiall maiestie, to whose grace
it were as singular a comfort, to haue his naturall
brother in companie, as it was their both dishonour,
and all theirs and hirs also, to suffer him in sanctua-
rie, as though the one brother stood in danger and pe-
rill of the other [and therefore moze conuenient it
were they should be togither, than parted asunder;
that the world may well thinke and saie both of their
kindred and also of them, when they shall see and heare
how they keepe continuall companie, and liue in mu-
tual amitie (as becometh brethren) which bringeth
commodities with it, for number, infinite; and for
vse, comfortable and necessarie; as it is truelie said:

Quæ ligat vnanimes felix concordia fratres,

O quales fructus utilitatis habet!

The cardinall shewed hir likewise, that the coun-
cell therefore had sent him vnto hir, to require hir the
deliuerie of him, that he might be brought vnto the
kings presence at his libertie, out of that place, which
they reckoned as a prison; and there should he be de-
meaned according to his estate: and she in this do-
ing, should both do great good to the realme, pleasure
to the counsell, and profit to hir selfe, succour to hir
friends that were in distresse, and ouer that (which he
will well the speciallie tendered) not onelie great
comfort and honoz to the king, but also to the yong
duke himselfe, whose both great wealth it were to be
togither, as well for manie greater causes, as also for
their both dispos: recreation. Which thing the lord
esteemed no slight, though it seeme light, well ponde-
ring that their youth without recreation and plaie
cannot indure; nor anie stranger, for the conueni-
ence of both their ages and estates, so meetlie in
that point for anie of them, as either of them for
other.

By lord (quoth the quene) I saie not naie, but
that it were verie conuenient, that this gentleman,
whome ye require, were in companie of the king his
brother: and in god faith, me thinketh it were as
great commoditie to them both, as for yet awhile, to
be in the custodie of their mother, the tender age
considered of the elder of them both, but speciallie the
yonger, which besides his infancie, that also needeth
god looking to) hath awhile bene so sore diseased, ver-
ed with sickness, and is so nowlie rather a little a-
mended, than well recovered, that I dare put no per-

son earthlie in trust with his keeping, but my selfe
onelic, considering that there is (as physicians saie)
and as we also find, double the perill in the recidua-
tion, than was in the first sickness, with which dis-
ease nature being sore laboured, sore wearied and weake-
ned, wareth the lesse able to beare out and susteine a
new surfet. And albeit there might be founden other
that would happlie do their best vnto him, yet is
there none that either knoweth better how to order
him, than I that so long haue kept him: or is moze
tenderlie like to cherish him, than his owne mother
that bare him.

No man denieth, god madame (quoth the card-
inall) but that your grace were of all folke most ne-
cessarie about your childzen: and so would all the
counsell not onelie be content, but glad that ye were
(if it might stand with your pleasure) to be in such
place as might stand with their honour. But if you
do appoint your selfe to tarte here, then thinke they
it moze conuenient that the duke of Bozke were
with the king honourable at his libertie, to the coun-
seil of them both: than here as a sanctuarie man, to
their both dishonour and obloquie, sith there is not al-
waie so great necessitie to haue the child to be with
the mother: but that occasion may sometime be such,
that it should be moze expedient to keepe him else-
where. Which in this well appeareth, that at such time
as your dearest sonne then prince, and now king,
should for his honoz, and god order of the countrie,
keepe household in Wales, farre out of your com-
panie: your grace was well content therewith your
selfe.

Not verie well content (quoth the quene) and yet
the case is not like, for the tone was then in health,
and the tother is now sicke. In which case, I maruell
greatlie, that my lord protector is so desirous to haue
him in his keeping, where if the child in his sickness
miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander
and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing
so sore against my childes honoz, and theirs also, that
he bide in this place: it is all their honours there to
suffer him bide, where no man doubteth he shall be
best kept; and that is here, while I am here, which as
yet intend not to come forth and leopord my selfe
after other of my friends, which would God were ra-
ther here in suertie with me, than I were there in
leopardie with them.

Whie madame (quoth another lord) knowe you anie
thing whie they should be in leopordie: saie verelie
sir (quoth she) no; whie they should be in prison nei-
ther, as they now be. But it is (I trow) no great mar-
uell though I feare, least those that haue not letted to
put them in distresse without colour, will let as little
to procure their destruction without cause. The card-
inall made a countenance to the other lord, that he
should harpe no moze vpon that string; and then said
he to the quene, that he nothing doubted, but that
those lords of hir honorable kin, which as yet remai-
ned vnder arrest, should vpon the matter examined,
do well enough: and as toward hir noble person,
neither was nor could be anie maner leopordie.

Whereby should I trust that (quoth the quene) in
that I am gilltlesse: As though they were gilltie, in
that I am with their enemies better loned than they:
When they hate them for my sake, in that I am so
neere of kin to the king: And how far they be off, if
that would helpe, as God send grace it hurt not, and
therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet to depart
hence. And as for this gentleman my sonne, I mind
that he shall be where I am, till I see further: for I
assure you, for that I see some men so greedie, without
anie substantiall cause to haue him, this maketh me
much the moze fearder to deliuer him.

Truelie madame, quoth he, and the fearder that
you

The quene
is loth to part
with hir son.

The quenes
mistrust of the
lord protector.

The lord
Howard, faith
Edw. Hall.

Distast.

The quenes
will.

you be to deliuer him, the fearder bin other men to suffer you to keepe him, least your causelesse feare might cause you further to conueie him; and manie be there that thinke he can haue no priuilege in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deserue it. And therefore, they reckon no priuilege broken, though they fetch him out; which if y^e shall refuse to deliuer him, I verelie thinke they will. So much deead hath my lord his uncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, least your grace should hap to send him awaie.

The queene
reple upon
the lord car-
dinall.

A fir (quoth the queene) hath the protector so tender zeale, that he feareth nothing but least he should escape him: I thinke he that I would send him hence, which neither is in the plight to send out. And in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this sanctuarie, whereof was there neuer tyrant yet so diuelishly that durst presume to breake? And I trust God is as strong now to withstand his aduersaries, as euer he was. But my sonne can deserue no sanctuarie, and therefore he can not haue it. Forasmuch he hath found a goodlie glose, by which that place that may defend a these, may not saue an innocent. But he is in no leopordie, nor hath no need thereof, would God he had not.

Troweth the protector I praise God he may proue a protector: troweth he that I perceiue not whereunto his painted processe draweth? It is not honourable that the duke bide here: it were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a plaffellow. Be you sure: I praise God send them both better plaffellows than him, that maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext: as though there could none be founden to plaie with the king, but if his brother that hath no lust to plaie for sicknesse, come out of sanctuarie out of his safeguard to plaie with him. As though princes (as yong as they be) could not plaie but with their peres, or children could not plaie but with their kindred, with whom for the more part they agree much worse than with strangers.

But the child cannot requre the priuilege. Who told him so? He shall heare him aske it, and he will. Howbeit, this is a gaie matter. Suppose he could not aske it, suppose he would not aske it, suppose he would aske to go out. If I saie he shall not; if I aske the priuilege but for my selfe, I say he that against my will taketh him out, breake the sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my person onlie, or for my gods too? He may not hence take my horse fro me: and may you take my child fro me? He is also my ward: for as my learned counsell sheweth me, sith he hath nothing by descent holden by knights seruice, the law maketh his mother his gardian. When may no man I suppose take my ward fro me out of sanctuarie, without the breach of the sanctuarie.

And if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the law commiteth to me the custodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a gardian onlie for his goods and lands, discharging him of the cure and safe keeping of his bodie, for which onlie both lands and goods serue. And if examples be sufficient to obteine priuilege for my child, I need not farre to seke. For in this place in which we now be (and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other sonne now king was bozne, and kept in his cradle, and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I praise God long to continue. And as all you know, this is not the first time that I haue taken sanctuarie.

For when my lord my husband was banished, and thrust out of his kingdome, I fled hither, being great with child, and here I bare the prince. And when my

lord my husband returned safe againe, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the prince unto his father, when he first toke him in his armes. And I praise God that my sonnes palace may be as great safeguard unto him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the kings enemie. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, sith, &c. (.) Therefore here intend I to keepe him, sith mans law serueth the gardian to keepe the infant.

The law of nature will the mother to keepe his child, Gods law priuilegeth the sanctuarie, and the sanctuarie my sonne, sith I feare to put him in the protectors hands that hath his brother already, and were (if both failed) inheritour to the crowne. The cause of my feare hath no man to do to examine. And yet feare I no further than the law feareth, which (as learned men tell me) forbiddeth euerie man the custodie of them, by whose death he maie inherit lesse land than a kingdome. I can no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holie sanctuarie, I praise God shoulde send him need of sanctuarie, when he maie not come to it. For taken out of sanctuarie would I not my mortall enemie were.

The lord cardinall, perceiuing that the queene feared euer the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kinde and chafe, and spake more biting words against the protector, and such as he neither beleued, and was also loth to heare, he said to hir for a small conclusion, that he would no longer dispute the matter: but if she were content to deliuer the duke to him, and to the other lords present, he durst laie his owne bodie & soule both in pledge, not onlie for his suertie, but also for his estate. And if she would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, he would forthwith depart therewithall, and shift the so would with this businesse afterwards: for he neuer intended more to moue hir in that matter, in which she thought that he & all other also (saue hir selfe) lacked either wit or truth: wit, if they were so dull that they could nothing perceiue what the protector intended: truth, if they should procure hir sonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they should perceiue toward the child ante euill intended.

The queene with these words stood a good while in a great studie. And forsomuch as hir learned the cardinall more readie to depart than some of the remnant, and the protector himselfe readie at hand; so that the verelie thought she could not keepe him, but that he should incontinentlie be taken thence: and to conueie him else-where, neither had the time to serue hir, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things unreadie, this message came on hir so suddenly, nothing lesse looking for, than to haue him let out of sanctuarie, which she thought to be now beset in such places about, that he could not be conueied out withouten, and partlie as she thought it might fortune hir feare to be false, so well she wist it was either needlesse or bootlesse: wherefore if she should needs go from him, she deemed it best to deliuer him.

And ouer that, of the cardinals faith the nothing doubted, nor of some other lords neither, whom she there saw. Which as she feared least they might be deceiued: so was she well assured they would not be corrupted. When thought she it should yet make them the more warilie to loke to him, and the more circumspectlie to see to his suertie, if she with hir owne hands betooke him to them of trust. And at the last she toke the yong duke by the hand, and said vnto the lords: My lords (quoth she) and all my lords, I neither am so vnwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of which thing I purpose

The lord cardinall
bith
on other
to perforce
the queene.

She felt
a resolution
touching
her
sonnes
care.

This that is
here between
this marke (.)
e this marke
(.) was not
written by him
in English but
is translated
out of this hi-
storie which
he wrote in
Latine.

purpose to make you such a prose, as if either of both in you, might turne both you and me to great sorrow, the realme to much harme, and you to great reproch.

For lo, here is (quoth she) this gentleman, whom I doubt not but I could here kepe safe, if I would, what euer anie man say: I doubt not also, but there be some abroad so deadlie enemies vnto my blood, that if they will where anie of it laie in their owne bodie, they would let it out. We haue also experience that desire of a kingdome knoweth no kintred. The brother hath bene the brothers bane: and maie the nephews be sure of their vnicle? Each of these children is the others defense while they be asunder, and each of their liues lieth in the others bodie. Kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing for them both more perillous, than to be both in one place. For what wise merchant aduentureth all his goods in one ship?

All this notwithstanding, here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to kepe, into your hands, of whom I shall aske them both afore God & the world. Faithfully he be that tooke I well, & I know well you be wise. Power and strength to kepe him (if you list) lacke ye not of your selfe, nor can lacke helpe in this cause. And if ye can not else where, then maie you leaue him here. But onelie one thing I beseech you, for the trust which his father put in you euer, & for the trust that I put in you now, that as farre as ye thinke that I feare too much, be you well ware that you feare not as farre too little. And therewithall the said brother to the child; Fare well mine owne sweete sonne, God send you good keeping: let me kisse you yet once yer you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe. And therewith the kisse him and blessed him, turned his backe and wept and went his waie, leaving the child weeping as fast. [Howbeit the dukes forie after wards that the had so parted from his son (when it was past his power to procure remedie, & no hope of helpe left against afterclaps) which is the common case of all that kind, as the proverbe saith:

Femineus verè dolor est post facta dolere.]

When the lord cardinall, and these other lords with him, had receiued this yong duke, they brought him into the Star chamber, where the protector toke him in his armes and kisse him with these words: How welcome my lord euen with all my berie heart. And he said in that of likelihood as he thought. Whereupon forthwith they brought him vnto the king his brother into the bishops palace at Paules, and from thence thorough the citie honourable into the Tower, out of the which after that daie they neuer came abroad.

When the protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himselfe more boldlie, both to certeine other men, and also cheslie to the duke of Buckingham. Although I know that manie thought that this duke was priue to all the protectors counsell, euen from the beginning; and some of the protectors friends said, that the duke was the first mouer of the protector to this matter, sending a priue messenger vnto him, straight after king Edwards death. But others againe, which knew better the subtil wit of the protector, denie that he euer opened his enterprise to the duke, vntill he had brought to passe the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the quenes kinsfolks, & gotten both his sonnes into his owne hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whome he thought meet for the matter, and speciallie to the duke, who being wone to his purpose, he thought his strength more than halfe increased. The matter was broken vnto the duke by subtil folks, and such as were the craftiest-masters in the handling of such wicked deuises: who declared vnto him that the yong king was offended with him for his kinsfolks sake, and if he

were euer able he would reuenge them, who would picke him forward therevnto if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment) or else if they were put to death, without doubt the yong k. would be carefull for their deaths, whose imprisonment was græuous vnto him.

Also that with repenting the duke should nothing auaille, for there was no waie left to redeme his offense by benefites, but he should sooner destroy himselfe than saue the king, who with his brother and his kinsfolks he saw in such places imprisoned, as the protector might with a becke destroye them all: and that it were no doubt but he would do it indeed, if there were anie new enterprise attempted. And that it was likelie, that as the protector had prouided priue gard for himselfe, so had he spials for the duke, and traines to catch him, if he should be against him; and that peradventure from them, whome he lest suspected. For the state of things and the dispositions of men were then such, that a man could not well tell whome he might trust, or whome he might feare.

These things and such like, being beaten into the dukes mind, brought him to that point, that where he had repented the way that he had entered; yet would he go forth in the same; and sith he had once begun, he would stoutlie go thorough. And therefore to this wicked enterprise, which he believed could not be voided, he bent himselfe, and went thorough; and determined, that sith the common mischæfe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie. Then it was agreed, that the protector should haue the dukes aid to make him king, and that the protectors onelie lawfull sonne should marrie the dukes daughter, and that the protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldome of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obtaine it in king Edwards time.

Besides these requests of the duke, the protector of his owne mind promised him a great quantitie of the kings treasure, and of his household stuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwene themselves, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the yong king; as they would haue it seeme. And that they might turne both the eyes and minds of men from perceiuing of their diuers other where, the lords being sent for from all parts of the realme, came thicke to that solemnitie. But the protector and the duke, after that they had sent the lord cardinall, the archbishop of Doke then lord chancellor, the bishop of Ely, the lord Stanleie, and the lord Hastings then lord chamberlaine, with manie other noble men (*) to common & deuise about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in an other place, contriuing the contrarie, and to make the protector king.

To which counsell albeit there were adhibited berie few, and they were secret: yet began there here and there abouts, some manner of muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither will what they feared, nor wherefore: were it, that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgiue them; as the sea without wind swelleth of himselfe sometime before a tempest: or were it that some one man, happlie somewhat perceiuing, filled manie men with suspicion, though he shewed few men what he knew, howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsell were close. For by little and little all folke withdrew from the Tower, and drew vnto Crosbies in Bishops gates street, where the protector kept his household. The protector had the resort, the king in maner desolate.

While some for their businesse made sute to them that had the doing, some were by their friends secretlie

The dukes full resolution, to go this way with his enterprise.

William.

This that is here betwene the marks, was not written by him in English, but is translated out of his billes which he wrote in Latine.

he warned, that it might happlie turne them to no good, to be too much attendant about the king without the protectors appointment, which removed also diuerse of the princes old seruants from him, and set new about him. Thus manie things comming together, partlie by chance, partlie of purpose, caused at length not common people onelie, that wound with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords eke to marke the matter and muse thereon; so farre forth that the lord Stanleie that was after earle of Derby, wiselie mistrusted it, and said vnto the lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two seuerall counsels. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wot we wherof they talke in the tother place.

Catesbie and his conditions described.

App lord (quoth the lord Hastings) on my life neuer doubt you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thense, neuer can there be thing once moued, that should sound amisse toward me, but it should be in mine eares per it were well out of their mouths. This ment he by Catesbie, which was of his neere secret counsell, and whome he verie familiarlie used, and in his most weightie matters put no man in so speciall trust, reckoning himselfe to no man so liefe, sich he well wist there was no man so much to him beholden as was this Catesbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this land, and by the speciall fauour of the lord chamberlaine, in god authoritie, and much rule bare in all the countie of Lecester, where the lord chamberlains power chafellie laie.

But suerlie great pitie was it, that he had not had either moze truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onelie kept all that mischafe by. In whome if the lord Hastings had not put so speciall trust, the lord Stanleie & he had departed with diuerse other lords, and broken all the danse, for manie ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So suerlie thought he, that there could be none harme toward him in that counsell intended, where Catesbie was. And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made verie good semblance vnto the lord Hastings, and kept him much in companie. And undoubtedly the protector loued him well, and loth was to haue lost him, sauing for feare least his life should haue quailed their purpose.

For which cause he moued Catesbie to proue with some wordes cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to win the lord Hastings vnto their part. But Catesbie, whether he assaied him, or assaied him not, reported vnto them, that he found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible wordes, that he durst no further breake. And of truth, the lord chamberlaine of verie trust shewed vnto Catesbie the distrust that others began to haue in the matter. And therefore he, fearing least their motion might with the lord Hastings minish his credence, wherevnto onelie all the matter leaned, procured the protector hastilie to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obtaine much of the rule that the lord Hastings bare in his countie: the onelie desire wherof was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

An assemblie of lords in the Tower.

Wherevpon some offer, that is to wit, on the first daie [being the thirteenth of June] manie lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in counsell, discussing the honourable solemnitie of the kings coronation, of which the time appointed then so nere approached, that the pageants and subtilties were in making daie & night at Westminster, and much vittels killed therfore, that afterward was cast awaie. These lords so sitting together communing of this matter, the protector came in amongst them, first about nine

of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and extolling himselfe that he had bene from them so long, saing merilie that he had bene a sleeper that daie.

After a little talking with them, he said vnto the bishop of Ely: App lord you haue verie good straberies at your garden in Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them: Gladlie my lord (quoth he) would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that! And therewithall in all the hall he sent his seruant for a messe of straberies. The protector set the lords fast in communing, & therewithon praiseng them to spare him for a little while, departed thense. And some after one houre, betwene ten & eleuen he returned into the chamber amongst them all, changed with a wonderfull foure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and frowning, and gnawing on his lips: and so sat him downe in his place.

All the lords were much dismayed and sore marvelled at this maner of sudden change, and what thing should him aile. Then, when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: What were they two? to haue that compasse and imagine the destruction of me, being so nere of blood vnto the king, and protector of his rotall person and his realme? At this question, all the lords sat sore astonied, musing much by whome this question should be meant, of which euerie man wist himselfe cleere. Then the lord chamberlaine (as he that for the loue betwene them thought he might be boldest with him) answered and said, that they were two? to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoever they were. And all the other affirmed the same. That is (quoth he) ponder for eke my brothers wife, and other with hir (meaning the queene.)

At these wordes manie of the other lords were greatlie abashed, that fauoured hir. But the lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moued by hir, than by anie other whome he loued better: albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kindred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to be beheaded at Pomfret this selfe same daie, in which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe should be beheaded the same daie at London. Then said the protector: We shall all see in what wise that forceresse, and that other witch of hir counsell Shores wife, with their affinitie, haue by their forcerie and witchcraft wasted my noble. And therewith he plucked by his dublet sleue to his elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a wondrously withered arme, and small; as it was neuer other.

Wherevpon euerie mans mind sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarell. For they well wist that the queene was too wise to go about anie such follie. And also if she would, yet would she of all folke least, make Shores wife of hir counsell, whome of all women the most hated, as that concubine whome the king hir husband had most loued. And also, no man was there present, but well knew that his arme was euer such since his birth. Pasthelesse, the lord chamberlaine (which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, on whome he somewhat doted in the kings life, sauing (as it is said) he that while forbore hir of reuerence toward the king, or else of a certeine kind of fidelitie to his friend) answered and said: Certeinelie my lord, if they haue so heinouslie done, they be two? heinous punishment.

What (quoth the protector) thou seruest me I wene with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they haue so done, and that I will make god on thy bodie traitor: and therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the word a great rap. At which token one cried,

Treason,

Reason, without the chamber. Therewith a doze clapped, and in come there rushing men in harnesse, as manie as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the lord Hastings: I arrest thee traitor: What me my lord? (quoth he.) Yea thee traitor quoth the protector. And an other let lie at the lord Stanleie, which shynke at the stroke, & fell vnder the table, or else his head had bene cleft to the teeth: for as thotlie as he shynke, yet ran the blood about his eares.

Then were they all quickelie bestowed in diuerse chambers, except the lord chamberleine, whome the protector had sped and shynke him apace, for by saint Daule (quoth he) I will not to dinner till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske whie, but heaulie toke a priest at aduenture, & made a short shynk: for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much hast to dinner, which he might not go to, untill this were done, for sauing of his oth. So was he brought forth to the greene beside the chappell within the Towre, and his head laid downe vpon a long log of timber, and there stricken off, and afterward his bodie with the head interred at Wimbore beside the bodie of king Edward, both whose soules our Lord pardon. [Thus began he to establish his kingdome in blood, growing thereby in hatred of the nobles, and also abridging both the line of his life, and the time of his regiment: for God will not haue bloodthirstie tyrants daies prolonged, but will cut them off in their ruffe; according to Dauids wordes:

*Impio, succidi, audoque cedis
Filius rumpit viridi in iumenta.]*

A marvellous case is it to heare either the warnings of that he should haue voided, or the tokens of that he could not void. For the selfe night next before his death, the lord Stanleie sent a trustie messenger vnto him at midnight in all the hast, requiring him to rise and ride awaie with him, for he was disposed bitterlie no longer to bide, he had so fearfull a dreame; in which him thought that a boare with his tuskes so rased them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders. And forsomuch as the protector gaue the boare for his cognifance, this dreame made so fearefull an impression in his heart, that he was throughlie determined no longer to tarry, but had his horse ready, if the lord Hastings would go with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they should be out of danger per daie.

Ya god Lord (quoth the lord Hastings to this messenger) I caneth my lord thy maister so much to such trifles, and hath such faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantaseth, or do rise in the nights rest by reason of his daies thought: Tell him it is plaine withcertaintie to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might be as likelic to make them true by our going, if we were caught & brought backe, as friends faile fliers; for then had the boare a cause likelic to rase vs with his tuskes, as folke that fled for some falschod. Therefore, either is there perill, or none there is in deed: or if arie be, it is rather in going than biding. And in case we should needs fall in perill one waie or other, yet had I rather that men should see that it were by our owne fault, or faint heart. And therefore go to thy maister (man) and commend me to him, & prae him be merie & haue no feare: for I assure him I am as sure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God send grace sir (quoth the messenger) and went his waie.

Certeine is it also, that in riding towards the Towre, the same morning in which he was beheaded, his horse ruse or thise stumbled with him, almost to the falling. Which thing albeit euy man wote well

daily happeneth to them, to whom no such mischance is toward; yet hath it bene of an old rite and custome obserued, as a token oftentimes notable foretelling some great misfortune. Now this that folloiweth was no warning, but an envious scoone. The same morning yet he was vp, came a knight vnto him, as it were of courtesie, to accompanie him to the counsell; but of truth sent by the protector to haile him thitherwards, with whome he was of secret confederacie in that purpose; a meane man at that time, and now of great authoritie.

This knight (I say) when it happened the lord chamberleine by the waie to staie his horse, & comon a while with a priest whom he met in the Towre street, brake his tale, and said merilie to him: What my lord, I pray you come on, where to talke you so long with that priest: you haue no need of a priest yet: and therewith he laughed vpon him, as though he would say, We shall haue sone. But so little wist the tother what he ment, and so little mistrusted, that he was neuer merier, nor neuer so full of god hope in his life, which selfe thing is oft sene a signe of change. But I shall rather let arie thing passe me, than the vaine suertie of mans mind so nere his death [flattering himselfe with deceitfull conceits of inward motions of life to be prolonged, euen in present cases of deable danger, and heauie misfortunes offering great mistrust; as he did that is noted for speaking like a foole:

*Non est (crede mihi) sapientis dicere, Finam:
Nascentes morimur, finisq; ab origine pendet.]*

*Mani lib. 4.
Astro.*

Upon the verte Towre wharfe, so nere the place where his head was off sone after, there met he with one Hastings a pursuant of his owne name. And at their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the lord chamberleine had bene accused vnto king Edward by the lord Rivers the quenes brother, in such wise, as he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, & stood in great feare of himselfe. And forsomuch as he now met this pursuant in the same place, that ieopardie so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof, with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place, while he was therein.

And therefore he said: Ya Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with an heauie heart? Yea my lord (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they gat no god, nor you no harme thereby. Thou wouldest say so (quoth he) if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know else as yet, and mo shall thotlie. That meant he by the lords of the quenes kiured that were taken before, and should that daie be beheaded at Wimbore: which he well wist, but nothing wote that the ar hung ouer his owne head. In faith man (quoth he) I was neuer so soie, nor neuer stood in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how the world is turned, now stand mine enemies in the danger (as thou maist hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life so merrie, nor neuer in so great suertie.

O god God, the blindness of our mortall nature, when he most feares, he was in god suertie; when he reckoned himselfe surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authoritie of the tie with his prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enemy, & secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as he that of god heart and courage forstudied no perils, a louing man, and passing well beloved: verie faithfull, and trustie inough, trusting too much. Now Acto the same of this lords death

*The lord
chamberleine
was slain.*

*The lord
chamberleine
was slain.*

*The lord
chamberleine
was slain.*

*The lord
chamberleine
was slain.*

*The lord
chamberleine
was slain.*

swiftlie through the citie, and so forth further about like a wind in euerie mans care. But the protector, immediatlie after dinner, intending to let some colour vpon the matter, sent in all the hall for manie substantiall men out of the citie into the Towre.

Now at their comming, himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill faring byganders, such as no man should weare, that they would vouchsafe to haue put vpon their backs, except that some sudden necessitie had constrained them. And then the protector shewed them, that the lord chamberleine, and other of his conspiracie, had contrived to haue suddenly destroyed him, and the duke, there the same day in the councill. And what they intended further, was as yet not well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge before ten of the clocke the same forenone, which sudden scare braue them to put on for their defense such harnesse as came next to hand. And so had God holpen them, that the mischief turned vpon them that would haue done it. And this he required them to report.

The protector's proclamation.

Euerie man answered him faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleued. Yet for the further appeasing of the peoples minds, he sent immediatlie after dinner in all the hall one herald of armes, with a proclamation to be made through the citie in the kings name, concerning, that the lord Hastings, with diuerse other of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired the same day to haue slaine the lord protector, and the duke of Buckingham sitting in the councill; and after to haue taken vpon them to rule the king & the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoile whome they list vnccontrolled. And much matter there was in that proclamation, deuised to the slander of the lord chamberleine, as that he was an ill counsellor to the kings father, intising him to manie things highlie redounding to the minishing of his honour, and to the vniuersall hurt of the realme.

The life and deeds of the lord chamberleine laid open.

The meanes whereby, namely, his euill companie, sinister procuring, and vngenerous example, as well in manie other things, as in the vicious living and inordinate abusion of his bodie, both with manie other, and also speciallie with Shores wife, which was one also of his most secret counsell in this most heinous treason, with whom he laie nightlie, and namely the night last past next before his death. So that it was the lesse maruell, if vngenerous living brought him to an vnhappie ending, which he was now put vnto by the most dreed commandement of the kings highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull counsell, both for his demerits, being so openlie taken in his falslie conceived treason, and also least the delayng of his execution might haue encouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselves together, in making some great commotion for his deliuerance: whose hope being now by his well deserved death politike, lie repressed, all the realme should (by Gods grace) rest in god quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two hours after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiously indited, & so faire written in parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euerie child might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the time, betwene his death and the proclaiming, could scant haue sufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had it bene but in paper, and scribled forth in hast at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was scholemaster of Dowles, of chance stanning by, and comparing the shortnesse of the time with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him; Here

is a gaie goodlie cast soule cast awaie for haile. And a merchant answered him, that it was written by prophetic.

Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetise, the protector sent into the house of Shores wife (for hir husband dwelled not with hir) and spoiled hir of all that ever she had, about the value of two or three thousand markes, and sent hir bodie to prison. And when he had a while laid vnto hir (for the manner sake) that she went about to bewitch him, and that she was of counsell with the lord chamberleine to destroy him: in conclusion, when that no colour could fallen vpon these matters, then he laid beinoulitie to hir charge, that thing that hir selfe could not denie, and that all the world wist was true, and that namely lesse euerie man laughed at, to heare it then so suddenly so highlie taken, that she was naught of hir bodie.

And for this cause (as a goodlie continent prince, cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens manners) he caused the bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the crosse in procession vpon a sundae with a taper in hir hand. In which she went in countenance and pale demure so womanlie; that albeit she were out of all aerie, saue hir kirtle onelie, yet went she so faire and lowelie, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comelie rud in hir cheeks (of which she before had most misde) that hir great shame was hir much praise among those that were more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir soule. And manie good folks also that hated hir living, & glad were to see sin corrected: yet pitied they more hir penance, than reioised therein, when they considered that the protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent, than any vertuous affection.

This woman was borne in London, worshipfull friended, honestlie brought vp, and verie well married, saying somewhat too soon, hir husband an honest citizen, young and goodlie, & of god substance. But for so much as they were coupled yet she were well ripe, she not verie feruentlie loued him, for who she neuer longed, which was happilie the thing that the more easily made hir incline vnto the kings appetite, when he required hir. Whoebeit the respect of his roialtie, the hope of gaie apparell, ease, and other wanton wealth, was able some to pearse a soft tender heart, [so that she became flexible and pliant to the kings appetite and will; being so blinded with the bright gloze of the present courtlie haunterie which she inioied, that she utterly forgot how excellent a treasure good name and fame is, and of what incomparable sweetnesse, euen by the iudgement of him, whose match for wisdom the world neuer bred vp, saying:

*Sunt optanda magis pura bona nomina fame,
Nobilis vnguenti quam pretiosus odor.]*

But when the king had abused hir, anon hir husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his god, not presuming to touch a kings concubine) left hir vp to him altogether. When the king died, the lord chamberleine took hir, which in the kings daies, albeit he was so enamoured vpon hir, yet he forbore hir; either for reuerence, or for a certaine friendlie faithfullnesse. Proper she was and faire; nothing in hir bodie that you would haue changed, but if ye would haue wished hir somewhat higher. Thus saie they that knew hir in hir youth. Albeit some that now see hir (for yet she liueth) deem hir neuer to haue bene well disfigured: whose iudgement seemeth me somewhat like, as though men should gesse the beautie of one long before departed, by hir scalpe taken out of the charuell house.

For now is the old, leane, withered, and dated vp, nothing left but riuelled skin, and hard bone. And yet being

Shores wife
spoil'd of her
husband's goods

Shores wife
put to open
penance

The desire
and of Shores
wife

Ed. 5. 148.
ch. 34.

Shores
wife
now
seen

R. Edwards
the coun-
sell.

being euen such, who so well aduise his visage, might
gesse and deuise, which parts how filled would make
it a faire face. Yet delighted not men so much in his
beautie, as in his pleasant behauiour. For a proper
wit had he, and could both read well and write, mer-
rie in companie, ready and quicke of answer, nei-
ther mute, nor full of bable, sometime taunting with-
out displeasure, and not without disport. The king
would saie that he had three concubins, which in three
diuerse properties diuerslie excelled. One the mer-
riest, another the wildest, the third the holiest harlot in
his realme, as one whome no man could get out of
the church lightlie to any place, but it were to his bed.

The other two were somewhat greater persons,
geas, and nathelasse of their humilitie content to be
named, and to forebare the praise of those proper-
ties: but the merriest was this shoyes wife, in whom
the king therfore took speciall pleasure. For manie
he had, but hir he loued; whose fauour to say the truth
(for sin it were to belie the diuine) she neuer abused
to any mans hurt, but to manie a mans comfort
and releefe. Where the king took displeasure, she
would mitigate and appease his mind: where men
were out of fauour, she would bring them in his
grace. For manie that had highlie offended the ob-
tained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men re-
mission.

Finallie, in manie weightie sutes she stood ma-
nie a man in great feard, either for none or verie
small rewards, and those rather gale than rich; either
that she was content with the deed it selfe well done;
or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, and to shew
that she was able to do with the king; or for that
wanton women and wealthie be not alwaies coue-
tous. I doubt not some shall thinke this woman too
slight a thing to be written of, and set among the re-
membances of great matters: which they shall spe-
ciallie thinke, that happilie shall esteeme hir onelie
by that they now see hir.

But me seemeth the chance so much the more wor-
thie to be remembred, in how much she is now in the
more beggerlie condition, vnfrinded and worne out
of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great
faueur with the prince, after as great sute and se-
king to with all those, that those daies had businesse
to spend, as manie other men were in their times,
which be now famous onelie by the infamie of their
ill daies. Hir doings were not much lesse, albeit they
be much lesse remembred, because they were not so
will. For men vse if they haue an euill turne, to write
it in marble: and who so doth vs a good turne, we
write it in dust, which is not worth proued by hir: for
at this daie she begged of manie at this daie liuing,
that at this daie had begged if she had not bene.

Now was it so deuised by the protector and his
councell, that the selfe daie, in which the lord cham-
berleine was beheaded in the Tower of London,
and about the selfe same houre, was there (not with-
out his assent) beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremem-
bered lords & knights that were taken from the king
at Northampton and Stonie Stratford. Which
thing was done in the presence, and by the order of
sir Richard Katcliffe knight, whose seruice the protec-
tor speciallie bled in that councell, and in the executi-
on of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had
bene long secret with him, hauing experience of the
world, and a shrewd wit, short & rude in speech, rough
and boisterous of behauiour, bold in mischief, as far
from pitie as from all feare of God.

This knight bringing them out of the prison to the
scaffold, and shewing to the people about that they
were traitors (not suffering them to declare & speake
their innocencie, least their words might haue incli-
ned men to pitie them, and to hate the protector and

his part) caused them hastilie, without iudgement,
processe, or maner of order to be beheaded, and with-
out other earthlie gilt, but onelie that they were god
men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the queene.
Now when the lord chamberleine & these other lords
and knights were thus beheaded, and rid out of the
waie: then thought the protector, that when men mu-
sed what the matter meant, while the lords of the
realme were about him out of their owne strengths,
while no man wist what to thinke, nor whom to trust,
yet euer they should haue space to dispute and digest
the matter and make parties; it were best hastilie to
pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of
the crowne, yet men could haue time to deuise anie
waie to resist.

But now was all the studie by what meanes this
matter, being of it selfe so heinous, might be first bro-
ken to the people, in such wise that it might be well
taken. To this councell they took diuerse, such as
they thought meetlie to be trusted, likelie to be indu-
ced to that part, and able to stand them in stead either
by power or policie. Among whome they made of
councell Edmund Shaws knight then maior of Lon-
don, which vpon trust of his owne advancement,
whereof he was of a proud heart highlie desirous,
should frame the citie to their appetite. Of spirituall
men they took such as had wit, and were in authori-
tie among the people for opinion of their learning,
and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had
they John Shaw cleerke brother to the maior, and
sister Denker, prouinciall of the Augustine friers
both doctors of diuinitie, both great preachers, both
of more learning than vertue, of more fame than
learning. For they were before greatlie esteemed a-
mong the people: but after that neuer.

Of these two the one had a sermon in praise of the
protector before the coronation, the other after, both so
full of tedious flatterie, that no mans eares could a-
bide them. Denker in his sermon so lost his voice,
that he was faine to leaue off, and come dolone in
the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his hone-
stie, & some after his life, for vertie shame of the world,
into which he durst neuer after come abroad. But the
sister forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the
lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and manie thinke, that
Denker was not of counsell in the matter before
the coronation, but after the common maner fell to
flatterie after: namelie with his sermon was not in-
continentlie vpon it, but at saint Martes hospitall at
the Easter after.

But certeine it is, that doctor Shaw was of coun-
sell in the beginning, so farre forth that they determi-
ned that he should first breake the matter in a ser-
mon at Paules crosse, in which he should by the au-
thoritie of his preaching incline the people to the pro-
tectors ghoslie purpose. But now was all the labor
and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretext,
for which the people should be content to depose the
prince, and accept the protector for king. In which di-
uerse things they deuised. But the chiefe thing & the
weightiest of all that inuention rested in this, that
they should alledge bastardie, either in king Ed-
ward himselfe, or in his children, or both. So that he
should seme disabled to inherit the crowne, by the
duke of Yorke, and the prince by him.

To late bastardie in king Edward, founded open-
lie to the rebuke of the protectors owne mother, which
was mother to them both; for in that point could be
no other color, but to pretend that his owne mother
was an aduultresse, which notwithstanding, to fur-
ther this purpose he letted not. But neuerthelesse he
would that point should be lesse and more fauoura-
ble handled: not euen fullie plaine and directlie, but
that the matter should be touched adlope craftilie, as

The lord Sha-
wers & other
beheaded.Edmund
Shaw maior
of London.Docr. Shaw;
sister Den-
ker.The chiefe
deuise to de-
pose the
prince.

though men spared in that point to speake all the truth, for feare of his displeasure. But the other point concerning the bastardie that they deuised to furnize in king Edwards children, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceived, but if we first repeat you some things long before done about king Edwards marriage.

See before
pag. 667, 668.

Dame Elizabeth Greie.

After that king Edward the fourth had deposed king Henrie the first, and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determining himselfe to marie (as it was meet both for him selfe & the realme) he sent ouer in ambassage the erle of Warwicke, with other noble men in his companie to Spaine, to treat & conclude a marriage betwene h. Edward & the kings daughter of Spaine. In which thing the erle of Warwicke found the parties so toward & willing, that he speedily (according to his instructions without any difficultie) brought the matter to very good conclusion. Now happened it, that in the meane season there came to make a sute by petition to the king dame Elizabeth Greie, which was after his quene, at that time a widow, borne of noble blood, by hir mother, duchesse of Bedford, per she married the lord Woodville, hir father.

Nowe it, this dame Elizabeth hir selfe, being in seruice with quene Margaret, wife vnto king Henrie the first, was married vnto one [John] Greie an esquier, whome king Henrie made knight vpon the field that he had on [Barnet] heath by saint Albons against king Edward. But little while inticed he that knight: for he was at the same field slaine. After which done, and the erle of Warwicke, being in his ambassage about the afore remembred marriage, this poore ladie made humble sute vnto the king, that she might be restored vnto such small lands as hir late husband had giuen hir in iointure. Whome when the king beheld, and heard hir speake, as she was both faire and of a goodlie fauor, moderate of stature, well made, and verie wise: he not onelie pittied hir, but also loved inamoured of hir. And taking hir afterward secretlie aside, began to enter in talking more familiarlie. Whose appetite when she perceived, she verily denied him.

But that did she so wisely, and with so good manner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finally, after manie a meeting, much wooing, and many great promises, she well espied the kings affection toward hir so greatly increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldly sale hir mind, as to him whose hart she perceived more feruently set, than to fall off for a word. And in conclusion, she shewed him plaine, that as she wold hir selfe too simple to be his wife, so thought she hir selfe too good to be his concubine. The king much maruelling at hir constancie (as he that had not been wont elsewhere to be so trifflie said naie) so much esteemed hir continencie and chastitie, that he set hir vertue in the stead of possession and riches: and thus taking counsell of his desire, determined in all possible hast to marie hir.

It will be
fear of a chaste
and continent
ladie.

The kings
mother.

Now after he was thus appointed, and had bestowed them twaine inured hir: then asked he counsell of his other friends, and that in such manner, as they might then perceiue it wold not greatlie to say naie. Notwithstanding the duchesse of Forke his mother was so fore moued therewith, that she dissuaded the marriage as much as she possible might; alledging that it was his honour, profit, and fortune also, to marie in a noble progenie out of his realme, whereupon depended great strength to his estate, by the assistance and great possibilitie of increase of his possession. And that he could not well otherwise doe, seeing that the erle of Warwicke had so farre moued already: which were not likelie to take it well, if all

his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she said also, that it was not princelie to marie his owne subject, no great occasion leading thereunto, no possessions, or other commodities depending thereupon; but onlie as it were a rich man that would marie his maid, onelie for a little wanton dotage vpon hir person.

In which marriage manie mo commend the maidens fortune, than the maisters wisdome. And yet therein (she said) was more honestie than honour in this marriage. For somuch as there is betwene no merchant and his owne maid so great difference, as betwene the king and this widow. In whose person, albeit there was nothing to be misliked; yet was there (she said) nothing so excellent, but that it might be found in diuerse other that were more meetlie (quoth she) for your estate, and maidens also; whereas the onelie widowhead of Elizabeth Greie, though she were in all other things conuenient for you, should yet suffice (as me seemeth) to retrain you from hir marriage, sith it is an vnfitting thing, and a verie blamish and high disparagement to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness as he doth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamie in his first marriage.

The king, when his mother had said, made hir answer, part in earnest, part in plaie merlie, as he that wold himselfe out of hir rule. And albeit he wold gladly that she should take it well, yet was at a point in his owne mind, to take she it well or otherwise. Nowe it somewhat to satisfie hir, he said, that albeit marriage (being a spirituall thing) ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace inclineth the parties to loue together, as he trusted it was in his, than for the regard of anie trespasfull advantage: yet neuertheless, him seemed that this marriage, even wold be considered, was not vnprofitable. For he reckoned the amitie of no earthly nation so necessarie for him, as the friendship of his owne, which he thought likelie to beate him so much the more hartie fauour, in that he disdained not to marie with one of his owne land.

The kings
answer to
his mother.

And yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite, he wold find the means to enter therein, much better by other of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marie himselfe whome he should happlie neuer loue; and for the possibilitie of more possessions, lease the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beside, if he be wold against his appetite. And I doubt not (quoth he) but there be (as ye say) other, that be in euerie point comparable with hir. And therefore I let not them that like them to wed them. So more is it reason, that it mislike anie man, that I marie where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousin of Warwicke neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that I loue; nor is so vnreasonable, to loke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eie, than by mine owne: as though I were a ward that were bound to marie by the appointment of a gardian.

I wold not be a king with that condition, to forebrace mine owne libertie in choise of mine owne marriage. As for possibilitie of more inheritance by newe affinitie in strange lands, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profit. And we haue already title by that means vnto so much, as sufficeth to get and keepe well in one mans daies. That she is a widow, and hath already children; by Gods blessed ladie, I am a bachelor, and haue some too, and so ech of vs hath a proofe that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore (madame) I praye you be content, I trust in God she shall bring forth a young prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamie, let the bishop handle

Libertie
forebrace
mine owne
marriage.

hardlie laie it in my waie when I come to take o-
ders. For I understod it is forbidden a priest, but I
never wist it yet, that it was forbidden a prince.
[This spake he as alluding to the libertie of princes,
whose last standeth oftentimes for law, and their opi-
nion for reason, according to the saying of the poet ;

tunc omnia iure tenebis,

Clompotus rex esse.]

The duches with these words nothing appeased, and
seeing the king so set thereon, that she could not pull
him backe, so highlie she disdaind it, that under pre-
text of hir dutie to Godward, she deuisd to disturbe
this marriage, and rather to helpe that he should ma-
rie one dame Elizabeth Lucie, whome the king had
also not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the
kings mother openlie objected against his marriage,
as it were in discharge of hir conscience, that the
king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucie and hir hus-
band before God. By reason of which words, such ob-
stacle was made in the matter, that either the bi-
shops durst not, or the king would not proceed to the
solemnization of this wedding, till these same were
clearlie purged, and the truth well and openlie testi-
fied. Whereupon dame Elizabeth Lucie was then
sent for.

And albeit that she was by the kings mother and
manie other put in good comfort, to asserme that she
was ensured unto the king : yet when she was so-
lemnlie sworn to saie the truth, she confessed that
they were neuer ensured. Whobest she said his grace
spake so louing words vnto hir, that she berelie ho-
ped he would haue married hir. And that if it had not
bene for such kind words, she would neuer haue
the west such kindnesse to him, to let him so kindlie
get hir with child. This examination solemnelie ta-
ken, when it was cleerlie perceiued, that there was
none impediment : the king with great feast and
honourable solemnitie married dame Elizabeth
Crecie, and hir crowned queene that was his enemies
wife, and manie times had prated full hartlie for his
losse, in which God loued hir better than to grant hir
hir broune.

But when the earle of Marwick understood of
this marriage, he toke it so highlie that his ambas-
sage was beloued, that for verie anger and disdaine
he (at his returning) assembled a great puissance
against the king, and came so fast vpon him yer he
could be able to resist, that he was faine to void the
realme, and fle into Holland for succor, where he re-
mained for the space of two yeares, leaving his new
wife at Westminster in sanctuary, where she was
deliuered of Edward the prince, of whome we before
haue spoken. In which meane time the earle of Mar-
wick toke out of prison, and set vp againe king
Henrie the first, who was before by king Edward
deposed, and that much that by the power of the erle
of Marwick, which was a wise man, and a couragi-
ous warriour, and of such strength, that for his lands,
his alliance, and fauor with all people, that he made
kings and put downe kings almost at his pleasure,
and not impossible to haue attained it himselfe, if he
had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king
than to be a king.

But nothing lasteth alwaie : for in conclusion,
king Edward returned, and with much lesse number
than he had at Barnet on the Easterdaie field, slue
the earle of Marwick, with manie other great e-
states of that partie, & so stabbie attained the crowne
againe, that he peaceable enioied it untill his deing
daie : and in such plight left it, that it could not be lost
but by the discord of his verie friends, or falshood of
his seined friends. I haue rehearsed this businesse
about this marriage somewhat the more at length,
because it might thereby the better appeare, vpon how

slippie a ground the protector builded his colour, by
which he pretended king Edwards children to be
bastards. But that inuention, simple as it was, it li-
ked them to whome it sufficed to haue somewhat to
saie, while they were sure to be compelled to no lar-
ger profe than themselves list to make.

Now then (as I began to shew you) it was by
the protector and his counsell concluded, that this
doctor should in a sermon at Pauls crosse sig-
nifie to the people, that neither king Edward him-
selfe, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfullie be-
gotten, nor were not the verie children of the duke of
Borke, but gotten unlawfullie by other persons, in
adulterie, of the duches their mother. And that also
dame Elizabeth Lucie was verelie the wife of king
Edward, and so the prince and all his children ba-
stards, that were begotten vpon the queene. Accord-
ding to this deuise doctor Shaw the sundaie after, at
Pauls crosse in a great audience (as alwaie assem-
bled great number to his preaching) he toke for his
theme; *spuria vitilamina non agent radices altas*, that
is to saie ; Bastard slippes shall neuer take deepe
root.

Thereupon when he had shewed the great grace
that God giueth, and secretlie infused in right
generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then de-
clared he, that commonlie those children lacked that
grace, and for the punishment of their parents were
(for the more part) unhappie, which were gotten in
base, and speciallie in adulterie. Of which, though
some, by the ignorance of the world and the truth hid
from knowledge, inherited for the season other mens
lands, yet God alwaie so prouideth, that it continueth
not in their blood long : but the truth comming to
light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the ba-
stard dispossessed by yer it can be rooted deepe. And
so he did laie for the profe and confirmation of this
sentence certaine insamples taken out of the old te-
stament, and other ancient histories.

Then began he to descend into the praise of the lord
Richard late duke of Borke, calling him father to
the lord protector, and declared the title of his heires
vnto the crowne, to whome it was (after the death of
king Henrie the first) intalled by authoritie of parle-
ment. Then shewed he that his verie right heire of
his bodie lawfullie begotten was onelie the lord pro-
tector. For he declared then, that king Edward was
neuer lawfullie married vnto the queene, but was
before God husband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucie, and
so his children bastards. And besides that, neither
king Edward himselfe, nor the duke of Clarence,
among those that were secret in the household, were
reckoned verie suerlie for the children of the noble
duke, as those that by their fauours more resembled
other knowne men than him. From whose vertuous
conditions he said also that the late king Edward
was far off.

But the lord protector he said, the verie noble
prince, the speciall paterne of knightlie prowesse, as
well in all princelie behauior, as in the lineaments
and fauour of his visage, represented the verie face
of the noble duke his father. This is, quoth he, the fa-
thers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the
verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image,
the plaine expresse likenesse of that noble duke.
Now was it before deuised, that in the speaking of
these words, the protector should haue comen in a-
mong the people to the sermon ward, to the end that
those words meeting with his presence, might haue
ben taken among the hearers, as though the Holie-
ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, & should
haue moued the people euen there to crye; King Ri-
chard, king Richard : that it might haue bene after
said, that he was speciallie chosen by God, and in
15 b b ij. manner

Doc. Shaws
sermon.

This pre-
acher was
taught his
lesson yer he
came into the
pulpit.

R. Edward
standered in
a sermon.

A maruolous
deuise to
moue the
audience.

maner by miracle. But this denie quailed, either by the protectors negligence, or the preachers overmuch diligence.

For while the protector found by the waie tarting least he should prevent those words, and the doctor fearing that he should come yet his sermon could come to those words, halted his matter the retro, he was come to them and past them, and entred into other matters yet the protector came. Whome when he beheld coming, he suddenlie left the matter with which he was in hand, and without any devotion thereunto, out of all order and out of all frame, began to repeat those words againe: This is the vertie noble prince, the speciall patron of knightlie prowesse, which as well in all princelie behavioz, as in the lineaments & fauor of his visage, representeth the verie face of the noble duke of Boke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of the noble duke, whose remembrance can neuer die while he liueth.

While these words were in speaking, the protector accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonlie stand in the upper storie, where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so farre from crying; R. Richard, that they stood as they had bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermon. After which once cryed, the preacher gat him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owle. And when he once asked one that had bene his old friend that the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good; yet when the tother answered him, that there was in euery mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the heart, that within few daies after he withered and consumed a waie for verie thought and inward pine, procured by irreuerable cares, whose nature is noted by observation of their effects:

Quid lib. 3. met.

Attendant vigilas corpus miserabile curat.

Then on the tuesday following this sermon, there came to the Guildhall in London the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuerse lords and knights mo than haplie knew the message that they brought. And there in the east end of the hall, where the maior keepeth the Husting, the maior and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the citie gathered before them. After silence commanded upon great paine in the protector's name: the duke stood up, and (as he was neither vnclearned, and of nature maruelouslie well spoken) he said unto the people with a cleare and loud voice in this maner of wise.

The duke of Buckinghams oration to
the assemblie of the maior, aldermen,
and commoners.

Friends, for the zeale and heartie saueur that we beare you, we be comen to breake vnto you of a matter right great and weightie, and no lesse weightie than pleasing to God, and profitable to all the realme: nor to no part of the realme more profitable, than to you the citizens of this noble citie. For whie, that thing that we wote well ye haue long time lacked, and sore longed for, that ye would haue giuen great good for, that ye would haue gone farre to fetch; that thing we be come hither to bring you without your labour, paine, cost, aduen-

ture or ieopardie. What thing is that? Certes the suertie of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues and your daughters, the safegard of your goods: of all which things in times past ye stood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would reckon himselfe lord of his owne goods among so manie greus & traps as was set therfore, among so much pulling and polling, among so manie taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, & oftentimes no need? Or if anie were, it rather grew of riot, and unreasonable wast, than anie necessarie or honourable charge.

So that there was daile pilled fro good men and honest, great substance of goods, to be lashed out among bnythists; so far forth, that listenes sufficed not, nor anie small names of knowne taxes: but vnder an easie name of beneuolence and good will, the commissioners so much of euery man toke as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence had signified, that euery man should paie, not what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, but what the king of his good will list to take. Which neuer asked little, but euery thing was hawled aboue the measure, & increments turned into fines, fines into ransoms, small trespasses into misprison, misprison into treason. Whereof (I thinke) no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a word spoken in hall cruellie beheaded, by the misconstruing of the laws of this realme, for the princes pleasure.

With no lesse honour to Harkam then chiefe iustice, that left the benefite & dignitie of his office, rather than he would assent to the dishonestie of those, that either for feare or flatterie gaue that iudgement. What Cooke, your owne worshipfull neighbour, alderman and maior of this noble citie, who is of you so either negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetfull that he remembreth not, or so hard hearted that he pittieeth not that worshipfull mans losse: What speake we of losse: His better spoile and vnderferued destruction, onelie for that it hapned those to fauour him whome the prince fauoured not. We need not (I suppose) to rehearse of these anie mo by name, sith there be (I doubt not) manie here present, that either in themselves or in their nigh friends haue knowne, as well their goods as their persons greatlie endangered, either by feigned quarrels, or small matters aggravated with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretext.

For sith the king, preventing the time of this inheritance, attained the crowne by battell: it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to haue bene of kindred or alliance, next familiaritie, or legier acquaintance with anie of those that were at any time

R. Richard commended by the preachers.

Note & course of Gods iudgement.

Burdet

Cook.

Open warre
not full as
hath.

time the kings enemies, which was at one time and other more than halfe the reime. Thus were neither your goods in suertie, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beside the common aduenture of open warre, which albeit that it is euer the will and occasion of much mischæfe, yet is it neuer so mischæuous, as where any people fall at distance among themselves; nor in none earthlie nation so deadlie and so pestilent, as when it hapneth among vs; and among vs neuer so long continued dissention, nor so manie batels in that season, nor so cruell and so deadlie fought, as was in that kings daies that dead is, God forgive it his soule.

Civil warre
occasion of
much great
inconueni-
ence.

In whole time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garland, keeping it, lesing and winning againe, it hath cost moze English blood, than hath twice the winning of France. In which inward war among our selues, hath bene so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this realme, that scarce the halfe remaineth, to the great infirabling of this noble land, beside manie a good to bone ransacked and spoiled by them, that haue bene going to the field or comming from thence. And peace long after not much surer than war. So that no time was therein, which rich men for their monie, and great men for their lands, or some other for some feare, or some displeasure were not out of perill. For whom trusted he that mistrusted his owne brother: Whome spared he that killed his owne brother: Or who could perfectlie loue him, if his owne brother could not?

Shores wife
was full of
virtue all the
reign of Eng-
land.

What maner of folke he most fauoured we shall for his honour spare to speake of. Howbeit this mote you well all, that who so was best, bare alwaie least rule; & moze sure was in his daies to Shores wife, a vile and an abhominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England: except vnto those that made hir their proctor. Which simple woman was well named & honest, till the king for his wanton lust and sinfull affection bereft hir from hir husband, a right honest substantiall yong man among you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sorie to speake of, sauing that it is in baine to keepe in counsell that thing that all men know, the kings greedie appetite was insatiable, and euerie where ouer all the realme intollerable.

For no woman was there anie where, yong or old, rich or poore, whome he set his eie vpon, in whome he anie thing liked, either person or fauour, speech, pale, or countenance, but without anie feare of God, or respect of his honour, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importunelie pursue his appetite, and haue hir, to the great destruction of manie a good woman, and great dolor to their husbands, and their other frends, which being honest people of them selues, so much regard the cleannesse of their house, the chastitie of their wiues,

and their children, that they were leauer to lese all that they had beside, than to haue such a villanie done them. And all were it that with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euerie part annoied: yet speciallie ye here the citizens of this noble citie, as well for that amongest you is most plentie of all such things as minister matter to such iniuries as for that you were nearest at hand, such that nere here abouts was commonlie his most abiding.

He directeth
his speech to
the communal-
tie of the citie.

And yet be ye the people, to whome he had as singular cause well and kindlie to intreat, as anie part of his realme; not onelie for that the prince (by this noble citie, as his speciall chamber, & the speciall well renowned citie of this realme) much honourable fame receiueth among all other nations: but also for that ye (not without your great cost, & sundrie perils & ieopardies in all his warres) bare euen your speciall fauor to his part. Which your kind minds bozne to the house of Yorke, sith he hath nothing worthilie acquitted, there is of that house that now by Gods grace better shall: which thing to shew you is the whole summe and effect of this our present errand. It shall not (I wot well) need that I rehearse you againe, that ye haue already heard of him that can better tell it, and of whome I am sure ye will better beleeue it. And reason is that it so be.

London the
kings respect-
all chamber.

I am not so proud, to loke therefore that ye should reckon my words of as great authority as the preachers of the word of God, namlie a man so cunning and so wise, that no man better woteth what he should saie, and thereto so good and vertuous, that he would not saie the thing which he wist he should not saie, in the pulpit namelie, into the which no honest man cometh to lie. Which honorable preacher, ye well remember, substantiallie declared vnto you at Paules crosse, on sundaie last passed, the right & title that the most excellent prince Richard duke of Gloucester, now protector of this realme, hath vnto the crowne and kingdome of the same. For as the worshipfull man groundlie made open vnto you, the children of king Edward the fourth were neuer lawfullie begotten, forsomuch as the king (leauing his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfullie married vnto the quene their mother, whose blood, sauing that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honor, was full binned to be matched with his; and the mingling of whose bloods together, hath bene the effusion of a great part of the noble blood of this realme.

Dor. Shaws
commended
by the duke of
Buckingham.

It standeth
confirmed.

Whetherby it may well seme the marriage not well made, of which there is so much mischæfe growne. For lacke of which lawfull coupling, & also of other things which the said worshipfull doctor rather signified than fullie explaned, & which things shall not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein euerie man forbereth to say that he know-

The title of
R. Richard to
the crowne.

eth in auoiding displeasure of my noble lord protector, bearing (as nature requirerh) a filiall reuerence to the duchesse his mother. For these causes (I say) before remembred, that is to wit, for lacke of other issue lawfullie of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose roiall blood the crowne of England and of France is by the high authoritie of parlement intailed, the right and title of the same is by the iust course of inheritance (according to the comon lawes of the land) deuolued & comen vnto the most excellent prince the lord protector, as to the verie lawfullie begotten sonne of the foreremembred noble duke of Yorke.

Which thing well considered, and the great knightlie prowesse pondered, with manifold vertues, which in his noble person singularlie abound; the nobles and commons also of this realme, and speciallie of the north part, not willing anie bastard blood to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusions before in the same used anie longer to continue, haue condescended and fullie determined, to make humble petition to the most puissant prince the lord protector, that it maie like his grace (at our humble request) to take vpon him the guiding and gouernance of this realme, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his verie right and iust title. Which thing I wrote it well, he will be loth to take vpon him, as he whose wisdom well perceiueth the labor and studie both of mind and bodie, that come therewith, to whomsoever so will occupie the roome, as I dare say he will, if he take it. Which roome I warne you well is no childes office. And that the great wise man well perceiued, when he said: *Veregno cuius rex puer est*: Who is that realme that hath a child to their king.

The dignitie
and office of a
king full of
care & studie.

Therefore so much the more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so rightlie intituled therunto, is of so sad age, & thereto so great wisdom iointed with so great experience, which albeit he will be loth (as I haue said) to take it vpon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalfe more gracioullie incline, if ye the worshipfull citizens of this the chiefe citie of this realme, ioine with vs the nobles in our said request. Which for your owne weale (we doubt not) but ye will: and nathelasse I heartilie pray you so to do, whereby you shall do great profit to all this realme beside, in choosing them so good a king, and vnto your selues speciall commoditie, to whom his maiestie shall euer after beare so much the more tender fauor, in how much he shall perceiue you the more prone and beneuolentlie minded toward his election. Wherin dere friends what mind you haue, we require you plainlie to shew vs.

When the duke had said, and looked that the people, whom he hoped that the maior had framed before, should after this proposition made, haue cried; King Richard, king Richard; all was hush and mute, and

not one word answered thereto. Wherewith the duke was maruellouslie abashed, and taking the maior nether to him, with other that were about him priuie to that matter, said vnto them softly. What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir (quoth the maior) percase they perceiue you not well. What shall we mend (quoth he) if that will helpe. And by & by somewhat louder he reherced to them the same matter againe in other order, and other words, so well and ornatie, and nathelasse so endentlie and plaine, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comelie, and so conuenient, that euerie man much marvelled that heard him, and thought that they neuer had in their liues heard so euill a tale so well told (inso much that he seemed as cunning an orator, as he, of whose poet spake to his high praise & commendation, saieing:

Qualibet eloquio causa fit apta suo.)

But were it for wonder or feare, or that each looked that other should speake first: not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before, but all was as still as the midnight, not so much as roving amongst them, by which they might seme to commune that was best to do. When the maior saw this, he with other partners of that counsell drew about the duke, and said that the people had not bene accustomed there to be spoken vnto, but by the recorder, which is the mouth of the citie, and happlie to him they will answer. Whith that the recorder, called Fitz William, a sad man, & an honest, which was so new come into that office, that he neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding therunto commanded by the maior, made rehearfall to the commons of that the duke had twise rehearsed to them himselfe.

But the recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed euerie thing as the dukes words, and no part his owne. But all this noting no change made in the people, which alwaie after one stood as they had bene men amazed. Wherevpon the duke roined vnto the maior and said; This is a marvellous obstinate silence: and therewith he turned vnto the people againe with these words; Dere friends, we come to moue you to that thing, which peradventure we not so greatlie needed, but that the lords of this realme, and the commons of other parties might haue sufficed, sauing that we such loue beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladlie do without you, that thing in which to be partners is your weale and honor, which (as it seemeth) either you see not, or weie not. Therefore we requite you giue vs answer one way or other, whether you be minded, as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prince, now protector, to be your king or not.

At these words the people began to whisper amongst themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarime of bees, till at the last in the nether end of the hall, an ambushment of the dukes seruants and satchels, and other belonging to the protector, with some pretences and lads that thrust into the hall amongst the people, began suddenlie at mens backs to crie out, as loud as their throates would giue; King Richard, king Richard: and threw vp their caps in token of ioy. And they that stood before, cast backe their heads marrelling therof, but nothing they said. Now when the duke and the maior saw this maner, they wofullie turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodlie crie, & a ioifull, to heare euerie man with one voice, no man saieing naie.

Therefore friends (quoth the duke) sith we perceive it is all your whole minds to haue this noble man for your king (whereof we shall make his grace so effectuell report, that we doubt not but it shall redound vnto your great weale and commoditie) we require

The election
of R. Richard:
hardly to be
perceiued.

Fitz William
recorder.

R. Richards
election pro-
posed by the
cries of con-
sideration.

require ye, that ye to morrow go with vs, and we with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble request vnto him in maner before remembred. And therewith the lordes came downe, and the companie dissolued and departed, the more part all sad: some with glad semblance that were not verie mettrie, and some of those that came thither with the duke not able to dissemble their sorow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolor of their hearts burst out of their eyes.

The maiors
coming to
Salisbury castle
vnto the
protector.

Then on the morrow after, the maior with all the aldermen, and chiefe commoners of the citie, in their best maner appareled, assembling themselves together, resorted vnto Salisburies castell, where the protector laye. To which place repaired also (according to their appointment) the duke of Buckingham, and diuers noble men with him, beside manie knights and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke sent word vnto the lord protector, of the being there of a great and honourable companie, to moue a great matter vnto his grace. Whereupon the protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he first knewe some part of their errand, as though he doubted and partlie mistrusted the cunning of such a number vnto him so suddenlie, without anie warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme.

Then the duke, when he had shewed this to the maior and other, that they might thereby see how little the protector looked for this matter, they sent vnto him by the messenger such louing message againe, and therewith so humble besought him, to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would vnto none other person anie part disclose; that at the last he came forth of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but stood above in a gallerie ouer them, where they might see him, and speake to him, as though he would not yet come to nere them till he wist what they ment. And therupon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to propose vnto his grace the intent of their comming, without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be bold to moue him of that matter.

In which albeit they ment as much honor to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whome they would in no wise offend. Then the protector (as he was verie gentle of himselfe, and also longed sore to wit what they ment) gaue him leaue to propose what him liked, verelie trusting (for the good mind that he bare them all) none of them anie thing would intend vnto himward, wherewith he ought to be graued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waied he bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes mouing them therunto (as ye before haue heard) and finally to beseech his grace, that it would like him, of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realme, now with his eye of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decaye of the same, and to set his gracions hands to redresse and amendment thereof.

All which he might well do, by taking vpon him the crowne and gouernance of this realme, according to his right and title lawfullie descended vnto him, and to the laud of God, profit of the land, & vnto his noble grace so much the more honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer prince reigned vpon anie people, that were so glad to liue vnder his obedience, as the people of this realme vnder his. When the protector had heard the proposition, he looked verie strangely thereat, and answered: that all were it that he part-

lie knewe the things by them alledged to be true; yet such entire loue he bare vnto king Edward and his children, that so much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, than the crowne of anie one of which he was neuer desirous, that he could not stie in his hart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other nations, where the truth were not well knowne, it should peraduenture be thought, that it were his owne ambitious mind and deuise, to depose the prince, and take himselfe the crowne.

With which infamie he would not haue his honour stained for anie crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much more labour and paine, than pleasure to him that so would vse it, as he that would not, were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onlie pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, praising them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the prince, vnder whom he was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsell (as farre as should like the king to vse him) he would do his uttermost deuoir to set the realme in good state, which was already in this little while of his protectorship (the praise giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before occasion of the contrarie, and of new intended to be, were now partlie by god policie, & partlie more by Gods speciall prouidence, than mans prouision, repressed.

Upon this answer giuen, the duke by the protectors licence, a little rownded aswell with other noble men about him, as with the maior and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like pardon desired & obtained) he shewed aloud vnto the protector, that for a finall conclusion, that the realme was appointed to Edwards line should not anie longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had so farre gone, that it was now no suertie to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weale brinnerfall to take that waie, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humble beseech him thereunto. If he would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, which they would be loth to heare, then must they needs seeke and should not faile to find some other noble man that would. These words much moued the protector, which else (as euerie man may weat) would neuer of likelihood haue inclined therevnto.

But when he sawe there was none other waie, but that either he must take it, or else he and his both go from it, he said vnto the lordes and commons: With we perceiue well that all the realme is so set, wherof we be verie soie, that they will not suffer in any wise king Edwards line to gouerne them, whom no man earthly can gouerne against their willes; & we well also perceiue, that no man is there, to whome the crowne can by iust title appertene, as to our selues, as verie right heire lawfullie begotten of the bodie of our most deere father Richard late duke of Yorke, to which title is now ioined your election, the nobles and commons of this realme, which we of all titles possible take for the most effectual: we be content and a grā fauourable to incline to your petition and request, and (according to the same) here we take vpon vs the roiall estate, preheminance and kingdome of the two noble realmes, England and France: the one from this daie forthward by vs and our helres to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your god helpe, to get againe and subdue, and establish for ener in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the aduancement wherof we neuer aske of God longer to liue than we intend to procure.

With this there was a great shout, crying: King Richard, king Richard. And then the lordes went vp to the

An singular
dissimulation
of king Ri-
chard.

Rs. Richard
spake other-
wise than he
meant.

The protector
taketh vpon
him to be
king.

I made match
to content the
people.

Inuenerat, fas. 2.

the king (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuerſie of the matter, euerie man as his fantaſie gaue him. But much they talked and maruelled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both parts made ſo ſtrange, as though neither had euer communed with other thereof before, when that themſelues wiſt there was no man ſo dull that heard them, but he perceiued well inough that all the matter was made betwene them. Holpbert ſome excuſed that againe, and ſaid all muſt be done in god order though: and men muſt ſometime for the maners ſake, not be aknowen what they know (though it be hard to outreach the circumſpect, wiſe, & vigilant minded man; as the poet ſaith:

non facile eſt tibi

Decipere Polyſſem.]

For at the conſecration of a biſhop, euerie man ſwoteth well by the pateng for his buis, that he purpo

ſeth to be one, & though he pale for nothing elſe. And yet muſt he be wiſe aſked whether he will be biſhop or no, and he muſt wiſe ſaie naie, and the thirde time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a ſtage plate, all the people know right well, that one plaieng the ſoldan, is percaſe a ſowter; yet if one ſhould can ſo little god, to ſhew out of ſeaſon what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his owne name while he ſtandeth in his maielte, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head (and two; this) for marring of the plate. And ſo they ſaid, that theſe matters be kings games, as it were ſtage plates, and for the more part plated vpon ſcaffolds, in which paye men be but the lookers on. And they that wiſe be will meddle no further. For they that ſometime ſtep vp, and plai with them, when they can not plai their parts, they diſorder the plate, and do themſelues no god.

Thus farre Edward the fiſt, who was neuer king crowned, but ſhamefullie by his vncke ſlaine, as in the proceſſe following appeereth.



Richard the third, third ſonne to Richard duke of Yorke, and vncke to Edward the fiſt.

Anno Reg. 1.

1483

(*) This that is here betwene this marke & this marke (*) was not written by maister More in this historie written by him in English, but is translated out of this historie which he wrote in Latine.



The next date the protector with a great traine went to Westminster hall, & there when he had placed himſelfe in the court of the kings bench, declared to the audience, that he would take vpon him the crowne in that place there, where the king himſelfe ſitteth and miniſtrett the law, becauſe he conſidered that it was the chiefeſt dutie of a king to miniſter the lawes. Then with a pleasant oration as he could, he went about to win vnto him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in conſequence all kind of men, but eſpeciallie the lawiers of this realme. And finally, to the intent that no man ſhould hate him for feare, and that his deceitfull clemencie might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the diſcommodities of diſcord, & the comodities of concord & vnitie, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enimities, and that he there did openlie pardon all offences committed againſt him.

And to the intent that he might ſhew a proſe thereof, he commanded that one Fog, whom he had long deadlie hated, ſhould be brought then before him, who being brought out of the ſanctuarie (for thither had he fled for feare of him) in the ſight of the people, he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people reioiced at, and praized, but wiſe men took it for a banetic. In his returne homeward, whom ſo euer he met, he ſaluted, for a mind that knoweth it ſelfe guiltie,

is in a manner delected to a ſeruiſe flatterie (which reſuſeth no dutifulneſſe, tend the ſame to neuer ſo big a degree of indignitie; which one noteth, ſaieing:

rides & maiore cabbino

Concutitur; ſlet, ſilachrymas aſpexit amiti;

Frigeſcit; frigit; ſi dixeris, aſino, ſudat.]

When he had begun his reigne in the moneth of June, after this mockiſh election, then was he crowned king in the verie ſame moneth. And that ſolemnitie was furniſhed, for the moſt part, with the ſelfe ſame promiſſion that was appointed for the coronation of his nephew. (*) But here to ſhew the maner of his coronation, as the ſame is inſerted in this pamphlet of Mr Thomas More, by maister Edward Hall and Richard Graſton (although not found in the ſame pamphlet) thus we find it by them reported. (*) Firſt, to be ſure of all enimies (as he thought) he ſent for five thouſand men of the north againſt his coronation, which came by euill apparell, and twoſe harnelled, in ruſſie harnelle, neither deſcendible, nor ſcolored to the ſale, which muſtered in ſtinfurle field to the great diſdaine of the lookers on. By which beginning it appeared to the world that he had his ſtate in ſuſpicion, otherwiſe he would not haue procured ſuch a power to be attendant at his commandment, and that at ſuch time as (all weapons laid aſide) peace and tranquillitie ſhould haue bene fought after for the comforts of the peoples minds, & the ſafetie of his owne perſon; but being verie miſtruſtfull & fraught with carefull thoughts, he was in a maye betwene hope and feare, according to this verie true ſaieing:

Sollicita

solicite mentes speque metueque pauent.]

The fourth daie of Iulie he came to the Tower by water with his wife, and the fift daie he created Thomas lord Howard duke of Norfolk, and sir Thomas Howard his sonne he created earle of Surrie, and William lord Berkeleye was then created erle of Nottingham, and Francis lord Louell was then made vicount Louell, and the king his chamberleine, and the lord Stanleie was deliuered out of ward, for feare of his sonne the lord Strange, which was then in Lancashire, gathering men (as men said) and the said lord was made steward of the king his household: likewise the archbishop of Yorke was deliuered, but Porcion bishop of Elye was committed to the duke of Buckingham to keepe in ward, which sent him to his manour of Breckinocke in Wales, from whence he escaped to king Richard his confusion.

*Examinatio
causae
de
rebus
regis
Edwardi.*

The same night the king made seuentene knights of the Bath, whose names insue: Sir Edmund the duke of Suffolke's sonne, sir George Greie, the earle of Kent's sonne, sir William, the lord Zouches sonne, sir Henrie Aburgauennie, sir Christopher Willoughbie, sir William Berkeleye, sir Henrie Babington, sir Thomas Arundell, sir Thomas Bologne, sir Gerneis of Clifton, sir William Saie, sir Edmund Bedingfield, sir William Enderbie, sir Thomas Lokenoz, sir Thomas of Urmun, sir John Boloue, sir William Berkeleye. The next daie, being the fift daie of Iulie, the king rode through the cite of London toward Westminister with great pompe, being accompanied with these dukes, earles, lords, and knights, whose names follow. Dukes: the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke. Carles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Kent, the earle of Surrie, the earle of Wilshire, the earle of Huntington, the earle of Nottingham, the earle of Warwick, the earle of Lincoln. Lords: the lord Lisle vicount, the lord Louell vicount, the lord Stanleie, the lord Audleie, the lord Dacres, the lord Ferrers of Chertleie, the lord Powes, the lord Scrope of Upsall, the lord Scrope of Bolton, the lord Greie Codner, the lord Oreie of Wilton, the lord Sturton, the lord Cobham, the lord Moreleie, the lord Aburgauennie, the lord Zouch, the lord Ferrers of Grobie, the lord Welles, the lord Komleie, the lord Patreuers, the lord Herbert, the lord Becham. Knights: sir James 50 Auch, sir William Kneuet, sir Thomas Aborow, sir William Stanleie, sir William Aparre, sir George Boloue, sir Robert Middleton, sir John Denningham, sir Nicholas Latimer, sir Thomas Montgomerie, sir Thomas Delamer, sir Gilbert Debnam, sir Terrie Robsart, sir William Brandon, sir John Sauch, sir Henrie Wentford, sir Edward Stanleie, sir Henrie Sentmount, sir William 60 Deng, sir Thomas Bowser, sir Henrie Winkesfeld, sir Thomas Moreleie, sir John Sentlow, sir Charles of Pilkington, sir James Harrington, sir John Ayleie, sir Thomas Berkeleye, sir Richard Becham, sir William Hopton, sir Thomas Persie, sir Robert Dimmoche, sir John Cheinie, sir Richard Ludolo, sir John Churington, sir William Sands, sir Richard Dubleie, sir William Sentlow, sir Thomaswaights, sir Edmund of Dubleie, sir Rafe Ashton, sir Richard Charlington, sir Thomas Greie, sir Philip Berkeleye, sir Robert Harrington, sir Thomas Orefleie, sir Richard Harecourt, sir William Poris, sir Thomas Selenger, sir Richard Hodelstern, sir John Conias, sir William Stoner, sir Philip Courtheie, sir William Goscogne, sir Richard Amadison, sir Roger Fines, sir George Ware, sir

sir Henrie Persie, sir John Wood, sir John Aparre, sir John Greie, sir John Danbic, sir Richard Lailebush, sir John Kudet, sir John Herring, sir Richard Enderbie, sir John Berkeleye, sir James Stranguish, sir Rafe Carnbecke, sir John Constable, sir Robert Eliard, sir Richard Derell, sir John Cliford, sir John Lokenoz, sir John Moreleie, sir John Hues, sir John Bologne, sir Edmund Shaw alderman.

On the morow, being the first daie of Iulie, the 10 king with quene Anne his wife, came downe out of the White hall into the great hall at Westminister, and went directlie into the kings Bench. And from thence, the king and the quene going vpon rase cloth barefooted, went vnto saint Edwards shrine, and all his nobilitie going with him, euerie lord in his degre. And first went the trumpets, and then the heralds of armes in their rich coats, & next followed the crosse with a solemne procession, the priests ha-
20 uing fine surplises and graie amisses vpon them. The abbats and bishops mitred and in rich copes, & euerie of them caried their crosciers in their hands. The bishop of Rochester bare the crosse before the cardinall. Then followed the earle of Huntington bearing a paire of gilt spures, signifieng knightshood. Then followed the earle of Bedford bearing saint Edwards staffe for a relike.

After them came the earle of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointlesse sword naked in his hand, which signified mercie. The lord Stanleie bare 30 the mace of the constableship. The earle of Kent bare the second sword on the right hand of the king naked, with a point, which signified iustice vnto the temporalitie. The lord Louell bare the third sword on the left hand with a point, which signified iustice to the cleargie. The duke of Suffolke followed with the scepter in his hand, which signified peace. The earle of Lincoln bare the ball and crosse, which signified a monarchie. The earle of Surrie bare the fourth sword before the king in a rich scabbard, and that is 40 called the sword of estate. Then went thre together, in the middell went Carter king & t armes in his rich cote: and on his left hand went the maior of London, bearing a mace: and on his right hand went the gentleman vsher of the priue chamber. Then followed the duke of Norfolk, bearing the kings crowne betwene his hands.

Then followed king Richard in his robes of purple velvet, and ouer his head a canopie, borne by 50 foure barons of the cinque ports. And on euerie side of the king there went one bishop, that is to saie, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of Durham. Then followed the duke of Buckingham bearing the kings traine, with a white staffe in his hand, signifieng the office of the high steward of England. Then there followed a great number of earles and barons before the quene. And then came the earle of Huntington, who bare the quenes scepter, and the vicount Lisle bearing the rod with the doue. And the earle of Wilshire bare the quenes crowne. Then 60 followed quene Anne daughter to Richard earle of Warwick in robes like to the king, betwene two bishops, and a canopie ouer hir head borne by the barons of the ports. On hir head a rich coronet set with stones and pearle.

After hir followed the countesse of Richmond heire to the duke of Summerfet, which bare by the quenes traine. After followed the duchesse of Suffolke and Norfolk, with countesses, baronesses, ladies, and manie faire gentlewomen. In this order they passed through the palace, and entered the abbey at the west end; and so came to their seats of estate. And after diuerse songs solemnelie song, they both ascended to the high altar, and were shifed from their robes, and had diuerse places open from the middle

*The solemne
ceremonies
used at king
Richards co-
ronation.*

*Quene Anne
wife to king
Richard and
daughter to
Richard earle
of warwike,
and hir traine.*

The king &
queene crowne
and.

middle upward, in which places they were annoyn-
ted. Then both the king and the queene changed them
into cloth of gold, and ascended to their seats, where
the cardinal of Cantuarburie, & other bishops them
crowned according to the custome of the realme, gi-
uing him the scepter in the left hand, & the ball with
the croffe in the right hand; and the queene had the
scepter in his right hand, and the rod with the dove in
his left hand.

On euerie side of the king stood a duke, and before
him stood the earle of Surrie with the sword in his
hands. And on euerie side of the queene standing a
bishop, & a ladie kneeling. The cardinal song masse,
and after par, the king and the queene descended, and
before the high altar they were both houseled, with
one host diuided betwene them. After masse fini-
shed, they both offered at saint Edward his shrine,
and there the king left the crowne of saint Edward,
and put on his owne crowne. And so in order as they
came, they departed to Westminster hall; and so to
their chambers for a season: during which time the
duke of Norfolk came into the hall, his horse trap-
ped to the ground in cloth of gold, as high marshall,
and holded the hall. About foure of the clocke, the king
and queene entered the hall, and the king sat in the
middle, and the queene on the left hand of the table,
and on euerie side of him stood a countesse, holding a
cloth of pleafance, when the list to drinke.

And on the right hand of the king sat the bishop of
Cantuarburie. The ladies sat all on one side, in the
middle of the hall. And at the table against them sat
the chancellor, and all the lordes. At the table next the
cupboard, sat the maior of London; and at the table
behind the lordes, sat the barons of the portes: and at
the other tables sat noble and worshipfull person-
ages. When all persons were set, the duke of Nor-
folke earle marshall, the earle of Surrie, constable
for that daie, the lord Stanlie lord steward, sir Wil-
liam Hopton treasurer, & sir Thomas Persie con-
troller, came in and serued the king solemnely, with
one dish of gold, and another of silver, and the queene
all in gilt vessel, and the bishop all in silver.

Sir Robert
Dinmoke
the kings
champion his
challenge in
the behalfe of
king Richard.

At the second course came into the hall sir Robert
Dinmoke the kings champion, making proclama-
tion, that whosoever would saie, that king Richard
was not lawfull king, he would fight with him at
the utterance, and thereto downe his gantlet, and then
all the hall cried, king Richard. And so he did in three
parts of the hall, and then one brought him a cup of
wine couered, and when he had drunke, he cast out
the drinke, and departed with the cup. After that, the
heralds cried a largesse thysse in the hall, and so went
up to their stage. At the end of dinner, the maior of
London serued the king & queene with swete wine,
and had of each of them a cup of gold, with a couer of
gold. And by that time that all was done, it was
darke night. And so the king returned to his cham-
ber, and euerie man to his lodging.

A gale pre-
sente of iustice
and equitie.

When this feast was thus finished, the king sent
home all the lords into their countries that would de-
part, except the lord Stanlie, whom he retained,
till he heard what his sonne the lord Strange went
about. And to such as went home, he gaue streight
charge and commandement, to see their countries
well ordered, and that no wrong nor extortion should
be done to his subiects. And thus he taught other to
execute iustice and equitie, the contrarie whereof
he daily exercised. He also with great rewards giuen
to the northerners, which he sent for to his corona-
tion, sent them home to their countreie with great
thanks: whereof diuerse of them (as they be all of
nature verie greedy of authoritie, & speciallie when
they thinke to haue any comfort or fauour) toke on
them to highlie, and wrought such manerries, that

the king was faine to ride thither in his first yeare,
and to put some in execution, and staie the countreie,
or else no small mischeefe had ensued.

Now tell there mischeefe thicke. And as the thing
euill gotten is neuer well kept, though all the time
of his reigne neuer ceased there cruell death and
slaughter, till his owne destruction ended it. But as
he finished his time with the best death and the most
righteous, that is to wit, his owne; so began he with
the most pitious and wicked, I meane the lamenta-
ble murder of his innocent nephews, the young king
and his tender brother: whose death and final infor-
tune hath nathelesse comen so farre in question, that
some remaine yet in doubt, whether they were in his
daies destroyed or no. Not for that onlie that Per-
kin Warbecke by manie folks malice, and mo folks
folle, so long space abusing the world, was as well
with princes as the poorer people repeated and taken
for: the younger of these two; but for that also that all
things were in late daies so couertlie demeaned, one
thing pretended, and another meant.

Insomuch that there was nothing so plaine and o-
penlie proued, but that yet for the common custome
of close and couert dealing, men had it enen inwar-
die suspect; as manie well counterfitted reuels make
the true mistrusted. Holbeite, concerning the opini-
on, with the occasions mouing either partie, we shall
haue place moze at large to intreat, if we hereafter
happen to write the time of the late noble prince of
famous memorie king Henrie the seauenth, or per-
case that historie of Perkin in any compendious
processe by it selfe. But in the meane time, for this
present matter, I shall rehearse pon the dolorous
end of those babes, not after euerie waie that I haue
heard, but after that waie that I haue so heard by
such men and by such meanes, as me thinketh it were
hard but it should be true.

King Richard after his coronation, taking his
waie to Gloucester to visite (in his new honour) the
towne of which he bare the name of his old, deuiled
(as he rode) to fulfill the thing which he before had in-
tended. And forsomuch as his mind gaue him, that
his nephews liuing, men would not reckon that he
could haue right to the realme: he thought therefore
without delate to rid them, as though the killing of
his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a
kindlie king. Whereupon he sent one John Grene,
(whom he speciallie trusted) vnto sir Robert Baken-
berie, constable of the Towre, with a letter and cre-
dence also, that the same sir Robert should in any
wise put the two children to death.

This John Grene did his errand vnto Baken-
berie, kneeling before our ladie in the Towre. Who
plainlie answered, that he would neuer put them to
death to die therefore. With which answer John
Grene returning, recounted the same to king Ri-
chard at Warwike yet in his waie. Wherewith he
toke such displeasure & thought, that the same night
he said vnto a secret page of his: Ah! whom shall a
man trust? Those that I haue brought by my selfe,
those that I had want would most fuerlie serue me,
euen those saile me, and at my commandement will
do nothing for me. Sir (quoth his page) there lieth
one on your pallet without, that I dare well saie, to
do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard
that he would refuse. Hearing this by sir James
Tirrell, which was a man of right goodlie personage,
and for natures gifts worthe to haue serued a much
better prince, if he had well serued God, and by
grace obtained as much truth and good will as he had
strength and wit.

The man had an high heart, & fore longed byward,
not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered
& kept under by the meanes of sir Richard Watcliffe,

Sir James
Tirrell

Perkin War-
becke,

Close dealing
to euer the
spies.

John Grene
Robert Ba-
kenberie
constable of the
Towre.

The manner
of the two
young princes
first abduke

Sir James
Tirrell
London

and sir William Catesbie, which longing for, no more parteners of the princes favour, and namely, not for him, whose pride they wist would beare no pære, kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust, which thing this page well had marked and knote. Wherefore this occasion offered, of verie spectall friendship he took his time to put him forward, and by such wise do him good, that all the enemies he had, except the de- uill, could neuer haue done him so much hurt. For upon this pages words king Richard arose (for this communication had he sitting at the draught, a con- uenient carpet for such a counsell) and came out in- to the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed sir James and sir Thomas Tirrells, of person like, and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions.

Then said the king merilie to them; What sits, be ye in bed so lone? And calling by sir James, brake to him secretlie his mind in this mischeuous mat- ter. In which he found him nothing strange. Where- fore on the morow he sent him to Brakenberie with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliuer sir James all the keys of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accomplish the kings plea- sure, in such things as he had giuen him commande- ment. After which letter deliuered, & the keys recei- ued, sir James appointed the night next insuing to destroy them, dressing before and preparing the means. The prince (as lone as the protector left that name, and took himselfe as king) had it the woe be- to him, that he should not reigne, but his vnkle should haue the crowne. At which word the prince fore aba- shed, began to sigh, and said: Alas, I would my vn- cle would let me haue my life yet, though I lose my kingdome.

Then he that told him the tale, vied him with good words, and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both shut vp, & all other remoued from them, onelic one (cal- led Blacke Will, or William Slaughter) excepted, set to serue them and for them sure. After which time the prince neuer tied his points, nor ought rought of himselfe; but with that pong babe his brother, lin- gered with thought and heavinesse, vntill this traito- rous death deliuered them of that wretchednesse. For sir James Tirrell desired, that they should be mur- thered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he ap- pointed Miles Forrest, one of the foure that kept them, a fellow fleshy in murder before time. To him he ioined one John Dighton his owne house- keeper, a big, broad, square, and strong kinaue.

Then all the other being remoued from them, this Miles Forrest, and John Dighton, about mid- night (the felix children lying in their beds) came in- to the chamber, & suddenly lapping them vp among the clothes, so to be wrappd them and intangled them, hopping downe by force the fether-bed and pillowes hard vnto their mouths, that within a while, smother- ed and strid, their breath falling, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioies of heauen, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches perceived, first by the struggling with the paines of death, and after long lying still, to be thoroughlie dead, they laid their bod- ies naked out vpon the bed, and fetched sir James to see them; which vpon the sight of them caused those murderers to burie them at the staire foot, meetlie deepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones.

Then rode sir James in great hast to king Ri- chard, and shewed him all the manner of the murder; who gaue him great thanks, and (as some saie) there made him knight. But he allowed not (as I haue heard) the burying in so vile a corner, saieing, that he should haue them buried in a better place, because they were a kings sonnes. As the honourable cou-

courage of a king. Whereupon they saie, that a priest of sir Robert Brakenberies took vp the bodies a- gaine, and secretlie interred them in such place, as by the occasion of his death, which onelic knew it, could neuer since come to light. Verie truth is it, and well knowne, that at such time as sir James Tirrell was in the Tower, for treason committed against the most famous prince king Henrie the seauenth, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in manner aboue written: but whether the bodies were remoued, they could nothing tell.

And thus (as I haue learned of them that much knew, and little cause had to lie) were these two no- ble princes, these innocent tender children, borne of most roiall blood, brought vp in great wealth, likelic long to liue, reigne, and rule in the realme, by traito- rous tyrannie taken, depriued of their estate, shoot- lie shut vp in prison, and priuillie slaine and murder- ed, their bodies cast God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnaturall vnkle & his despitous tormentors. Which things on euerie part well pon- dered, God neuer gaue this world a more notable ex- ample, neither in what vnsuertie standeth this world- lie weale; or what mischeefe worketh the proud enter- prise of an high heart; or finally, what wretched end insueth such despitous crueltie.

For first, to begin with the ministers, Miles For- rest, at S. Martins peccemalle rotted a waie. Digh- ton in deed yet walketh on a liue in god possibilitie to be hanged yer he die. But sir James Tirrell died at the Tower hill beheaded for treason. King Richard himselfe, as ye shall hereafter heare, slaine in the field, hacked and helwed of his enemies hands, ha- ried on horse-backe dead, his haire in despite some and tugged like a curie dog; and the mischeefe that he took, within lesse than thre yeares of the mischeefe that he did; and yet all (in the meane time) spent in much paine & trouble outward, much feare, angulsh and sorow within. For I haue heard by credible re- port of such as were secret with his chamberleine, that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer had a quiet mind. Than the which there can be no greater torment, for a guiltie conscience inwardlie accusing and bearing witness against an offender, is such a plague and punishment, as hell it selfe (with all the fends therein) can not afford one of greater horro- & affliction; the poet implieng no lesse in this tristichon:

*Pena autem vehementis, ac multo sauior illis,
Quam Cæditus grauis inuenit Radamanthus,
Nocte dique sumus gestare in pectore testem.*

Perf. sat. 3.

He neuer thought himselfe sure. Where he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his bodie priuillie fen- sed, his hand euer vpon his dagger, his countenance and manner like one alwaies ready to strike againe, he took ill rest a nights, late long waking and mu- sing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather stim- bered than slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, sud- denlie sometime start vp, lept out of his bed, and ran about the chamber; so was his restless heart conti- nuallie tossed and tumbled with the tedious impres- sion and stomie remembrance of his abhominable deed. Now had he outward no long time in rest. For here vpon, lone after began the conspiracie, or rather god confederation, betwene the duke of Bucking- ham and manie other gentlemen against him. The occasion where vpon the king and the duke fell out, is of diuerse folke in diuerse wise pretended.

This duke (as I haue for certeine bene informed) as lone as the duke of Gloucester, vpon the death of king Edward, came to Paske, & there had solemne funerall seruice for king Edward, sent thither in the most secret wise he could, one Perfall his trustie ser- vant, who came to John Tward a chamberer of like secret trust with the duke of Gloucester, desiring that

The murder confessed.

The test judgement of God secretlie reuenging the murder of the innocent prince vpon the malefactor.

The outward and inward troubles of tyrants by means of a grudging conscience.

Perfall. forth Ed. Hall.

in the most close and covert manner, he might be admitted to the presence and speech of his master. And the duke of Gloucester advertised of his desire, caused him in the dead of the night (after all other folke asleeped) to be brought unto him in his secret chamber, where he fell asleep (after his masters recommendations) shewed him that he had secret sent him to shew him, that in this new world he would take such part as he would, & wait upon him with a thousand good fellows, if need were.

The messenger sent backe with thanks, & some secret instruction of the protectors mind, yet met him againe with further message from the duke his master within few daies after at Nottingham: whither the protector from Poole with manie gentlemen of the north countrie, to the number of six hundred horse, was come on his waie to London-ward, & after secret meeting and communication had, & shewes departed. Whereupon at Northampton, the duke met with the protector himselfe with three hundred horse, and from thence still continued with him partner of all his deuises; till that after his coronation, they departed (as it seemed) verie great friends at Gloucester. From whence as soon as the duke came home, he so lightlie turned from him, and so highlie conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And suerlie, the occasion of their variance is of diuerse men diuerselie reported.

Causes of the duke of Buckingham and Richard falling out.

Some haue I heard say, that the duke a little before his coronation, among other things, required of the protector the duke of Herefords lands, to the which he pretended himselfe iust inheritor. And so much as the title, which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title to the crowne by the line of king Henrie before deuiued, the protector conceiued such indignation, that he reiected the dukes request with manie spitefull and minatorie words. Which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke aright on king Richard, but euer feared his owne life; so far forth, that when the protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feined himselfe sicke, because he would not ride with him. And the other also taking it in euill part, sent him word to rise, and come to the, or he would make him be carried. Whereupon he rode on with euill will, and that notwithstanding on the morow, rose from the feast, feining himselfe sicke, and king Richard said it was done in hatred and despite of him.

The duke of Buckingham and king Richard mistrust each other.

And they said, that euer after continuallie, each of them lived in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke verelie looked to haue bene murdered at Gloucester: from which nathelesse, he in faire manner departed. But suerlie some right secret at that daie denie this: and manie right wise men thinke it vnlikelie (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that grane world the protector had of the duke, and in what perill the duke stood, if he fell once in suspicion of the tyrant) that either the protector would giue the duke occasion of displeasure, or the duke the protector occasion of mistrust. And verelie, men thinke, that if king Richard had any such opinion conceiued, he would neuer haue suffered him to escape his hands. Verie truth it is, the duke was an high minded man, and euill could beare the glorie of another; so that I haue heard of some that say they saw it, that the duke, at such time as the crowne was first set upon the protectors head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but turned his head another way.

But men say, that he was of truth not well at ease, and that both to king Richard well knowne, and not euill taken; nor any demand of the dukes

uncourteouslie reiected; but he both with great gifts, and high behests, in most loving and trustie manner departed at Gloucester. But soon after his coming home to Wrecknocke, hauing there in his custodie by the commandement of king Richard doctor Spontons bishop of Ely, who (as ye before heard) was taken in the counsell at the Tower, waied with him familiar, whose wisdom abused his pride to his owne deliniance, and the dukes destruction. The bishop was a man of great naturall wit, verie well learned, and honozable in behauior, lacking no wise waies to win fauour. He had bene fast upon the part of king Henrie, while that part was in localty; and nathelesse left it not, nor forsake it in too, but fled the realme with the queene & the prince, while king Edward had the king in prison, neuer came home, but to the field.

After which loss, and that part utterlie subdued, the other (for his fast faith and wisdom) not onlie was content to receiue him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust, and verie speciall fauour, which he nothing deceiued. For he being (as ye haue heard) after king Edwards death, first taken by the tyrant for his truth to the king, found the meane to set this duke in his top, joined gentlemen together in the aid of king Henrie, deuiuing first the mariage betwene him & king Edwards daughter: by which his faith he declared the god seruice to both his masters at once, with infinit benefit to the realme by the continuation of those two blouds in one, whose severall titles had long disquieted the land, he fled the realme, went to Rome, neuer minding more to meddle with the world; till the noble prince king Henrie the seventh gat him home againe, made him archbishop of Cantuarburie, and chancellor of England, whereunto the pope loined the honour of cardinal. Thus living manie daies in as much honoz as one man might well wish, ended them so godlie, that his death with Gods mercie well changed his life.

This man therefore (as I was about to tell you) by the long & often alternate prosperie, as well of prosperitie as aduersitie fortune, had gotten by great experience (the verie mother and mistress of wisdom) a deepe insight in politike worldlie drifts. Whereby perceiuing now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and manie pleasant praises. And perceiuing by the process of their communications, the dukes pride now and then belking out a little breath of enuie toward the glorie of the king, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out if the matter were well handle: he craftilie sought the waies to picke him forthward, taking alwaies the occasion of his coming, and so keeping himselfe so close within his bounds, that he rather seemed to follow him, than to lead him. For when the duke first began to praise and boast the king, and shew how much profit the realme should take by his reigne: my lord Spontons answered thus.

Suerlie, my lord, follie were it for me to lie, for if I would sweare the contrarie, your lordship would not (I weene) beleue; but that if the world would haue gone as I would haue wished, king Hentries sonne had had the crowne, and not king Edward. But after that God had ordered him to leise it, and king Edward to reigne, I was neuer so mad that I would with a dead man strue against the quicke. So was I to king Edward a faithfull chapleine, & glad would haue bene that his child had succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret iudgment of God haue otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurne against a picke, nor labour to set by that God pulleth downe. And as for the late protector and now king, And euen there he left, saing that he had alreadye medled to much

much with the world, and would from that daie medle with his booke and his beads, and no further.

Then longed the duke soze to heare what he would haue said, bicause he ended with the king, and there so suddenly stopped, and exhorted him so familiarlie betwene them twaine to be bold to saie whatsoeuer he thought; whereof he faithfullie promised there should neuer come hurt, and peradventure moze good than he would weene; and that himselfe intended to vse his faithfull secret aduise & counsell, which (he said) was the onelie cause for which he procured of the king to haue him in his custodie, where he might rekeon himselfe at home, and else had he bene put in the hands of them with whom he should not haue found the like fauour. The bishop right humbly thanked him, and said: In god faith my lord, I loze not to talke much of princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault: for so much as it shall not be taken as the partie ment it, but as it pleaseth the prince to construe it.

And euer I thinke on Aescops tale, that when the lion had proclaimed that (on paine of death) there should no horned beast abide in that wood: one that had in his forche a bunch of fleshy fled awaie a great pace. The for that saw him run so fast, asked him whether he made all that hast: And he answered, In faith I neither wote, nor reche, so I were once hence, bicause of this proclamation made of horned beasts. What sole (quoth the for) thou maiest abide well enough; the lion ment not by thee, for it is no horne that is in thine head. So marie (quoth he) that wote I well enough. But what and he call it an horne, where am I then? The duke laughed merilie at the tale, and said: My lord, I warrant you, neither the lion nor the boze shall pike anie matter at anie thing here spoken: for it shall neuer come nere their eare.

In god faith sir (said the bishop) if it did, the thing that I was about to say, taken as well as (afoze God) I ment it, could deserue but thanke: and yet taken as I weene it would, might hapen to turne me to 40 to little good, and you to lesse. Then longed the duke yet much moze to wit what it was. Whereupon the bishop said: In god faith (my lord) as for the late protectoz, sith he is now king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title; but for the weale of this realme, whereof his grace hath now the gouernance, and whereof I am my selfe one poze member, I was about to wisly, that to those good habilitiees whereof he hath already right manie, little needing my praise, it might yet haue pleased God, for the better store, to haue giuen him some of such other excellent vertues, meet for the rule of a realme, as our Lord hath planted in the person of your grace: and there left againe.

The duke somewhat maruelling at his sudden pauses, as though they were but parentheses, with a high countenance said: My lord, I euidentlie perceiue, and no lesse note your often breathing, and sudden stopping in your communication; so that to my intelligence, your words neither come to anie direct or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I might perceiue and haue knowledg, what your inward intent is now toward the king, or what affection you beare toward me. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to vs both (for the which I my selfe acknowledge and recognise to haue none, nor loke for no praise of anie creature for the same) maketh me not a little to muse, thinking that you haue some other priuie imagination, by loue or by grudge, ingrauen and imprinted in your heart, which for feare you dare not, or for childish shamefastnesse you be abashed to disclose and reueale; and speciallie to me, being your friend, which on my honor do assure you,

to be as secret in this case, as the deafe and dumbe person is to the finger, or the trea to the hunter.

The bishop being somewhat bolder, considering the dukes promise, but most of all animated and encouraged bicause he knew the duke desirous to be exalted and magnified; and also he perceived the inward hatred and priuie rancor which he bare toward king Richard: was now boldened to open his stomach euen to the verie bottome, intending thereby to compass 10 to destruye, and utterlie confound king Richard, and to depriue him of his dignitie royal; or else to set the duke so on fire with the desire of ambition, that he himselfe might be safe and escape out of all danger and perill. Which thing he brought forthlie to conclusion, both to the kings destruction, and the dukes confusion, and to his owne safeguard, and finalie to his high promotion.

And so (as I said before) upon trust and confidence of the dukes promise, the bishop said: My singular good lord, since the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces custodie, I may rather call it a liberall libertie, moze than a strict imprisonment, in auoiding idlenesse, mother and nourisher of all vices, in reading bookes and ancient pamphlets I haue found this sentence written, that no man is borne free, and in libertie of himselfe onelie: for one part of dutie he oweth or should owe to his parents for his procreation, by a verie naturall instinct and filiall courtesie: another part to his friends and kindfolke; 30 for promitie of blood and naturall amitie both euerie dutie challenge and demand: but the natie countrie, in the which he tasted first the sweet aires of this pleasant and flattering world after his natiuitie, demandeth as a debt by a naturall bond, neither to be forgotten, nor yet to be put in oblivion.

Which saieing causeth me to consider in what case this realme my natie countrie now standeth, and in what estate and assurance (before this time) it hath continued: what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler we might haue. For I plainele perceiue the realme being in this case, must needs decaye, and be brought to better confusion, and finall extermination. But one hope I haue incorporat in my breast, that is, when I consider, and in my mind do diligentlie remember, and dailie behold your noble personage, your iustice, and indifferencie, your seruent zeale, and ardent loue toward your naturall countrie, and in like manner, the loue of your countrie toward you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and goodlie eloquence, which so much doth abound in the person of your grace, I must needs thinke this realme fortunate, yea twise moze than fortunate, which hath such a prince in store, meet and apt to be a gouernour, in whose person (being indued with so manie princelie qualities) consisteth and resteth the verie vndoubted similitude and image of true honour.

But on the other side, when I call to interioze the good qualities of the late protectoz, and now called king, so violated and subuerted by tyrannie, so changed and altered by usurped authoritie, so clouded and shadowed by blind and insatiable ambition; yea, and so suddenlie (in manner by a metamorphosis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie: I must needs saie, & iustlie asseme, that he is neither meet to be a king of so noble a realme, nor so famous a realme meet to be gouerned by such a tyrant [whose kingdome (if it were of moze amplenesse than it is) could not long continue; neither would the Lord suffer him in his bloudthirstines to abuse the holie and diuine estate of a prince by the cruell title of tyrannie. For such he will ouerthrow, yea he will bring most horrible slaughter vpon them, as it is prophesied:

Impius ad summum quamuis ascendat honores,

A pice quas cludes tempora seculi reuertent.

Ecce.

Was

Bishop Morton buildeth vpon the dukes ambition.

The duke of Buckingham highlie commended.

Dispraise of the lord protectoz or king in esse.

Was not his first enterpryse to obtaine the crowne begun and incepted by the murdher of diuerse noble, valiant true, and vertuous personages? Wholte beginning to come to a mischeuous ending! Did he not secundarily proceed (contrarie to all lawes of honestie) shamefullie against his owne naturall mother, being a woman of much honour and moze vertue, declaring hir openlie to be a woman giuen to carnall affection, and dissolute living? Which thing if it had borne true, as it was not indeed, euerie good a naturall child would haue rather murthered at it, than haue blasfied it abroad, and especiallie the being alive. Declaring furthermore his two brethren, and his two nephues to be bastards, and to be borne in adulterie: yet was he not with all this content.

After that he had obtained the garland, for the which he so long thirsted, he caused the two poore innocents his nephues, committed to him for especiall trust, to be murthered and shamefullie to be killed. The blood of which scellie and little babes, daile crieth to God from the earth for vengeance. Alas, my hart sobbeth, to remember this bloodie butcher, and cruell monster. That suertie shall be in this realme to anie person, either for life or goods vnder such a cruell pynce, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne blood, and then lesse the losse of others? And most especiallie (as oftentimes it chanceth) where a couetous or a cruell pynce taketh suspicion, the smallest swarning that is possible (if the thing be misconstrued) may be the cause of the destruction of manie guiltlesse persons: and in especiall of noble and wealthie personages, hauing great possessions and riches: such a lord is Lucifer when he is entered into the hart of a proud pynce, giuen to couetousnesse and crueltie.

But now my lord to conclude what I meane toward your noble person, I saie and asseme, if you loue God, your linage, or your natie countrie, you must your selfe take vpon you the crowne and imperiall diademe of this noble empire, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same (which so long hath flourished in fame and renowne) as also for the deliuerance of your naturall countreimen, from the bondage and thralldome worse than the captiuitie of Egypt) of so cruell a tyrant and arrogant oppressor. For thus I dare saie, if anie foren pynce or potentate, yea the Turke himselfe would take vpon him the regiment here, and the crowne, the commons would rather aduise and obeye him, than to liue vnder such a bloodsucker and child-killer. But how much moze iofull and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whome they all know to be a ruler meet and conuenient for them, and they to be louing and obedient subiects, meet to liue vnder such a gouernour? Despitte not, nor forsake not so manifest an occasion so louinglie offered.

And if you your selfe, knowing the paine and trouble that apperteineth to the office of a king, or for any other consideration, will refuse to take vpon you the crowne and scepter of this realme: then I adiure you, by the faith that you owe to God, by your honour, and by your oath made to saint George, patrone of the noble order of the garter (whereof you be a companion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your natie countrie, and the people of the same; to deuise some waie, how this realme (now being in miserie) may by your high discretion and princelie policie, be brought and reduced to some suertie and conuenient regiment, vnder some good gouernour by you to be appointed: for you are the verie patrone, the onelie helpe, refuge and comfort for the poore amazed and desolate commons of this realme.

For if you could either deuise to set vp againe the linage of Lancaster, or aduance the eldest daughter of king Edward to some high and puissant pynce,

not onelie the new crowned king shall small time inioy the glozie of his dignitie, but also all ciuill war should cease, all domesticall discord should cease, and peace, profit and quietnesse should be set forth and increased. When the bishop had thus ended his saying, the duke sighed, and spake not of a great while. Which sore abashed the bishop, and made him change colour. Which thing when the duke perceived, he said: I am not afraid my lord, all promises shall be kept, to morrow we will common more: let vs go to supper. So that night they communed no more, not a little to the disquieting of the bishop, which now was euen as desirous to know the dukes mind and intent, as the duke longed the daie before to know his opinion and meaning.

So the next daie, the duke sent for the bishop, and rehearsed to him in maner (so he was both witty and eloquent) all the communication had betwene them before, and so paused a while, and after a little season, putting off his bonnet, he said: O Lord God creator of all things, how much is this realme of England, and the people of the same, bounden unto thy goodnesse! For where we now be in veriation and trouble with great stormes oppressed, sailing and tossing in a desperate ship, without good maister or gouernour: yet by thy helpe good Lord I trust per long time passe, that we shall prouide for such a ruler, as shall be both to thy pleasure, and also to the securitie and safeguard of this noble realme.

And then he put on his bonnet, saying to the bishop: My lord of Elie, whose true hart and sincere affection toward me at all times I haue cradentlie perceived and knowen, and now most of all in our last priue communication and secret dealing; I must needs in hart thinke, and with mouth confesse and saie, that you be a sure frend, a trustie counsellor, a vigilant foreser, a verie louer of your countrie, and a naturall countreiman: for which kindnes for my part, I most louinglie render to you my hartie thanks now with words, hereafter trusting to recompense and remunerate you with deys, if life and power shall serue.

And sith, at our last communication, you haue disclosed and opened the verie secrets and priuities of your stomach, touching the duke of Gloucester now usurper of the crowne; and also haue a little touched the aduancement of the two noble families of York; he and Lancaster: I shall likewise not onelie declare and manifest vnto you all my open acts, attempts, and doings, but also my priue intents, and secret cogitations. To the intent that as you haue vnbuckled the bouget of your priue meanings, and secret purposes to me: so shall all my cloudie workings, close deuises, and secret imaginations be (as cleere as the sunne) reuealed, opened, and made lightsome to you.

And to begin, I declare, that when king Edward was deceased, to whome I thought my selfe little or nothing beholden (although we two had married two sisters) because he neither promoted, nor preferred me, as I thought I was worthy, and had deserved, neither fauoured nor regarded me, according to my degree and birth (for suertie I had by him little authority, and lesse rule, and in effect nothing at all: which caused me lesse to fauour his children, because I found small humanitie, or none in their parent) I then began to studie, and with ripe deliberation to ponder and consider, how and in what manner this realme should be ruled and gouerned. And first I remembered an old prouerbe worthy of memorie, that often tueth the realme where children rule, and women gouerne.

This old adage so sanke and settled in my head, that I thought it a great error, and extreme mischiefe

Suspicion in a pynce how mischeuous it is.

The bishop adiureth the duke to releafe the realme by some deuise from the present euill state.

How could he be so bold to say this?

The duke perceieth him saie and he secrets in his bosom.

The duke complaith of want of preferment in king Edward's reign.

chiefe to the whole realme, either to suffer the yong king to rule, or the queene his mother to be a gouernesse ouer him, considering that his brethren, and his first chyldren (although they were not extract of high and noble linage) toke more vpon them, and more exalted themselves, by reason of the queene, than did the kings brethren, or anye duke in his realme: which in conclusion turned to their confusion. Then I being perswaded with my selfe in this point, thought it necessarie both for the publike and profitable wealth of this realme, and also for mine owne commoditie and emolument, to take part with the duke of Gloucester; whom (I assure you) I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without inturie, as mercifull without crueltie; as now I know him perfectlie to be a dissembler without veritie, a tyrant without pitie, yea & worse than the tyrant Phalaris, destitute of all truth and clemencie.

*Richard's
pious
temper
was
blameless.*

And so by my meanes, at the first councell holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thing that after happened (as you my lord know well enough) he was made protector and defender both of the king and of the realme, which authoritie once gotten, & the two chyldren partly by policie brought under his gouernance, he being moued with that gnawing and couetous serpent desire to reigne, neuer ceased pryncelie to exhort and require, yea and sometimes with minatozie fearmes to perswade me and other lords, as well spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon him the crowne, till the prince came to the age of foure and twentie yeares, and were able to gouerne the realme, as a ripe and sufficient king.

Which thing when he saw me somewhat sticke at, both for the strangenesse of the example (because no such president had bene seene) and also because we remembered that men once ascended to the highest tye of honour and authoritie, will not gladiely descend againe; he then brought in instruments, autentike doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depositions of diuerse witnesses, testifying king Edwards chyldren to be bastards. Which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be feined; and testified by persons with rewards vntreulie suborned. When the said depositions were before vs read and diligentlie heard, he stood by bareheaded, saying: Well my lords, euen as I and you (age and discret counsellors) would that my nephue should haue no wrong; so I praye you do me nothing but right. For these witnesses & sayings of famous doctors being true, I am onelie the vndoubted heire to lord Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, aduoged to be the verie heire to the crowne of this realme by authoritie of parlement.

Which things so by learned men to vs for a vertie declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and soueraigne lord. For well we knew that the duke of Clarence some, by reason of the atteindor of his father, was disabled to inherite; and also the duke himselfe was named to be a bastard, as I my selfe haue heard spoken, and that vpon great presumptions more times than once: so againe, by my aid and fauour, he of a protector was made a king, and of a subiect made a gouernor. At which time he promised me on his fidelitie (saying his hand in mine at Baintards castell) that the two yong princes should liue, and that he would so provide for them, and so mainteine them in honorable estate, that I and all the realme ought and should be content. But his words wanted weight, which is a foule discredit to a prince, to a pere, yea to a ystuat and meane common man, as testifieth this sentence:

Dedecus est rebus cum bona verba current.

For when he was once crowned king, and in full

possession of the whole realme, he cast away his old conditions as the adder doth his skin, verifying the old proverbe; Honours change manners, as the parish priest remembreth that he was neuer parish clearche. For when I my selfe sued vnto him for my part of the earle of Herefords lands which his brother king Edward wrongfullie detained and withheld from me; and also required to haue the office of the high constableness of England, as diuerse of my noble ancestors before this time haue had, and in long descent continued: in this my first sute shewing his good mind toward me; he did not onelie first delate me, and afterward denaie me, but gaue me such vnkind words, with such taunts & rebawts, yea in manner cheeke and checkmate, to the vttermost pzoofe of my patience: as though I had neuer furthered him, but hindered him; as though I had put him downe, and not set him vp.

Yet all these ingratitude and vnderferued vnkindneses I bare closelie, & suffered patientlie, and couertlie remembrez, outwardlie dissembling that I inwardlie thought: and so with a painted countenance, I passed the last summer in his last companie, not without manie faire pzonises, but without anye good deeds. But when I was credible informed of the death of the two yong innocents, his owne naturall nephues contrarie to his faith and promise, to the which (God be my iudge) I neuer agreed, nor condescended; O Lord, how my beines panted, how my bodie trembled, and how my heart inwardlie grudged! inso much that I so abhorred the sight, and much more the companie of him, that I could no longer abide in his court, except I should be openlie reuenged: the end whereof was doubtful. And so I feined a cause to depart, and with a merrie countenance and a despightfull heart I toke my leaue humble of him (he thinking nothing lesse than that I was displeased) and so returned to Beche Knoche to you.

But in that iournie (as I returned) whether it were by the inspiration of the Holie-ghost, or by melancholious disposition, I had diuerse and sundrie imaginations how to depzue this vnnaturall vnckle, and blondie butcher, from his rotall seat, and princelie dignitie. First I fantasied, that if I list to take vpon me the crowne, and imperiall scepter of the realme, now was the time propice and conuenient. For now was the waie made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion giuen: which now neglected, should peradventure neuer take such effect and conclusion. For I saw he was vndermined of the lords temporall, abhorred and accursed of the lords spirituall, detested of all gentlemen, and despised of all the communaltie: so that I saw my chance as perfectlie as I saw mine owne image in a glasse, that there was no person (if I had bene greedy to attempt the enterprize) could nor should haue wone the ring, or got the golt before me. And on this point I rested in imagination so credlie with my selfe two daies at Twikeburie.

From thence so iournieng, I mused and thought that it was not best nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conqueror. For then I knew that all men, and especiallie the nobilitie, would with all their power withstand me, both for rescuing of possessions and tennures, as also for subuerting of the whole estate, lawes and customes of the realme: such a power hath a conqueror, as you know well enough my lord. But at the last, in all this doubtful case there sprang a new branch out of my head, which surelie I thought should haue brought forth faire flowers; but the sunne was so hot, that they turned to drie weeds. For I suddenlie remembrez that the lord Edmund duke of Summerset my grandfather, was with king Henry the first in the two and thre degrees, from John

*The princelie
cause whye
the duke of
Buckingham
executed such
inward
grudge as
gainst king
Richard.*

*The imagi-
nations of
the duke of
Buckingham
to depzue
Richard.*

*Note the
working of
ambition in
the duke.*

duke of Lancaster lawfullie begotten : so that I thought sure, my mother being eldest daughter to duke Edmund, that I was next heire to king Henrie the first of the house of Lancaster.

This title pleased well such as I made priuie of my counsell, but much more it encouraged my foolish desire, and eleuated my ambitious intent : insomuch that I clerelie iudged, and in mine owne mind was determinatlie resolu'd, that I was indubitate heire of the house of Lancaster, and thereupon concluded to make my first foundation, and erect my new building. But whether God so ordeined, or by fortune it so chanced, while I was in a maze either to conclude suddenlie on this title, & to set it open amongst the common people, or to keepe it secret a while, for the chance : as I rode betwene Worcester and Bridgenorth, I encountered with the ladie Pargaret countesse of Richmond, now wife vnto the lord Stanley, which is the verie daughter and sole heire to lord John duke of Summerset, my grandfathers elder brother, which was as cleane out of my mind, as though I had neuer sene hir : so that she and hir sonne the earle of Richmond be both bulworne and possitullie betwene me and the gate, to enter into the maiestie roiall and getting of the crowne.

Now when we had communed a little concerning hir sonne, as I shall shew you after, and were departed, the to our ladie of Worcester, and I to Shrewsburie : I then new changed, and in maner amazed, began to dispute with my selfe, little considering that thus my earnest title was turned to a tittell not so good as *Christ Amen*. Whilomnes I imagined whether were best to take vpon me, by election of the nobilitie and communaltie, which me thought easie to be done, the vsurper king thus being in hatred and abhorred of this whole realme : or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chance, and difficile to be attained and brought to passe. Thus tumbling and tossing in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the stone and the sacrifice, I considered first the office, dutie, and paine of a king, which suerlie thinke I that no mortal man can iustlie and trulie obserue, except he be called, elected, and speciallie appointed by God as *Isa. David*, and diuerse other haue bene.

But further, I remembred that if I once toke on me the scepter, and the gouernance of the realme; that of two extreame eniemies I was dallie sure, but of one trustie friend (which now a daies be gone a pilgrimage) I was neither assured nor crediblie ascertained; such is the worlds mutation. For I manifestlie perceived, that the daughters of king Edward, and their allies and friends, which be no small number, being both for his sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie & manifest tyrannie done to them by the new vsurper, much lamented and pittied, would neuer cease to barke if they cannot bite at the one side of me. Semblablie, my cosine the earle of Richmond, his aids and kinfolks, which be not of little power, will suerlie attempt like a fierce greihound, either to bite or to pearse me on the other side. So that my life and rule should euer hang by a haire, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death, or deposition.

And if the said two linages of Yorke and Lancaster, which so long haue strided for the imperiall diadem, should ioine in one against me, then were I suerlie mated, and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue clerelie determined, and with my selfe concluded, vnterlie to relinquish all such fantasticall imaginations, concerning the obtaining of the crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles, which I feared and suspected might haue chanced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of this realme, I shall with a recredmaine so make them rebound to

to our common enemie that calleth himselfe king, that the best sopper that he hath at tenice shall not well stop without a fault.

For (as I told you before) the countesse of Richmond in my returne from the new named king, meeting me in the high waie, praised me first for his sake, secondarilie for the love that I bare to my grandfather duke Humfrie, which was heresworne brother to hir father, to anone the king to be good to hir sonne Henrie earle of Richmond, and to licence him with his fauour to returne againe into England. And if it were his pleasure so to do, he promised that the earle hir sonne should marrie one of king Edwards daughters, at the appointment of the king, without anie thing to be taken or demanded for the said espousals, but onelie the kings fauour: which request I some overpasse, and gaue hir faire woordes, and so departed.

But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie, and did circumspectlie ponder them, I suerlie adiudged, that the holie ghost caused hir to moue a thing (the end whereof she could not consider) both for the securitie of the realme, as also for the preferment of hir child, and the destruction and finall confusion of the common enemie king Richard. Which thing, she neither then thought (I am sure) as I by hir woordes could make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not hir desire to be so profitable to the realme, as I now doe perceive. But such a Lord is God, that with a little sparke he kindly a great fire, and (to the admiration of the world) of impossibilities he maketh possibilitie, of small beginnings mightie increasings, of drops great floods.

And so finally to declare to you the verie conclusion, to the which I am both bent and set, my mind is, and my power and purse shall helpe, that the earle of Richmond, verie heire of the house of Lancaster (in the quarrell of the which linage, both my father and grandfather lost their liues in battell) shall take to wife ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, by the which marriage both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster may be ioined and vnitied in one, to the clere establishment of the title to the crowne of this noble realme. To which conclusion if the mothers of both parts, and especiallie the earle himselfe, and the ladie will agree : I doubt not but the bragging boie, which with his tuskes raseeth euerie mans hair, shall not onelie be brought to confusion (as he hath deserved) but that this empire shall euer be certeine of an indubitate heire, & then shall all ciuill and intestine warre cease, which so long hath continued to the paring of manie mens crownes, and this realme shall be reduced againe to quietnesse, renowne and glorie.

This inuention of the duke manie men thought after, that it was more imagined for the inward hatred that he bare to king Richard, than for anie fauour that he bare to the earle of Richmond. But of such doubtfull matter it is not best to iudge, for erring too farre from the mind and intent of the author. But whatsoeuer he intended, this deuise once opened to king Richard was the verie occasion, that he was rounded thorter by the whole head, without attaind or iudgement. When the duke had said, the bishop which fauoured euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous tofull, and much reioiced to heare this deuise. For now came the wind about euen as he would haue it, with all his imagination tended to this effect, to haue king Richard subdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, and king Henrie the first againe raised and aduanced.

But lord how he reioiced, to thinke how that by this marriage the linages of Yorke and Lancaster should be contained in one, to the verie steadfastnesse of

The office of a king verie hard to discharge.

The dukes resolution not to meddle in seeking to obtaine the crowne.

The duked Richmond resolved to helpe to depole king Richard, and to prefer the son of Lancaster to the crowne.

The boie of Gloucestre now king.

The fauour of the bishop purport.

Exposition
of the con-
tention of
the houses of
Lancaster &
York, from
the birth of
Edward.

of the public wealth of this realme. And least the dukes courage should swage, or his mind should againe alter, as it did often before (as you may easilie perceiue by his owne tale) he thought to set vp all the failes that he had, to the intent that the ship of his pretended purpose might come shortlie to some sure port, and said to the duke: *My lord, sith by Gods promise and your incomparable wisdom and pollicie, this noble contumacious is first moued, now is it conuenient, yea and necessarie, to consider what personages, and what friends we shall first make priuie of this high deuise and politike conclusion: [which is not rashlie & without aduiselement to be aduentured, for therein is danger, as the wise man saith: *semper habet damnorum mentis temerarius ardor.*]*

By my truth, quoth the duke, we will begin with the ladie Richmond, the earles mother, which knoweth where he is, either in captiuitie, or at large in Britaine. For I heard saie, that the duke of Britaine restored him to libertie, immediately after the death of king Edward, by whose means he was restrained: sith you will begin that waie (said the bishop) I haue an old friend with the countesse, a man sober, secret, and well witted, called Reginald Bate; whose prudent policie I haue knowne to haue compassed things of great importance, for whom I shall secretly send, if it be your pleasure; and I doubt not but he will gladly come and that with a good will. So with a little diligence the bishop wrote a letter to Reginald Bate, requiring him to come to Wexhamke with speed, for great and vrgent causes touching his mistresse; and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Bate was with the countesse, and lord Thomas Stanlie his husband, and deliuered the letter: which when he had read, he toke it as a signe or presage of some good fortune to come.

Then he (with the messenger) came to the castell of Wexhamke, where the duke and the bishop declared what thing was deuised, both for to set the reline in a quiet steadfastnesse, as also for the high preferment of the earle of Richmond, sonne to his ladie and mistresse: willing hir first to compasse how to obtaine the good will of quene Elizabeth, and also of hir eldest daughter bearing the same name: and after secretly to send to hir sonne into Britaine, to declare what high honor was prepared for him, if he would sweare to marrie the ladie Elizabeth as soon as he was king, and in roiall possession of the realme. Reginald Bate with a glad heart, forgetting nothing giuen to him in charge, in great hast and with good speed returned to the countesse his ladie and mistresse.

When Bate was departed, and this great doubt full befall once set abroad, the bishop thirsting for nothing more than for libertie: when he saw the duke pleasant and well minded toward him; he told the duke, that if he were in his Isle of Cle, he could make manie friends to further their enterprise: and if he were there and had but foure daies warning, he little regarded the malice of king Richard, his countrie was so strong. The duke knew well all this to be true, but yet loth he was that the bishop should depart: for he knew well, that as long as the bishop was with him, he was sure of politike aduise, sage counsell, and circumspect proceeding. And so he gaue the bishop faire words, saying, that he should shortly depart, and that well accompanied for feare of enemies.

The bishop being as witty as the duke was foolish, did not tarry till the dukes companie were assembled, but secretly disguised, in a night departed (to the dukes great displeasure) and came to his Isle of Cle; where he found monie and friends; and so

called into Flanders, where he did the carle of Richmonds god seruice, and neuer returned againe, till the earle of Richmond (after being king) sent for him, and shortly promoted him to the see of Canturburie. Thus the bishop wound himselfe from the duke when he had most need of his aid, for if he had taried still, the duke had not made so manie blabs of his counsell, nor put so much confidence in the Welshmen, nor yet so temerariouly set forward (without knowledge of his friends) as he did, which things were his sudden ouershot (as they that knew it did report) [and might perhaps haue bene auoided by the bishops wisdom for the dukes sake, as his owne sith *Qui sapit, ille potest alios sapisse docere.*]

When Reginald Bate had declared his message and priuie instruction to the countesse of Richmond his mistresse, no maruell though she were iofull and glad, both of the good newes, and also for the obtaining of such a high friend in hir sonnes cause as the duke was. Wherefore she willing not to sleepe this matter, but to further it to the bittermost of hir power and abilitie, deuised a means how to brake this matter to quene Elizabeth then being in sanctuary at Westminster. And thereupon she, hauing in hir familie at that time (for the preservation of hir health) a certaine Welshman called Lewes, learned in physicke, which for his grauitie and experience, was well knowne, and much esteemed amongst great estates of the realme, brake hir mind to him.

For with this Lewes she vied sometime liberallie and familiarly to talke, and now hauing oportunitie and occasion to expresse hir hart vnto him in this weightie matter, declared that the time was come that hir sonne should be ioined in marriage with ladie Elizabeth, daughter and heire to king Edward; and that king Richard being taken and reputed of all men for the common enemy of the realme, should out of all honor & estate be dejected, & of his crowne and kingdome be clerelie spoiled and expelled: and required him to go to quene Elizabeth (with whom in his facultie he was of counsell) not as a messenger, but as one that came friendly to visit and comforte hir, and (as time & place should require) to make hir priuie of this deuise, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpose by him imagined.

This physician did not long linger to accomplish hir desire, but with good diligence repaired to the quene, being still in the sanctuary at Westminster. And when he saw time propice and conuenient for his purpose, he said vnto hir: *Madame, although my imagination be verie simple, and my deuise more foolish; yet for the entier affection that I beare toward you and your children, I am so bold to utter vnto you a secret and priuie conceit that I haue cast and compassed in my fantastick braine. When I well remembred and no lesse considered the great losse and damage that you haue sustained, by the death of your noble and louing husband; and the great dolour and sorow that you haue suffered and tollerated, by the cruell murder of your innocent children: I can no lesse do both of bounden duetie and christian charitie, than dailie to studie, and hourelie imagine, not onelie how to bring your hart to comfort and gladnesse, but also deuise how to reuenge the righteous quarell of you and your children on that bloudie bloudsucker, and cruell tyrant king Richard.*

And first consider, what battell, what manslaughter, what mischance hath risen in this realme by the dissention betwene the two noble houses of Yorke & Lancaster. Which two families (as I haue contriued) if they may be ioined in one, I thinke, yea and doubt not, but your line shall be againe restored to the pssimate estate and degree; to your great ioy and comfort, and to the bitter confusion of your mozt

Lewes the physician sheweth the quene the whole conceit and deuise of the matter.

The continu-
tion of the two
families mov-
ed to the 22.
by the phys-
ician.

fall enemie the vsurper king. You know verie well madame, that of the house of Lancaster, the earle of Richmond is next of blood, who is living, and a lustie yong batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters now are heires. If you could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the yong earle of Richmond in matronie, no doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortly deposed, and your heire againe to his right restored.

The queenes
readinesse to
set forward
this conclusion.

When the queene had heard this friendlie motion (which was as farre from his thought, as the man that the rude people saie is in the moone) how his spirits reuiued, and how his heart leapt in his bodie for iote and gladnesse. And first giuing laud to almightie God, as the chiefe author of his comfort, se- condarily to maister Lewes, as the denier of the se- ged newes & tidings, the instantlie besought him, that as he had bene the first inuenter of so great an enterpryse, so now he would not relinquish nor de- 20 fail to follow the same: requirring him further (be- cause he was appertaining to the countesse of Rich- mond mother to the erle Henrie) that he would with all diligent celeritie resort to him, then lodging in his husbands place, within the citie of London: and to declare on the queenes behalfe to the countesse, that all the friends and fauours of king Edward his hus- band, should assise and take part with the earle of Richmond his sonne, so that he would take a corpo- rall oth after the kingdome obtained, to esponse and take to wife the ladie Elizabeth his daughter, or else ladie Cicilie, if the eldest daughter were not then living.

Maister Lewes with all dexterity so sped his busi- nesse, that he made and concluded a finall end and de- termination of this enterpryse betwene the two mo- thers. And because he was a physician, and out of all suspicion and misdöeming, he was the common cur- 30 ror and dailie messenger betwene them, aiding and setting forth the inuented conspiracie against king Richard. So the ladie Margaret countesse of Rich- mond, brought into a good hope of the preferment of his sonne, made Reginald Bzaie his most faithfull seruant, chiefe solicitor and priuie procurator of this conspiracie, giuing him in charge secretly to inuegle and attract such persons of nobilitie to ioine with him and take his part, as he knew to be ingenuous, faith- 40 full, diligent, and of activitie. This Reginald Bzaie within few daies brought unto his laire (first of all taking of euerie person a solemne oth to be true and secret) sir Giles Daubeneie, sir John Chesnie knight, Richard Silford, and Thomas Kame esquires, and diuers other. The countesse of Richmond was not so diligent for his part, but queene Elizabeth was as vigilant on the other side, and made friends, and ap- pointed counsellors to set forward and aduance his businesse.

The countesse
of Richmond
breacheth the
maister to Sir
Silke his chap-
laine, swearing
him to be
secret.

In the meane season, the countesse of Richmond tooke into his seruice Christopher Urswike, an honest 50 and wise priest, and (after an oth of him for to be se- cret taken and sworne) she vttered to him all his mind and counsell, aduising him the more confi- dence and trust, that he all his life had fauoured and taken part with king Henrie the first, and as a spect- all ielwell put to his seruice by sir Lewes his phys- ician. So the mother, studious for the prosperitie of his son, appointed this Christopher Urswike to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond, and to de- clare and reueale to him all pacts and agreements betwene him & the queene agreed and concluded. But suddenlie she remembriug that the duke of Buc- kingham was one of the first inuenter, and a secret founder of this enterpryse, determined to send some personage of more estimation than his chaplaine,

Whereupon the elected for a messenger Hugh Con- 10 weie esquier, & sent him into Britaine with a great sum of monie to his sonne, giuing him in charge, to declare to the earle the great loue and especial fauor that the most part of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the louing hearts & beniuolent minds which the whole commonaltie of their owne free will franklie offered, and liberallie exhibited to him, wil- ling and aduising him not to neglect so good an occa- 15 sion apparantlie offered; but with all speed and dili- gence, to addre and settle his mind & full intention how to returne home againe into England, where he was both wished and looked for: giuing him further monition and counsell, to take land and arrivall in the principallitie of Wales, where he should not doubt to find both aid, comfort and friends.

Richard Silford, least Hugh Conweie might fortune to be taken, or stopped at Plimmouth, where he intended to take his navigation, sent out of Kent 20 Thomas Kame with the same instructions: and both made such diligence, and had such wind and weather, the one by land from Calis, and the other by water from Plimmouth, that within lesse than an houre both arriued in the duke of Britains court, and spake with the earle of Richmond, which (from the death of king Edward) went at pleasure and libertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effect of their message and ambassage. When the earle had receiued this message (which was the more 30 pleasant, because it was vnlooked for) he rendered to Iesu his fauour, his most humble & heartie thanks, being in firme credence and beleefe, that such things as hee with busie mind and laborious intent had wished & desired, could neuer haue taken anie effect, without the helpe and preferment of almightie God.

And now being put in comfort of his long longing, he did communicate & speake to the duke of Britaine all his secrets, and priuie messages, which were to him declared; aduertising him that he was entered 40 into a sure and steadfast hope, to obtaine and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England, desiring him both of his good will and friendlie helpe toward the atchining of his offered enterpryse, pro- mising him when he came to his intended purpose, to render to him againe equall kindnes, and condigne recompense. Although the duke of Britaine before that date, by Thomas Hutton ambassadour from king Richard, had both by monie and prayers bene 50 solicited and moued to put againe into safe custodie the earle of Richmond, he neuertheless promised faithfullie to aid him; and his promise hee trulie per- formed.

Whereupon the earle with all diligence sent into 60 England againe Hugh Conweie, and Thomas Kame, which should declare his comming hostile in- to England: to the intent that all things, which by counsell might be for his purpose prouided, should be speedilie and diligentlie done; and that all things doubtful, should of his friends be prudentlie fore- seene, in auoiding all engines or snares which king Richard had or might set in disturbance of his pur- 65 pose: and he in the meane season would make his abode still in Britaine, till all things necessarie for his iourne were prepared, and brought in a readinesse. In the meane season, the chieftains of the conspira- tion in England began together manie enterpryses: some in conuenient fortresses put strong garrisons, some kept armed men priuie, to the intent that when they should haue knowledge of the earles lan- ding, they would begin to stir vp the war: other did secretlie moue and solicit the people to rise & make an insurrection: other (amongst whom John Boston bishop of Ely then being in Flanders was chiefe) by priuie letters and cloked messengers did stirre 70 and

Hugh Con-
weie esquier
sent out of
Kent to
Britaine
to
conferre
with
the
earle
of
Rich-
mond
of
his
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turne
into
Eng-
land.

The earle
of Kent
sent out
of
Kent
to
Britaine
to
conferre
with
the
earle
of
Rich-
mond
of
his
re-
turne
into
Eng-
land.

The earle
of
Rich-
mond
manifeste
the
duke
of
Brit-
taine
of
his
ma-
iestie.

Hugh Con-
weie esquier
and Thomas
Kame returne
into England
and declare
their
advice.

By
the
conspirators
to
bring
in
the
earle,
a
secret
the
earle
to
the
kingdome.

and moue to this new confuration, all such which they certeinly knew to haue a rooted hatred, or to beare cankered malice toward king Richard and his proceedings.

Although this great enterprisse were neuer so privately handled, and so secretlie amongst so circumspect persons treated, compassed and conueied; yet knowledge therof came to the eares of king Richard, who with the sudden chance was not a little moued and astonished. First, because he had no host readie prepared; secondlie, if he should raise an armie so suddenly, he knew not where to meet his enemies, or whither to go, or where to tarrie. Wherefore he determined to dissemble the matter, as though he knew nothing, till he had assembled his host; and in the meane season either by the rumour of the common people, or by the diligence of his espials to search out all the counsels, determinations, intents, and compasses of his close abusers; or else by policie to intercept and take some person of the same confuration, considering that there is no more secret nor hid espiall, than that which lurketh in dissimulation of knowledge and intelligence, or is hidden in name and shadow of countrefeit humanitie and feined kindnesse. But yet wisdom hath a deuise to auoid & shift off all such deceiuers, as the poet well saith:

Dissimulatores vitat prudentia vafros.

And because he knew the duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe head and aid of the confuration, hee thought it most necessarie to plucke him from that part, either by faire promises or open warre. Whereupon he addrest his louing letters to the duke, full of gentle words, & most friendlie speech; giuing further in charge to the messenger that caried the letter to promise the duke (in his behalfe) golden hilles, and silver riuers, and with all gentle and pleasant means to perswade and exhort the duke to come to the court. But the duke as wile as the king, mistrusting the faire flattering words, and the gaine promises to him so vniuoluntie without any cause offered, knowing the craftie calls of king Richards bow, which in diuerse affaires before time he had seene practised, required the king to pardon him, excusing himselfe that he was so diseased in his stomack, that scant he could either take refection or rest.

King Richard not being content with this excuse, would in no wise admit the same; but incontinent directed to the duke other letters, of a more rougher and hautier sort, not without taunting and biting tearmes, and checking words, commanding him (all excuses set apart) to repaire without anie delay to his rotall presence. The duke made to the messenger a determinate answer, that he would not come to his mortall enemy, whom he neither loued, nor favoured: and immediatlie prepared open warre against him, and perswaded all his complices and partakers, that euery man in his quarter, with all diligence should raise by people & make a commotion. And by this means almost in one moment Thomas marques Dorset came out of sanctuarie, where since the beginning of k. Richards daies he had continued, whose life by the onelie helpe of sir Thomas Louell was preserved from all danger & perill in this troublous world, gathered together a great band of men in Dorsetshire.

Sir Edward Courtenie, and Peter his brother bishop of Excester, raised an other armie in Devonshire and Cornewall. In Kent Richard Gilsford and other gentlemen collected a great companie of soldiers, and openly began warre. But king Richard, who in the meane time had gotten together a great strength and puissance, thinking it not most for his part benefitall, to disperse and diuide his great armie into small branches, and particularlie to

persecute anie one of the confuration by himselfe, determined (all other things being set aside) with his whole puissance to set on the chiefe head, which was the duke of Buckingham. And so removing from London, he took his iournie toward Salisbury, to the intent that in his iournie he might set on the dukes armie, if he might know him in anie place incamped, or in order of battell arrayed.

The king was scarce two daies iournie from Salisbury, when the duke of Buckingham accompanied with a great power of wild welshmen, whom he (being a man of great courage and sharpe speech) in manner against their willes had rather thereto incited and compelled by lordlie and strict commandement, than by liberall wages and gentle demour, which thing was the verie occasion why they left him desolate, & cowardlie forsake him. The duke with all his power marched through the Forrest of Deane, intending to haue passed the riuer Senerne at Clocester, & there to haue ioined his armie with the Courtenies, and other westerne men of his confederacie and affinitie. Which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had bene in great leopordie, either of priuation of his realme, or losse of his life, or both.

But fate the chance. Before he could attaine to Senerne side, by force of continuall raine and moisture, the riuer rose so high that it ouerflowed all the countrie adjoining, insomuch that men were drowned in their beds, and houses with the extreame violence were ouerturned, children were caried about the fields swimming in cradels, beasts were drowned on hilles. Which rage of water lasted continuallie ten daies, insomuch that in the countrie adjoining they call it to this daie, The great water; or, the duke of Buckinghams great water. By this flood the passages were so closed, that neither the duke could come ouer Senerne to his adherents, nor they to him. During the which time, the welshmen lingering idly, and without monie, bittels, or wages, suddenly scattered and departed: and for all the dukes faire promises, threatnings, and inforcements, would in no wise either go further nor abide.

The duke (being thus left almost poss alone) was of necessitie compelled to flee, and in flight was with this sudden fortune maruellouslie dismayed: and being unpurueied what counsell he should take, and what way he should follow, like a man in despaire, not knowing what to do, of verie trust & confidence conueied himselfe into the house of Hamfreie Banastier his seruant beside Shrewesburie, whom he had tenderlie brought up, and whom he aboue all men loued, fauoured, and trusted; now not doubting but that in his extreame necessitie he should find him faithfull, secret, and trustie, intending there couertlie to lurke, till either he might raise againe a new armie, or else shoulde to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond. [But alas (good duke) the meanes (by occasion of Gods prouidence, taking men out of their thiffs of supposed safetie) failed him, and he fell infortunatlie into the hands of the coming boze, that tare him in peeces with his tuskes.]

Now when it was knowne to his adherents, which were redie to giue battell, that his host was scattered, and had left him almost alone, and was fled, & could not be found; they were suddenly amazed & stricken with a sudden feare, that euery man like persons desperate shifted for himselfe & fled. Some went to sanctuarie, and to solitarie places; some fled by sea, whereof the most part within a few daies after arrived safelie in the duchie of Britaine. Among which number were these persons; Peter Courtenie bishop of Excester, and sir Edmund Courtenie his brother, by king Henrie the seventh after created earle of Devonshire; Thomas marquesse Dorset, John lord Welles,

The duke of Buckingham power of wild welshmen (falschanted) did saile him.

A soze flood or high water doing much harme, called the duke of Buckinghams great water.

The dukes adherents & their powers dispersed,

Welles, sir John Bonchier, sir Edward Mowbray, a valiant man in armes, brother to quene Elizabeth, sir Robert Willoughbie, sir Giles Daubeneie, sir Thomas Arundell, sir John Cheinie and his two brethren, sir William Barklie, sir William Brandon, & Thomas his brother, sir Richard Cogrecombe: all these for the most part being knights, John Hallowell, and Edward Poinings, a politike capteine.

At this verie season, John Hoxton bishop of Elie, and Christopher Urswike priest, and an other compaignie of noble men sojourned in Flanders; and by letters and messengers procured manie enemies against king Richard, which using a vigilant eye, and a quick remembrance, being newlie come to Salisbury, having perfect notice and knowledge how the duke was fled, and how his complices intended to passe out of the realme; first he sent men of warre to all the next ports and passages, to keepe streitlie the sea coast, so that no person should passe outward, nor take land within the realme without their assent and knowledge; secondarily he made proclamation, that what person could shew and reueale where the duke of Buckingham was, should be highlie rewarded; if he were a bondman, he should be enfranchised and set at libertie; if he were of free blood, he should haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thousand pounds.

Furthermore, because he understood by Thomas Dutton, which (as you haue heard) was newlie returned out of Britaine, that Francis duke of Britaine not onelie refused to keepe the earle of Richmond as a prisoner, at his contemplation, and for his sake; but also that he was readie to aid and succour the said earle, with men, monie, and all things necessarie for his transporting into England: he therefore rigged and sent out ships of warre, well furnished and decked with men and artillerie, to scowze and keepe that part of the sea that lieth ouer against Britaine, to the intent that if the earle of Richmond would aduenture to saile toward England, either he should be taken captiue, or be beaten and driuen from the coast of England. And moreover, to the intent that euerie coast, waite, passage, and corner, should be diligentlie watched & kept, he set at euerie doubtfull and suspected place men of warre, to seeke, search, and inquire, if anie creature could tell tidings of the duke of Buckingham; or of anie of his confederation, adherents, fauours, or partakers.

While this busie search was diligentlie applied and put in execution, Humfrey Banasser (were it moze for feare of life and losse of goods, or allured & prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand pounds) he betraied his guest and maister to John Pitton then shiriffe of Shropshire; which suddenlie with a strong power of men in harnesse apprehended the duke in a little groue adioining to the mansion of Humfrey Banasser, and in great hast and euill speed conueied him apparelled in a pilled blacke cloake to the towne of Shrewesburie, where king Richard then kept his household. Whether this Banasser betraied the duke moze for feare than couetous, manie men doe doubt: but sure it is, that shortly after he had betraied the duke his maister; his sonne and he were wared mad, & so died in a bores stie; his eldest daughter of excellent beautie, was suddenlie stricken with a foule leprosie; his second sonne maruellouslie deformed of his lims, and made lame; and his yonger sonne in a small puddle was strangled and drowned; and he being of extreme age, arreigned, and found guiltie of a murder, and by his cleargie saued. And as for his thousand pounds, R. Richard gaue him not one farthing, saing that he which would be untrue to so good a maister, would be false to all other: holbe it some saie that he had a small office or a fatuie to stop

his mouth withall. The duke being by certieine of the kings counsell diligentlie vpon interrogatories examined, what things he knew prejudiciall vnto the kings person, opened and declared franklie and frankly all the conuiration, without dissembling or glossing; trusting, because he had trulie and plainelie reuealed and confessed all things that were of him required, that he should haue licence to speake to the king: which (whether it were to sue for pardon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence, would haue sicked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he soe desired and required. But when he had confessed the whole fact & conspiracie, vpon All soules daie, without arreignment or iudgement, he was at Salisbury in the open market place, on a new scaffold beheaded and put to death.

This death (as a reward) the duke of Buckingham received at the hands of king Richard, whom he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holpen, sustained, and set forward, about all Gods forboe. By this all men may easilie perceiue, that he not onelie loseth both his labour, traueil, and industry (and further staineth and spotteth his line with a perpetuall ignominie and reproch) which in euill and mischief aduiseeth and aideeth an euill disposed person, considering for the most part, that he for his frenchie fauour should receiue some great displeasure or importunate chance. Beside that, God of his iustice in conclusion appointed to him a condigne paine and affliction for his merits and deserts. [Available therefore, and for his best aduantage had it bene, to haue followed the wise counsell of him, that willed him, and such as he, to keepe them from the man that hath power to slay; so shalt thou doubt (saith he) the feare of death. And if thou come vnto him make no fault, least he take awaie thy life: remember that thou goest in the midst of snares, & that thou walkest vpon the towers of the citie. Which aduise a learned man, in good place, and necessarie seruice about the prince, neartie compised in these few verses:

*Præce principibus modice, nimis esse propinquum
Si cupis, in vitæ multa pericula rueri.
Si ruit a fortuna facit seruire potenti,
Disce ne trības, atque repente cadis,
Solicite vigiles laquei sunt undique fissi,
Turribus in summis et situs, ergo caue.]*

While these things were thus handled and ordered in England, Henrie earle of Richmond prepared an armie of five thousand manlie Britons, and forty well furnished ships. When all things were prepared in a readinesse, and the daie of departing and setting forward was appointed, which was the twelue daie of the moneth of October, the whole armie went on shipboard, and halced by their sailes, and with a prosperous wind toke the sea. But toward night the wind changed, and the weather turned, and so huge and terrible a tempest so suddenlie arose, that with the verie power and strength of the storme, the ships were dispersed, seuered & separated asunder: some by force were driuen into Normandie, some were compelled to returne againe into Britaine. The ship wherein the earle of Richmond was, associat onelie with one other barke, was all night tossed and turmoiled.

In the morning after, when the rage of the furious tempest was allwaged, and the tre of blustering wind was some deale appeased; about the houre of none the same daie, the earle approached to the south part of the realme of England, euen at the mouth of the haue of Dole, in the countie of Dorset, where he might plainelie perceiue all the sea bankes & shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and soldiers, appointed and deputed there to defend his arrival and landing (as before is mentioned.) Therefore he gaue streit charge, and soe commandment, that

A proclamation
made for the
apprehension
of the duke of
Buckingham.
Such large re-
wards to the
apprehenders.

R. Richard
sent forth
a name to
scowze the
sea coast as
gainst Bri-
taine.

Humfrey Ban-
asser seruant
vnto the duke
of Bucking-
ham betraied
his maister.

Gods secret
adgements
vpon Banas-
ser and his
children after
the duke was
apprehended.

The duke of
Buckingham
delivered his
owne arraignment
of judgement.

Ca. H.

The earle of
Richmonds
preparation
of ships and
soldiers to
the sea.

This tempest
parted the
ships.

The fish at
the sea bankes
furnished the
soldiers.

An. Reg. 1.

that no person should once presume to take land, and go to shore, untill such time as the whole naue were assembled and come together. And while he taried and lingered, he sent out a shipboate toward the land side, to know whether they, which stood there in such a number, and so well furnished in apparell, defence, were his foes and enemies, or else his friends and comfortors.

They that were sent to inquire, were instantlie desired of the men of warre keeping the coast (which thereof were before instructed & admonished) to defend and take land, affirming that they were appointed by the duke of Buckingham there to await and tarie for the arrivall and landing of the earle of Richmond, and to conduct him safelie into the campe, where the duke not far of late incamped with a mightie armie, and an host of great strength and power, to the intent that the duke and the earle, joining in pursuances and forces together, might prosecute and chase king Richard being destitute of men, and in maner desperate, and so by that meanes, and their owne labours, to obtaine the end of their enterpryse which they had before begun.

The earle of Richmond suspecting their flattering request to be but a fraud (as it was in deed) after he perceived none of his ships to appeare in sight, he weighed by his anchors, halloed by his failles, & having a prosperous and streinable wind, and a fresh gale sent euen by God to deliuer him from that perill and iopardie, arrived safe and in all securitie in the duchie of Normandie, where he to refresh and solace his soldiers and people) took his recreation by the space of thre daies, and charelie determined with part of his companie to passe all by land againe into Britaine. And in the meane season he sent ambassadoers to the French king, called Charles the eight, which noblie succeeded his father king Lewis the eleventh, not long before departed to God, requirring of him a safe conduct and licence to passe thorough his countrie of Normandie into Britaine.

This young king, having compassion of the misfortune of the earle of Richmond, not onelie gentlie granted and assigned to him a passport; but also liberallie disbursed to him a great summe of monie for his conduct and expences necessarie in his long iourne and passage. But the earle trusting in the French kings humanitie, adventured to send his ships home into Britaine, and to set forthward himselfe by land on his iourne, making no great hast till his messengers were returned, which being with that benefit so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe so encouraged, marched towards Britaine with all diligence, intending there to consult further with his lovers & friends of his affaires and enterprises. When he was returned againe into Britaine, he was certified by credible information, that the duke of Buckingham had lost his head; and that the marquesse Dorset, and a great number of noble men of England, had a little before inquired and searched for him there, and were now returned to Vannes.

When he had heard these newes thus reported, he first sorowed and lamented his first attempt and setting forthward of his friends, and in especiall of the nobilitie, not to haue more fortunatelie succeeded. So conuulsed, he reioiced on the other part, that God had sent him so manie valiant and prudent capitaines to be his companions in his martiall enterprises, trusting safelie and nothing doubting in his owne opinion, but that all his businesse should be wiselie compassed, and brought to a good conclusion. Therefore he determining with all diligence to set forthward his new begun businesse, departed to Rheims, and sent certeine of his priue seruitors to conduct and bring the marquesse and other noble men to his pre-

sence. When they knew that he was safelie returned into Britaine, Lord how they reioiced! for before that time they missed him, and knew not in what part of the world to make inquirie or search for him. For they doubted and no lesse feared least he had taken land in England, & fallen into the hands of king Richard, in whose person they knew well was neither mercie nor compassion.

Wherefore in all speedie maner they galoped toward him, and him reuerentlie saluted. Which meeting after great ioy and solace, and no small thanks giuen and rendered on both parts, they aduisedlie debated and communed of their great businesse and weightie enterpryse. In the which season the feast of the Nativitie of our saviour Christ happened, on which daie all the English lords went with their solemnitie to the chiefe church of the citie, and there each gaue faith and promise to other. The earle himselfe first took a corporall oth on his honor, promising that incontinent after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conioined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth. Then all the companie swore to him fealtie, and did to him homage (as though he had bene that time the crowned king, and annointed prince) promising faithfullie, and firmelie affirming, that they would not onelie lose their worldlie substance; but also be deprived of their liues and worldlie felicitie, rather than to suffer king Richard that tyrant longer to rule and reigne over them.

Which solemne oths made and taken, the earle of Richmond declared and communicated all these doings to Francis duke of Britaine, desiring & most heartilie requirring him to aid him with a greater armie to conduct him into his countrie, which so longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and commonaltie called and desired. Which (with Gods aid, and the dukes comfort) he doubted not in short time to obtaine; requirring him further to press to him a convenient summe of monie; affirming that all such summes of monie which he had receiued of his expectall friends, were spent and consumed in preparation of his last iourneie made toward England; which summes of monie, after his enterpryse once atchieued, he in the word of a prince faithfullie promised to repaie and restore againe. The duke promised him aid and helpe. Upon confidence whereof he rigged his ships, and set forth a naue well decked with ordnance, and warlike furnished with all things necessary, to the intent to saile forthward shortly, and to lose no time.

In the meane season king Richard apprehended in diuerse parts of the realme certeine gentlemen of the earle of Richmonds faction, & confederation, which either intended to saile into Britaine toward him, or else at his landing to assist and aid him. Amongst whom sir George Botone, sir Roger Clifford, and foure other were put to execution at London, and sir Thomas Sentleger which had married the duchesse of Excester the kings owne sister, and Thomas Rame, and diuerse other were executed at Excester. Beside these persons, diuerse of his household seruantes, whom either he suspected or doubted, were by great crueltie put to shameful death. [By the obseruation of which mens names, the place, and the action here mentioned, with the computation of time, I find fit occasion to interlace a note (noblie receiued from the hands of one that is able to saie much by record) deliuering a summarie (in more ample sort) of their names, whom king Richard did so tyrannicallie persecute and execute: as followeth.]

King Richard (saith he) came this ycare to the citie,

The English lords giue faith and promise either to other.

The earle of Richmond sweareth to marrie Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth, after possession of the crowne.

Diuerse of the earle of Richmonds faction apprehended and executed.

Abr. Flem,

John Hooker,
alias Vowel.
Is Richard
committed to
Cressler, and
is returned
with pro-
phetic.

A prophetic,
the inclosure
whereof did
appall the
kings spirits.

tie, but in verie secret maner, whome the maior & his
brethren in the best maner they could did receiue, and
then presented to him in a purse two hundred nobles;
which he thankfullie accepted. And during his abode
here he went about the citie, & viewed the seat of the
same, & at length he came to the castell: and when he
vnderstood that it was called Kugeмонт, suddenly
he fell into a dumpe, and (as one adonied) said; Well,
I see my daies be not long. He spake this of a pro-
phetic told him, that when he came once to Rich-
mond, he should not long liue after: which fell out in
the end to be true, not in respect of this castle, but in
respect of Henrie earle of Richmond, who the next
yeare following met him at Bosworth field where
he was slaine. But at his being here, he did find the
gentlemen of this countrie not to be well affected to-
wards him, and after his departure, did also heare
that the marquesse of Dorset, the bishop of Cressler,
and sundrie other gentlemen were in a confederacie
against him for the assisting of the erle of Richmond.

Lord Scrope
by the kings
commission
kept a session
against di-
uerse indicted
of high treason.

More than
five hundred
indicted,
whereof some
escaped, and
some were ex-
ecuted.

1484
The earle of
Richmond at-
tainted in par-
liament, and all
other that fled
ouer sea to
take his part.

Anno Reg. 2.

King Richard
charged the
lord Stenters
to keepe his
wife in some
secret place
from dealing
against him.

In this troublous season, nothing was more mar-
uelled at, than that the lord Stanleie had not bene
taken, and reputed as an enemy to the king; consi-
dering the working of the ladie Margaret his wife,
mother to the earle of Richmond. But for so much as
the enterpryse of a woman was of him reputed of no
regard or estimation; and that the lord Thomas his
husband had purged himselfe sufficientlie to be inno-
cent of all doings and attempts by him perpetrated
and committed: it was given him in charge to keepe
him in some secret place at home, without hauing a-
nye seruant or companie: so that from thence forth
he should neuer send letter or messenger vnto his
sonne, nor any of his friends or confederats, by the
which the king might be molested or troubled, or any
hurt or prejudice might be attempted against his
realme and commonaltie. Which commandement
was a while put in execution and accomplished, accor-
ding to his dreadfull commandement.

Yet the wild woman of vengeance waivering in
his head, could not be content with the death of di-
uerse gentlemen suspected of treason; but also he
must extend his bloody furie against a poyse gentle-
man called Collingborne, for making a poyse gentle-
man of three of his vnforsunate counsellors, which were
the lord Louell, sir Richard Ratcliffe his misch-
uous minion, and sir William Catesbie his secret
seducer, which meter of rime was thus framed:

The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our dog,
Rule all England vnder an hog.

Meaning by the hog, the dreadfull wild boare,
which was the kings cognisance. But because the first
line ended in dog, the metrickian could not obseruing
the regiments of meter, end the second verse in
boare, but called the boare an hog. This poeticall
schollemaster, corrected by brekes and longs, caused
Collingborne to be abbreviated by the head, and to be diuided into foure quarters.

Here is to be noted, that beside the rime which is
reported by some to be the onelie cause for which this
gentleman suffered, I find in a register booke of in-
dicements concerning felonies and treasons by
sundrie persons committed, that the said Colling-
borne (by the name of William Collingborne) late
of Lidyard in the countie of Wiltshire esquier, and o-
ther his associates were indicted in London: for that
they about the tenth daie of Iulie, in this second
yeare of king Richards reigne, in the parish of saint
Botolphes in Dorsfoken ward had solicited and re-
quested one Thomas Pate, offering to him for his
paines eight pounds, to go ouer into Britaine vnto
Henrie earle of Richmond, Thomas marquesse Dor-
set, John Cheineie esquier, and others, which in the
last parlement holden at Westminster had bene
attainted of sundrie high treasons by them prauiued
within the kings dominion.

Besides this, to declare vnto them that they should
do verie well, to returne into England with all such
power as they might get before the feast of saint
Luke the euangelist next ensuing: for so they might receiue
all the whole revenues of the realme due at the feast
of saint Michael next before the said feast of saint
Luke. And that if the said earle of Richmond and his
partakers, following the counsell of the said Colling-
borne, would arrive at the haue of Pole in Dor-
setshire, he the said Collingborne and other his asso-
ciats would cause the people to rise in armes, and to
leue warre against king Richard, taking part with
the said earle and his friends: so that all things should
be at their commandements. Moreover, to moue
the said earle to send the said John Cheineie vnto the
French king, to aduertise him that his ambassadors
sent into England should be dallied with, onelie to
driue off the time till the winter season were past, and
that then in the beginning of summer king Richard
meant to make warre into France, inuading that
realme with all puissance: and so by this meanes to
persuade the French king to aid the earle of Rich-
mond and his partakers, in their quarrell against king
Richard.

Further, that the said William Collingborne, be-
ing confederate with the said earle and other his ad-
herents, as well within the realme as without, the
eighteenth day of Iulie, in the said second yeare, with
in the parish of saint Gregories in Faringdon ward
within, had deuised certaine bills and writings in
rime, to the end that the same being published, might
stir the people to a commotion against the king. And
those bills and writings in rime so deuised and writ-
ten, the same Collingborne the daie and yeare last
mentioned, had fastened and set vpon diuerse dores
of the cathedrall church of saint Paule, for the more
speedie furthering of his intended purpose. Thus
farre

farre the inditement. But whether he was guiltie in part or in all, I haue not to saie.

King Richard being thus disquieted in mind, and doubtfull for the suertie of his owne estate, called to remembrance that confederations, honest bands and pacts of amitie, concluded and had betwixt princes and gouernours, are the efficient cause that realmes and common wealths are strengthened with double power, that is, with aid of friends abroad, and their owne forces at home. Whereupon he deuised how to conclude a league and amitie with his neighbour the king of Scots: who not long before had made diuerse incursions and roads into the realme of England. And although he had not much gotten; yet verelie he lost not much. And now euen as king Richard could haue wished, he of himselfe made safe for peace or truce to be had betwixt him and king Richard; who willinglie giuing eare to that sute, commissioners were appointed to meete about the treatie thereof, as in the historie of Scotland it more appeare.

At length they agreed vpon a truce for three yeeres, and withall for a further increase of firme friendship and sure amitie (betwixt him and the king of Scots) king Richard entered into a treatie also of alliance for the concluding of a marriage betwixt the duke of Northfolke (eldest sonne to the king of Scots) and the ladie Anne de la Beule daughter to John duke of Suffolke and the duchesse Anne, sister to king Richard: which sister he so much fauoured, that studying by all waies and meanes possible how to aduance hir image, he did not onelie thus seeke to preferre hir daughter in marriage; but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaimed John earle of Lincoln his sonne and his nephue, heire apparant to the crowne of England, disheriting king Edwards daughters, whose brethren (as ye haue heard) he most wickedlie had caused to be murdered and made awaie.

The king of Scots standing in need of friends, although not so greatlie as king Richard, did willingly consent to that motion of marriage, first broched by king Richard, insomuch that it toke effect, and by commissioners was passed and concluded, in manner as in the historie of Scotland it likewise appeareth. But albeit that by this league and amitie thus contracted and concluded, it might be thought, that all conspiracies, conurations, and confederacies against king Richard had bene extinct, especiallie considering the duke of Buckingham and his allies were dispatched out of the waie, some by death, and some by flight and banishment into farre countries: yet king Richard, more doubting than trusting to his owne people and friends, was continually bored and troubled in mind for feare of the earle of Richmonds returne: which dauntie dread and horrible agonie caused him to liue in dolefull miserie, euer vniquiet, and in manner in continuall calamitie.

Wherefore he intending to be relieved, and to haue an end of all his doubtfull dangers, determined heretoe to extirpate and plucke vp by the roots all the matter and ground of his feare and doubts. Insomuch that (after long and deliberate consultation had) nothing was for his purpose and intent thought either more necessarie or expedient than once againe with price, payer, and rewards, to attempt the duke of Britaine, in whose territorie the earle of Richmond then abode, to deliuer the said earle into his hands: by which onelie meanes he should be discharged of all feare and perill, and brought to rest and quietnesse both of bodie and mind. Wherefore incontinent he sent certeine ambassadoys to the duke of Britaine, which toke vpon them (beside the great and

ample rewards that they brought with them into Britaine) that king Richard should pearcellie paie and answer the duke of all the reuenues, rents, and profits of the seignories, lands, and possessions, as well belonging and appertaining to the erle of Richmond, as to anie other noble or gentleman, which then were in the earles companie; if he after that time would keepe them in continuall prison, and restraine them from libertie.

The ambassadoys (furnished with these and other instructions) arrived in Britaine, and came to the dukes house; where with him they could haue no manner of communication concerning their weightie affaires: by reason that he being faint and weakened by a long and dauntie infirmittie, began a little to waxe idle and weake in his wit and remembrance. For which cause Peter Landoise his chiefe treasurer, a man both of pregnant wit and great authoritie, ruled and aduised all things at his pleasure and commandement, for which cause (as men set in authoritie be not best beloued) he excited & prouoked against him the malice and euill will of the nobilitie of Britaine, which afterward (for diuerse great offenses by him during his authoritie perpetrate & committed) by their meanes was brought to death & confusion.

The English ambassadoys moued their message and request to Peter Landoise, and to him declared their masters commandement, instantlie requiring and humble desiring him (in whose power it late to do all things in Britaine) that he would frendlie assent to the request of king Richard: offering to him the same rewards and lands, that they should haue offered to the duke. This Peter (which was no lesse disdained than hated almost of all the people of Britaine) thought that if he did assent & satisfie king Richards petition and desire, he should be of power and abilitie sufficient to withstand and reuell the malicious attempts and disbeisfull inuentions of his enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he faithfullie promised to accomplish king Richards request & desire: so that he kept promise with him, that he might be able to withstand the cankered malice of his secret enemies.

This act that he promised to do, was not for anie grudge or malice that he bare vnto the erle of Richmond: for (as you haue heard before) he deliuered him from the perill of death at saint Malos, when he was in great doubt of life, and leoparde. But as cause ariseth we euer offend, and that cursed hunger of gold, and execrable thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of authoritie, dyleth the blind minds of conetous men, & ambitious persons to euils and mischiefes innumerable, not remembering losse of good name, obloquie of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merits and deserts. [Which vengeance of God for such falshood was moze to be feared, than the gaie offers of the king to be desired; for the one was sure to fall, the other was likelie to faile. Wherefore it is wisedome to make choise of a friend, by the rule of the wifeman to be obserued in wine, which is drunke with pleasure when it is old. Neither doth it stand with a mans safetie to trust a friend too farre: for occasions maie fall out wherby he shall become an enimie, as the poet saith:

Hospis erit fors an qui tuus hospes erat.

But fortune was so fauourable to the publike wealth of the realme of England, that this deadly and dolozous compact toke none effect or place. For while posts ran and letters were sent to and fro for the finishing of this great enterpryse betwene king Richard and Peter Landoise, John Morton bishop of Elic (sojourning then in Flanders) was of all this craftie conuenance certified by his secret and sure friends. Wherefore he sent Christopher Arswike (which at that verie season was come out of Britaine into

A great temptation with large offers.

Peter Landoise is moued by the ambassadoys of king Richard in their sute.

Note what loue of lucre or greedie gaiping after rewards doth.

See page 701.

Abt. Fl.

Bishop Morton preuenteth & defeateth the practice of king Richard and Peter Landoise.

into Flanders) to declare to the earle of Richmond how all the deceit and craftie working was conueied and compassed, giuing him charge to counsell and aduise the earle in all half possible with all his companie to retire out of Britaine into France.

When these newes were brought to the earle, he then kept house in Mannes, and incontinent dispatched againe Christopher Urwolke vnto Charles the French king, requiring him that he and his might safetie passe into France. Which desire being obtained, the messenger shortly returned to his lord and prince. The earle, well perceining that it was expedient and necessarie, with all speed and diligence to looke to this weightie matter, calling verie few to counsell, he made inquirie and search of all secret & by-waies, & sent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiaritie and kindnesse they should visit and comfort the duke, which then (for recreation and change of aire) laie on the borders and confines of France. And secretly he gaue charge to the earle of Pembroke, which was the leader and conductor of his companie, that when they approached the marches and limits of Britaine, they should diuert and take the next waie into France.

The noble men somewhat suspicious of things newlie imagined, without any tarieng, scowring the waies as fast as their horses could runne, came out of the duchie of Britaine into the duchie of Anjou in the dominion of France, where they tarried the erles comming, which two daies after departed out of Mannes, onelie accompanied with five seruitors, as though he had gone secretly to visit a familiar friend of his, in a small village adioining. No man suspected that he would depart, considering that a great multitude of Englishmen were left and continued in the citie. But after that he had passed dreddie five miles forward, he suddenly turned into a solitarie wood next adioining, where clothing himselfe in the simple coat of his poore seruant, made and appointed his said minister leader and master of his small companie, & he as an humble page diligentlie followed and serued his counterfeited gouernor, neither resting nor refreshing themselves, except the baiting of their horses, till they by waies vnknoone, now this way, now turning that way, came to their companie abiding them in Angiers.

The fourth day after the earle of Richmond was thus departed, that craftie merchant Peter Landoise, thinking still after his price promised by king Richard, was ready to set forward his crew of souldiers, which he priuily had consigned, with certaine trustie captains for that onelie purpose appointed and elected, to performe and atchieue his pretended enterprise; dissembling and feining them to be conducted and hired by him to serue the earle of Richmond, and him to conduct in his returne toward his native countrie: meaning no other thing but to apprehend him, and the other noble men in his retinue, which no such fraud suspected, nor yet any treason imagined, vnto ware and vnprouided, and destitute of all aid, and them to cast and commit suddenly into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the intent that by this his wretched and naughtie act, he might satisfie the charitable request and longing desire of good king Richard, more for his owne profit than king Richards gaine.

But when this craftie dissembler Peter Landoise, which was no wiser than an old fox, perceined that the earle was departed (thinking that to be true that he imagined) Lord how curroes ran into euerie coast! how light horsemen galloped in euerie street! to follow and deteine him, if by any possibilitie he could be met with and overtaken, and him to apprehend and bring captiue into the citie of Mannes. The

horsemen made such diligence, and with such celeritie set forward their tournee, that nothing was more likelie than they to haue obtained, yea and seized their price. For the earle of Richmond was not entered into the realme of France scarce one houre, but the followers came to the limits and confines of Britaine, and durst adventure no further, but vainlie (without their desire) sorrowfullie returned.

At which season were left at Mannes about the number of three hundred Englishmen, which not being called to counsell, and vnto ware of this enterprise, but knowing of the earles sudden departure, were so incontinentlie affronted, that in manner they were all in despair, both of him, and their owne libertie and safegard. But fortune turned hir saile, and otherwise it happened than their feare them incumbered. For the duke of Britaine, now being somewhat recovered, was sore displeased, and nothing contented, that the earle of Richmond was in his dominion so vncourteouslie bled and intreated, that he should be by fraud and vntruth compelled to leaue and flee out of his duchie and countrie, contrarie to his honour. Wherefore he took verie great displeasure with Peter Landoise his treasurer, to whome (although he knew not, and was ignorant that all the plot was devised and deuised by him) he laid the fault, and imputed the crime.

Whereupon he sent for Edward Woodville, and Edward Boynings, valiant esquires of England, and deliuered vnto them monie sufficient for their conduct, willing them to conuie the rest of the Englishmen being in Britaine, to the earle of Richmonds presence. When the earle was thus furnished, and appointed with his trustie companie, and was escaped all the dangers, labirinthes, and snares that were set for him: no maruell though he were iocund and glad of the prosperous successe that happened in his affaires. Wherefore, lest he should seeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent diners of his gentlemen to the duke of Britaine, the which should publish and declare to him on the behalfe of the earle, that he and his were onelie by his benefit and fauour conserued and deliuered from the imminent danger that they were like to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendered vnto him his most hartie thanks in words, trusting and not doubting, but in time to come liberallie to recompense him with acts and deeds.

After this, the earle took his tournee to Charles the French king, lieng then at Langes vpon the riuier of Loire, to whome (after great thanks giuen for manifold pleasures by him to the earle thewel) he disclosed and manifested the cause and occasion of his access and repaire to his person. After that, he required of him helpe and succour, to the intent that by his immortal benefit to him at that time thewel, he might safelie returne vnto the nobilitie of his realme; of whome he was generallie called to take vpon him the crowne & scepter of the realme, which they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richard. King Charles promised him aid and comfort, and bade him be of good courage, and make good cheare; for he assured him that he would gladlie shew to him his beneuolent mind and bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoued to Spoutargis, leading with him the earle of Richmond, and all the noble personages of his retinue and faction.

¶ This is that Charles the French king, in whose time France was all adiant, for the state of that realme is said, that then it was verie populous in multitudes of men, for wealth and riches euerie particular region most fertile and plentifull, for glorie in armes most flourishing & renowned, a policie well directed, discipline administred, an antipoxis dze aduall, and

The earle of Pembroke conductor of the earle of Richmonds companie.

The earles small traine for a policie.

The earle appeared like a page attended by one of his men as his master.

Peter Landoise his executioner dispatched by the king; and vnto ware the departing of the earle.

The duke of Britaine to the earle of Richmond the cause of his fall.

Edward Boynings to the earle of Richmond the cause of his fall.

The earle of Richmond to the French king the cause of his fall.

Act. 1. ex. 1.

in opinion and hope most mightie; lastlie their general conditions and faculties so well furnished, as perhaps it was not more happie in these mortall felicities since the daies of Charlemaine. It was newly amplified in euery one of the three parts wherein all Gall was diuided by the ancients: for fortie yers before vnder Charles the seventh (a prince for his victories obtained with great dangers called happie) Normandie and the duchie of Guen, holden by the Englishmen, were reduced to the obedience of the French crowne. And in the last daies of Lewes the eleventh, the earldome of Poynce, the dukedome of Burgogny, almost all Picardie, together with the duchie of Britaine, were by a new marriage inuelled in the power of Charles the eight.]

While the earle was thus attendant in the French court, John Mere earle of Drford, which (as you haue heard before) was by king Edward kept in prison within the castell of Hammes, so perswaded James Blunt captaine of the same fortesse, and sir John Fortescue porter of the towne of Calis, that he himselfe was not onelie dismissed and set at libertie; but they also abandoning and leauing their fruitfull offices, did condescend to go with him into France to the earle of Richmond, and to take his part. But James Blunt, like a wise captaine, because he left his wife remaining in the castell before his departure, did fortifie the same both with new munitions, and fresh souldiers. [And here because the names of Mere and Fortescue are remembred, it shall not be amisse, somewhat out of due place, yet better a little out of order than altogether to omit the same, to adde a supplement for the further perfecting of a report recorded in page 693, and adding some light also to this present place touching the said persons, with others.]

Know you therefore, that this sir John Mere earle of Drford (that withdrew himselfe from Barnet field, and with all speed fled into Scotland) in the yere 1473, and the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, did (after he had sometime sojourned there) saile into France, about the borders whereof he was continually hovering, as hoping to win some pzeie (to support his estate) of such passengers as for merchandise cause or otherwise must keepe their course a long the sea. Whose good successe therein did not deceiue his mind. For in the end (what of one and other) he got such riches and other furniture, as he was able to support a chosen number of followers. Wherewith he (being releued and encouraged to aduerture to set foot in his countrie in despite of king Edward) did with his companie of 397 persons, and with his suite of ships land in the west countrie the last of September, where (partlie by force of his, and partlie through feare of the inhabitants, but mostlie by a subtil shift) he gat and entered the castell of saint Michaels mount, a place of strength, and such an hard enough, as he determined to keepe the same against all assailants. During the time of his remaine there, he would with his companie manie times descend the hill, and come abrode in the countrie, where (for his loue, for his honour, and for the hatred they bare to king Edward) he was well interteined of manie gentlemen and others of the countrie.

But this matter vnpossible long to be kept in secret, was at the length brought to the knowledge of king Edward; who being somewhat moued, thought in the beginning to withstand such mischance, least suffering too long, & the earle growing to strength, he might be put to as great plunge for the crowne as he had bene twice before: wherewith seeing he was possessed, he grew resolute to keepe it both by policie and puissance, in auge the open violence and priuie practices as well of his professed as secret enemies.

For he ran through the pikes per he could obtaine it, and offered his bodie to manie desperate perils in hope to get it: which if he had either feared or thinned, it is a matter of demand whether he had euer had it. For pzeious things, as principalities and such like, vnlesse they be hereditarie, as they are hardlie kept, so are they not easilie gotten: for he that desireth to gather a rose, must not be tender ouer his fingers because of thornes; and he that would tast honie fresh out of the hieue, must not be scared with the stinging of bees, as the poet verie swetlie noteth:

*Non quisquam fruitur veris odoribus,
Hybleas latebris nec spoliat fauos,
Si frontis caueat si timeat rubos,
Armat spina rosas, mella regunt apes.*

Wherefore king Edward gaue in charge to Bodingham, ruler of Shyriffe of Cornetwall, to assemble such power as he could; and besieging the mount, he should either take or kill the earle of Drford. The which the Shyriffe did accordingly, but that so feintlie and fauourable, as he permitted the earle of Drford (now in distresse) to reuittell the mount, knowing that there was no waie to expell the earle from thence but by famine. These things thus done (the king not pleased, and the earle not displeased) one Fortescue (which surname is deduced from the strength of his shield, whereof that familie had first originall) was with a stronger and faithfuller companie sent by king Edward to laie siege to the castell; which he did, and long continued. For it was not easie to be had, being (of it selfe) by nature stronglie set, by policie well vittelled, and by manhood valiantlie defended: which moued the king to assay an other means therefore, and to see if policie might do that which force could not.

For which cause, as Fortescue still continued the said siege, the king supposed it best (if possible he might) to weaken the earles part, by withdrawing the strength and hearts of his people from him: which might not be done but with rich promises and strong pardons. On which consideration he sent liberallie pardons to them, and in the end so secretlie wrought with the earles men: that if the earle (feareing the worst, and iudging it better to trie the kings mercie, than to hazard the extremitie of taking, in which rested nothing but assured death) had not wholie submitted himselfe to king Edward, he had bene by his owne men most dishonestlie betrayed, and suddenlie taken prisoner. Whereupon the earle comming forth to Fortescue, did there yeld himselfe and the castell into the kings hands. At what time (being the sixteenth of Februarie, which from the first entrance of the earle into that castell being the last of September, was about foure moneths and foureteene daies) the same Fortescue entred the mount, & took possession thereof, finding it yet sufficientlie vittelled to haue sustained an other siege more than one halfe yere. After all things were thus quieted, the earle, the lord Beaumont, two brothers of the said earle, and Thomas Cliffe, were brought vp as prisoners vnto king Edward. And now to our present historie againe.]

When the earle of Richmond saw the earle of Drford, he was caused with an incredible gladnesse, that he being a man of so high nobilitie, of such knowledge and practices in feates of warre, and so constant, trustie and assured (which alwaie had stood for the maintenance and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision deliuered out of captiuitie and imprisonment; and in time so necessarie and conuenient come to his aid, succour, and advancement, in whome more surer than anie other he might put his trust and confidence, and take lesse paine and trauell in his owne person. For if

Edw. 4. was

Shyriffe Bodingham besiegeth the mount that the earle had taken.

The name of Fortescue whereupon it grew.

Deuises to withdraw the earles power from him.

The earle of Drford submitted himselfe & yeldeth the castell into the kings hands.

John Mere earle of Drford kept in prison within the castell of Hammes.

Edw. 4.

The earle of Richmond.

was not hid from him, that such as cuer had taken part with king Edward before this time, came to do him service, either for malice they bare king Richard, or else for feare to liue vnder his cruell rule and tyrannous gouernance.

Not long after, the French king returned againe to Paris, whome the earle of Richmond followed, intending there to solicit his matter to the conclusion. Whereupon he brought king Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defense of him and his cause, so that he and his compaignie being (by his means) aided and comforted, should confesse and saie, their wealth, victorie, and advancement to haue flowed and budded forth of his bountifullnesse and liberalitie, which they would (God willing) shortly acquite. In the meane season, diuerse Englishmen, which either fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie god literature and vertuous doctrine, came voluntarie and submitted themselves to the earle of Richmond, and vowed & swore to take his part. Amongst whom was Richard for a priest, a man of great wit and no lesse learning, whome the earle incontinent receiued into secret familiarity, and in these time erected and advanced him to high dignities and promotions, and in conclusion made him bishop of Winchester.

In the meane season, king Richard was credibly advertised, what promises and othes the earle and his confederates had made and sware together at Meims, and how by the earles means all the Englishmen were passed out of Britaine into France. Therefore being sore dismayed, and in a manner desperate, because his craftie shewance took none effect in Britaine, he imagined & deuised how to infringe and disturbe the earles purpose by an other meane, so that by the marriage of ladie Elizabeth his neece, he should pretend no claime nor title to the crowne. For he thought if that marriage failed, the earles cheefe combe had bene cleaerly cut. And because that he being blinded with the ambitious desire of rule before this time in obtaining the kingdome, had committed and done manie cursed acts, and detestable tyrannies, yet according to the old prouerbe; Let him take the bull that shall auaile the calfe: he thought all facts by him committed in times passed to be but of small moment, and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischeuous imagination, which he now newlie began and attempted.

There came into his vngracious mind a thing not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wauering mind, how great a fountaine of mischief toward him should spring, if the earle of Richmond should be advanced to the marriage of his neece: which thing he heard saie by the rumor of the people, that no small number of wise and witty personsages enterprised to compasse and bring to conclusion; he cleerly determined to reconcile to his fauour his brothers wife queene Elizabeth, either by faire words, or liberall promises; firmely beleueing his fauour once obtained, that the would not sticke to commit (and longlie credit) to him the rule and gouernance both of hir and hir daughters, and so by that meane the earle of Richmond of the affinitie of his neece should be utterly defrauded and beguiled.

And if no ingenuous remedie could be otherwise inuented, to saue the innumerable mischances which were euen at hand, and like to fall, if it should happen queene Anne his wife to depart out of this present life, then he himselfe would rather take to wife his consine and neece the ladie Elizabeth; than for lacke of that affinitie the whole realme should run to

ruine, as who saide, that if he once fell from his estate and dignitie, the ruine of the realme must needs follow. Therefore he sent to the queene (being in sanctuarie) diuerse and often messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all things before against hir attempted or procured, and after should so largelie promise promotions innumerable, and benefits, not onely to hir, but also to hir sonne lord Thomas Sparquesse Dorset, that they should bring hir (if it were possible) into some wanhope, or (as men saie) into a soles paradise.

The messengers, being men both of wit and grauitie, so perswaded the queene with great and pregnant reasons, & that with faire and large promises, that she began somewhat to relent, and to giue to them no deafe eare; inasmuch that the faithfull promise to submit and yield hir selfe fullie and frankly to the kings will and pleasure. And so she putting in obliuion the murder of hir innocent children, the infamie and dishonour spoken by the king hir husband, the liuing in adulterie laid to hir charge, the basfarding of hir daughters; forgetting also the faithfull promise and open oth made to the countesse of Richmond mother to the earle Henrie, blinded by auaricious affection, & seduced by flattering words, first deliuered into king Richards hands hir five daughters, as lambs once againe committed to the custodie of the rauenous wolfe.

After she sent letters to the marquesse hir sonne, being then at Paris with the earle of Richmond, willing him in anie wise to leaue the earle, and with out delaie to repaire into England, where for him were promised great honours, and honourable promotions; ascertaining him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven, and both he and the highlie incorporated in the kings heart. Surely the inconstancie of this woman were much to be marvelled at, if all women had bene found constant; but let men speake, yet women of the vortice bond of nature will follow their owne sex. But it was no small alluremeent that king Richard vied to ouercome hir (for we know by experience that women are of a proud disposition, and that the waie to winn them is by promises of preferment) and therefore it is the lesse marvelled that he by his wille wit had made conquest of hir wauering will. Besides that, it is to be presumed that the frowd in feare to impugne his demands by denials, least he in his malicious mood might take occasion to deale roughlie with hir, being a weake woman, and of a timorous spirit.

Now when king Richard had thus with glorious promises, and flattering words, pleased and appeased the mutable mind of queene Elizabeth, which knew nothing lesse than that he most intended; he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueied into his palace with solemne reueling: as though with his new familiar and louing interteinement they should forget, and in their minds blot out the old committed iniurie, and late executed tyrannie. Now nothing was contrarie and against his diuelish purpose, but that his mansion was not void of his wife, which thing he in any wise abnegged necessarie to be done. But there was one thing that so much feared and staied him from committing this abhominable murder, because (as you haue heard before) he began to counterfet the image of a god and well disposed person: and therefore he was afraid least the sudden death of his wife once openlie knowne, he should lose the god and credible opinion which the people had of him, without anie desert, conceived and reported.

But in conclusion, euill counsell persuaded in a wit latelie minded to mischief, and turned from all goodnesse. So that his vngracious desire ouercame his

Diuerse Englishmen
which either fled out of
England for feare, or were
at Paris to learne and
studie god literature and
vertuous doctrine, came
voluntarie and submitted
themselves to the earle of
Richmond in
France.

Richard
deuised to infringe and
disturbe the earle of
Richmonds
purpose.

Subtil and
two practice
of king Richard
to beguile the earle
of Richmond.

The
marquesse
of Richmond
Elizabeth.

Queene
Elizabeth
which
the
marquesse
Dorset
sonne
of France.

his honest feare. And first to enter into the gates of his imagined enterpise, he abstained both from the bed and companie of his wife. When he complained to diuerse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilitie and barrenesse of his wife, because she brought forth no fruit and generation of his bodie. And in especiall he recounted to Thomas Mothe-
 ram archbishop of Dorke (whome latelie he had deli-
 uered out of ward and captiuitie) these impediments of his queene, and diuerse other, thinking that he
 10 would reueale to hir all these things, trusting the se-
 quele hereof to take due effect, that the hearing this
 grudge of hir husband, & taking therfore an inward
 thought, would not long lue in this world.

Of this the bishop gathered (which well knew the
 complexion and visage of the king) that the queenes
 daies were short, and that he declared to certeine of
 his secret freinds. After this he procured a common
 rumor (but he would not haue the author knowne) to
 be published and spred abroad among the common
 people, that the queene was dead; to the intent that
 the taking some conceit of this strange fame, should
 fall into some sudden sickness or grievous maladie;
 and to psonne if afterwards she should fortune by
 that or anie other waies to lease hir life, whether the
 people would impute hir death to the thought or sick-
 nesse, or therof would laie the blame to him. Now
 when the queene heard tell that so horrible a rumor
 of hir death was sprung amongst the communalitie,
 she sore suspected and iudged the world to be almost
 at an end with hir. And in that sorrowfull agonie the
 with lamentable countenance and sorrowfull cheare,
 repaired to the presence of the king hir husband, be-
 minding of him what it should meane, that he had
 iudged hir worthe to die.

The king answered hir with faire words, and with
 smiling and flattering leadings comforted hir, and
 bid hir be of good cheere, for (to his knowledge) she
 should haue no other cause. But howsoever that it
 fortune, either by inward thought and pensiuess
 of hart, or by infection of poison (which is affirmed to
 be most likelie) within few daies after the queene de-
 parted out of this transitorie life, and was with due
 solemnitie buried in the church of S. Peter at West-
 minster. This is the same Anne, one of the daugh-
 ters of the earle of Warwicke, which (as you haue
 heard before) at the request of Lewes the French
 king was married to prince Edward, sonne to king
 Henrie the first. The king thus (according to his long
 desire) loosed out of the bonds of matrimonie, began
 to cast a foolish fantasie to ladie Elizabeth his nece,
 making much sute to haue hir ioined with him in
 lawfull matrimonie.

But because all men and the maiden hirselfe most
 of all detested and abhorred this vnlawfull, and in
 manner vnatuall copulation; he determined to pro-
 long and defer the matter, till he were in a more
 quietnesse. For all that verie season he was oppressed
 with great, weightie, and vrgent causes, and busines-
 ses on euerie side; considering that daile, part of the
 nobilitie sailed into France to the earle of Rich-
 mond: other priuillie favoured and aided certeine of
 the contrariation, so that of his short end few or none
 were in doubt. And the common people (for the most
 part) were brought to such desperation, that manie
 of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in
 the number of his enemies, than to abide the chance
 and hazards to haue their goods taken as a spoile of
 victorie, by his enemies. [In such hatred they had the
 wretch, wishing his hart in their hands with the ha-
 zard of their beades. For how can people saie well or
 thinke well of tyrants, whose properitie it is to teare
 them in peeces with their clawes, like a wolfe let
 loose among a fold of sheepe? Whereto Homer had

an eie when he said in pitieful sense as here followeth:

*Quisquis inhumanus studet infestabilis vri
 Moribus, hinc omnes viuo clam diraprecantur:
 Huic omnes credunt fus insultare perempto.]*

Amongst the noble men whome he most mistrus-
 ted, these were the principall. Thomas lord Stanleie,
 sir William Stanleie his brother, Gilbert Talbot,
 and sir hundred other: of whose purposes although
 king Richard were not ignorant, yet he gaue neither
 confidence nor credence to anie one of them; and least
 of all to the lord Stanleie, because he was ioined in
 matrimonie with the ladie Margaret, mother to the
 earle of Richmond, as afterward apparantlie yee
 may perceiue. For when the said lord Stanleie would
 haue departed into his countrie to visit his familie,
 and to recreate and refresh his spirits (as he openlie
 said, but the truth was, to the intent to be in a perfect
 readinesse to receiue the earle of Richmond at his
 first arrivall in England) the king in no wise would
 20 suffer him to depart, before he had left as an hostage
 in the court George Stanleie lord Strange, his first
 begotten sonne and heire.

While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed
 with imaginations of the troublous time that was
 like to come: lo, euen suddenlie he heard newes, that
 fire was sprung out of the smoke, and the war fresh-
 lie begun; and that the castell of Hammes was deli-
 uered into the hands of the earle of Richmond, by the
 means of the earle of Drford; and that not onlie he,
 but also James Blunt capteine of the castell, were
 fled into France to aid the earle Henrie. Wherefore
 he, thinking it great policie to withstand the first
 assault, sent the most part of the garrison of Calis, to
 reconer againe by force the castell of Hammes. They
 which were in the castell, perceiuing their aduersa-
 ries to approach, prepared munitions and engines for
 their defense, and sent also to the earle of Richmond,
 to aduertise him of their sudden inuasion, requiring
 him of hastie aid and speedie succour.

The earle sleeping not this first begun assault, sent
 the earle of Drford with an elected companie of sould-
 iers to raise the siege, and rescue the castell: which at
 their first arriuing pitched their campe not far from
 their enemies. Now while king Richards men gaue
 vigilant eie, waiting least the earle of Drford should
 take anie aduantage of them that laie on that side
 of the castell; Thomas Brandon with thirtie appo-
 50 ued men of war by a marish, which laie on the other
 side, entered into the castell. The souldiers within
 greatlie encouraged, & much comforted by this new
 succour and aid, grieved the enemies, by shooting
 from the walles more than they were accustomed to
 doe. When they of the castell vexed their enemies on
 the fore part: and the earle of Drford no lesse mole-
 sted & vniquieted them on the other part. Which was
 the occasion that king Richards men offered (of their
 owne meere motion) licence to all being within the
 castell to depart in safetie, with bag and baggage,
 nothing excepted.

Which condition the earle of Drford, comming
 onelie for that purpose to deliuer his louing freinds
 out of all perill and danger, and chiefe of all, his old
 hostesse Jane Blunt, wife to James Blunt the cap-
 teine, would in no wise for sake or refuse: and so lea-
 uing the castell bare and vngarnished both of vittels
 and artillerie, came safelie to the earle of Richmond
 sojourning in Paris. During this time, king Ri-
 chard was crediblie informed of his inquisitors and
 espials, that the earle of Richmond was with long
 sute in the court of France soze wearied; and desi-
 ring great aid, could obtaine small reliefe: in somuch
 that all things went so farre backwards, that such
 things as were with great diligence (and no lesse de-
 liberation) purposed and determined to be set for-
 ward,

Hom. Odys.
lib. 19.

what noble
men in Ri-
chard most
mistrusted.

1485
Anno Reg. 3.

The castell of
Hammes de-
liuered vnto
the earle of
Richmond.

Thomas
Brandon en-
tereth the ca-
stell.

why king
Richard gaue
licence to all
in the castell
to depart in
safetie with
bag and bag-
gage.

ward, were now dashed and overthrowne to the ground.

King Richard either being to light of credence, or seduced and deluded by his craftie tale-tellers, greatly reioiced, as though he had obtained the ouer hand of his enemies with triumphant victorie, and thought himselfe neuer so sweetly deliuered of all feare and dreadfull imaginations: so that he needed now no more once for that cause either to wake, or to breake his golden slepe. Wherefore he called home againe his ships of warre, which he had appointed to keepe the narrow seas, and dispatched all such souldiers as he had deputed to keepe certeine garrisons, and to stop certeine passages (as you haue heard before.) Yet lest he might for lacke of prouision be suddenly trapped, he straightlie charged and gaue in commandement to all noblemen, and especiallie such as inhabited nere the sea coast, and on the frontiers of Wales, that (according to the vse of the countrie) they should keepe diligent watch and strong ward, to the intent that his aduersaries in no wise should haue any place oportune easilie to take land, without defence or rebatting backe.

For the custome of the countries adioining nere to the sea is (speciallie in the time of warre) on euery hill or high place to erect a beacons with a great lantern in the top, which may be seene and discerned a great space off. And when the noise is once bruted that the enemies approach nere the land, they suddenly put fire in the lanternes, and make shouts and outcries from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some run in post from place to place, admonishing the people to be readie to resist the leopordie, and defend the perill. And by this policie the fame is soon blowne to euery citie and towne, in somuch that aswell the citizens as the rural people be in short space assembled and armed, to repell and put backe the new arrived enemies. [Whereas if the necessary vse of this visible warning were neglected, the policie of the enimie might prouide so preuaile, as that the people should sooner fall into perill irreuerable, than they could thinke on (much lesse provide) means to auoid it.]

But now to returne to our purpose. King Richard thus somewhat cased of his accustomed pensiuess, began to be a little more merrie, & toke lesse thought and care for outward enemies than he was wont to do: as who say, that he with politike prouision should withstand the destiny which hong ouer his head, and was ordeined in briefe time suddenly to fall. Such is the force and puissance of diuine iustice, that euery man shall lesse regard, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubt of all things, when he is most nereest punishment, and next to his mischance for his offenses & crimes. [For though God did forbear him a while, yet was that forbearance no acquittance, but rather a time of preparing & making by that which wanted of the plagues that God had purposed in iustice to poure vpon and ouerwhelme him for his foule offenses, which could not scape beaue iudgment & vengeance:

Nam scelus admissum poena seuerapremittit.

About this season, while the earle of Richmond was desiring aid of the French king, certeine noble men were appointed to rule the realme of France, during the minority of king Charles, which amongst themselves were not of one opinion. Of which dissention, Lewis duke of Orleans was the chiefe stirrer, who because he had married ladie Joane sister to the French king, toke vpon him aboue other the rule and administration of the whole realme. By reason of which controuersie, no one man was suffered to rule all. Wherefore the earle of Richmond was compelled to make site to euery one of the counsell seuerallie one after another, requiring and desiring them

of aid and reliefe in his weightie businesse, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. During which time, Thomas marquesse Dosset, which was (as you haue heard) intised by his mother to returne againe into England, partly despairing in the good successe of the earle of Richmond, and partly ouercome and vanquished with the faire glosing promises of king Richard: secretlie in the night season stole out of Paris, and with all diligent expedition toke his iourne toward Flanders.

When relation of his departure was made to the earle of Richmond, and the other noble men, no maruell though they were astonied and greatly amazed. Yet that notwithstanding, they required of the French king, that it might be lawfull for them in his name, and by his commandement, to take and staie their companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counsell, in what place within his realme and territorie so euer they could find him. Which petition once obtained, they sent out curroes into euery part, amongst whom Humfrie Cheine (playing the part of a good bloudhound) followed the tract of the ster so euen by the sent, that he ouertoke and apprehended him not far from Campeigne; and so with reason, and what with faire promises, being persuaded, he returned againe to his companions.

The earle of Richmond unburdened of this misadventure, least by lingering of daies, and prolonging of time, he might lose the great opportunitie of things to him offered and ministred: also least he should further wound and molest the minds of his faithfull and assured friends, which daily did expect and tarie for his coming, determined no longer to protract and deferre the time; but with all diligence and celeritie attempted his begun enterprise. And so obtaining of king Charles a small crew of men, and borrowing certeine summes of monie of him, and of diuerse other his priuate friends, for the which he left as debter (or more likelie as a pledge or hostage) lord Thomas marquesse Dosset (whome he halfe mistrusted) and sir John Bourchier, he departed from the French court, and came to the citie of Rone.

While he taried there, making prouision at Harflet in the mouth of the riuier of Sene for all things necessary for his nauie, tidings were brought to him that king Richard (being without children, & now a widower) intended hostile to marie the ladie Elizabeth his brothers daughter; and to prefer the ladie Cicilie his sister to a man found in a cloud, and of an vnknowne linage and familie. He toke these newes as a matter of no small moment; and so (all things considered) it was of no lesse importance than he toke it for. For this thing onelie toke awaie from him and all his companions their hope and courage, that they had to obtaine an happie enterprise. And therefore no maruell though it nipped him at the very stomack: when he thought, that by no possibilitie he might attaine the marriage of any of his daughters, which was the strongest foundation of his building; by reason whereof he iudged that all his friends in England would abandon and shrinke from him.

Wherefore, making not manie of his counsell, after diuerse consultations, he determined not yet to set forthward: but to tarie and attempt how to get more aid, more friends, and more stronger succours. And amongst all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by assintie in his aid, as a companion in armes, sir Walter Herbert, a man of an ancient stocke, & of great power among the Welsh, who had with him a faire ladie to his sister, of age ripe to be coupled with him in matrimonic. And for the attaining of this purpose, messengers were secretlie sent to Henrie earle of Northumberland (which had been

Richard called home his ships of warre from the narrow seas.

The vse of beacons in countries nere the sea coast.

Thomas Dosset his brother.

The earle of Richmond was highly amazed and grieved at the news of the French king's offer.

The French king's offer was highly prized and valued by the French king.

Dissention among the princes of France made the earle of Richmond renew his suit and put him to his shifts.

Sir Walter Herbert.

Henry's purpose was to couple him with the daughter of the earle of Northumberland.

for married another sister of sir Walter Herberts) to the intent that he should set forward all this devise and purpose: but the waies were so narrowlie watched, and so manie spies laid, that the messenger proceeded not in his iourne and businesse.

But in the meane season, there came to the earle a more sofull message from Morgan Kidwellie, learned in the temporall law, which declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valiantnesse than actiuitie, and John Sauage an approued capteine, would with all their power be partaker of his quarell. And that Reginald Hecie had collected and gotten together no small summe of monie for the payment of the wages to the souldiers and men of warre: admonishing him also to make quicke expedition, and to take his course directlie into Wales. The earle of Richmond, because he would no longer linger and waite his friends, living continuallie betwene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient hast to set forward, and caried to his ships armes, weapons, bittels, and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre.

After that all things were in readinesse, the earle being accompanied onlie with two thousand men, and a small number of ships laded by his anchors, and hailed by his sailles in the moneth of August, and sailed from Harfiet with so prosperous a wind, that the sequenty daie after his departure, he arrived in Wales in the evening, at a place called Milford haue, and incontinent toke land, and came to a place called Valle; where he heard saie that a certeine companie of his aduersaries were laid in garri- son to defend his arriuall all the last winter. And the earle at the sunne rising remoued to Hereford west, being distant from Valle not full ten miles, where he was iustlicie receiued of the people, and he arrived there so suddenlie, that he was come and entered the towne at the same time when the citizens had but knowledge of his coming.

Here he heard newes, which were as vntrue as they trulie were reported to him in Normandie; that Rice ap Thomas, and John Sauage, with bodie and goods, were determined to aid king Richard. While he and his companie were some what affonted at these new tidings, there came such message from the inhabitants of the towne of Penbroke, that refreshed and reuiued their frozen harts and daunted courages. For Arnold Butler a valiant capteine, which first asked pardon for his offenses before time committed against the earle of Richmond, and that obtained, declared to him that the Penbrochians were readie to serue and giue their attendance on their naturall and immediat lord Jasper earle of Penbroke. The earle of Richmond, hauing his armie thus increased, departed from Hereford west to the towne of Cardigan, being five miles distant from thence.

While the souldiers were refreshing and trimming themselves in their campe, strange tidings sprong among them without anie certeine author; that sir Walter Herbert, which late with a great crue of men at Carmarden, was now with a great armie readie to approach and bid them battell. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and every man assaid his armour and proued his weapon, and were prest to defend their enemies. And as they were in this fearfull doubt, certeine horsemen, which the earle had sent to make inquirie and search, returned and reported all the countrie to be quiet, and no let nor impediment to be laid or cast in their iourne. And euen at the same time, the whole armie was greatlie recomforted, by reason that the coming of Richard Griffith, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithstanding that he was confederate with sir Walter Herbert, and Richard ap Thomas; yet at that verie instant he came to the earle of Richmond

with all his companie, which were of no great number. After him the same daie came John Morgan with his men.

When the earle aduanced forward in good hast, making no repose or abode in anie one place. And to the intent to passe forward with sure and short expedition, he assaulted euerie place where his enemies had set anie men of warre; which with small force, and lesse difficultie, he briedlie did overcome & vanquish. And suddenlie he was by his espials ascertained, that sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas were in harnesse before him, readie to encounter with his armie, and to stop their passage. Wherefore like a valiant capteine he first determined to set on them, and either to destroye or to take them into his saueur, and after with all his power and puissance to giue battell to his mortall enimie king Richard. But to the intent his friends should know in what readinesse he was, and how he proceeded forward; he sent of his most secret and faithfull seruants with letters and instructions to the ladie Margaret his mother, to the lord Stanleie and his brother, to sir Gilbert Talbot, and to other his trustie friends; declaring to them that he being succoured and holpen with the aid and reliefe of his friends, intended to passe ouer the riuier of Seuerne at Shrewesburie, and so to passe directlie to the citie of London.

Wherefore he required them, as his speciall trust and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they would meet him by the waie with all diligent preparation; to the intent that he and they, at time and place conuenient, might communicate together the depenelle of all his doubtfull and weightie businesse. When the messengers were dispatched with these commandements and admonitions, he marched forward toward Shrewesburie: and in his passing, there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodlie band of Welchmen, which making an oath and promise to the earle, submitted himselfe wholly to his order and commandement. For the earle of Richmond two daies before made to him promise, that if he would sweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he would make him chiefe gouernour of Wales: which part as he faithfullie promised and granted, so (after that he had obtained and possessed the realme and diademe) he liberallie performed and accomplished the same.

In the meane time the messengers, that were sent, diligentlie executed their charge, and laden with rewards of them to whom they were sent, returned to him the same day that he entered into Shrewesburie: and made relation to him that his friends were readie in all points to do all things for him, which either they ought or might do. The earle Henrie brought in good hope with this pleasant message, continued forth his intended iourne, and came to a little towne called Newport, and pitching his campe on a little hill adioining, reposed himselfe there that night. In the euening the same daie came to him sir Gilbert Talbot, with the whole power of the young earle of Shrewesburie, then being in ward, which were accounted to the number of two thousand men. And thus his power increasing, he arrived at the towne of Stafford, and there paused.

There also came sir William Stanleie accompanied with a few persons. And after that the earle and he had communed no long time together; he reuerted to his souldiers, whom he had assembled together to serue the earle: which from thence departed to Lichfield, and lay without the walles in his campe all the night. The next morning he entered into the towne, and was with all hono? like a prince receiued. A daie or two before, the lord Stanleie, hauing in his hand almost five thousand men, lodged in the

The messengers were sent to the earle of Richmond.

The earle arrived at Hereford.

The earle of Richmond.

The earle of Richmond.

The earle sent both secret word to his mother and other his friends that he meant a direct passage to London & their conference.

Rice ap Thomas sweareth fealtie and seruice to the earle of Richmond.

The lord
Stanley de-
cise to avoid
suspicion of
Richard and
to save his
sonnes life.

same towne. But hearing that the erle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gaue to him place, dislodging him and his, and repaired to a towne called Aderstone, there abiding the coming of the erle. And this wilie for did this act, to auoid all suspicion on king Richards part.

For the lord Stanley was afraid, least if he should seeme openlie to be a fautor or aider to the erle his sonne in law, before the day of the battell, that king Richard, which yettterlie did not put in him diffidence and mistrust, would put to some cruell death his sonne and heire apparant George lord Strange, whome king Richard (as you haue heard before) kept with him as a pledge or hostage, to the intent that the lord Stanley his father should attempt nothing preiudiciall to him. King Richard at this season keeping his house in the castle of Nottingham, was informed that the erle of Richmond, with such banished men as were fled out of England to him, were now arrived in Wales, and that all things necessarie to his enterpryse were unprouided, unpurueied, and verie weakie, nothing meet to withstand the power of such as the king had appointed to meet him.

R. Richard
concerneth
the erle and
his power.

This rumor so inflated his mind, that in maner disdainning to heare speake of so small a companie, he determined at the first to take little or no regard to this so small a sparkle, declaring the erle to be innocent and vnwise, because that he rashly attempted such a great enterpryse with so small and thin a number of warlike persons: and therefore he gaue a definitive sentence, that when he came to that point that he should be compelled to fight against his will, he either should be apprehended aliue, or else by all likelihood he should of necessitie come to a shamefull confession: and that he trusted to be shortly done by sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with equall power and like authoritie.

But yett reuoluing and casting in his mind, that a small war begun and winked at, and not regarded, maie turne to a great broile and trouble; and that it was prudent policie not to contemne and disdain the little power and small weakenesse of the enimie (be it neuer so small) thought it necessarie to prouide for afterclaps that might happen & chance. [For victorie doth not alwaies follow the greatest multitude, neither is it a necessarie consequent, that the biggest bodie is indued with most force. For we see that the small viper is the huge buls deadle bane, and a little curie doth catch a boze boisterous and big; as the poet properlie (and to the purpose) verie well saith:

Ouid.

*Parua necat morfu spatiosum vipera tantum,
A cane non magno sepe tenetur aper.*

The king sendeth
to his
friends for a
chosen power
of men.

Therefore he sent to John duke of Norfolk, Henrie erle of Northumberland, Thomas erle of Surrie, and to other of his especiall & trustie friends of the nobilitie, which he iudged moze to preferre and esteeme his wealth and honour, than their owne riches and priuate commoditie; willing them to muster and bieu all their seruants and tenants, and to elect and chuse the most couragious and adriue persons of the whole number, and with them to repaire to his presence with all speed and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Brakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him with his power to come to his armie, and to bring with him (as fellows in armes) sir Thomas Bourchier, & sir Walter Hungerford, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, in whom he cast no small suspicion.

Now while he was thus ordering his affaires, tidings came that the erle of Richmond was passed Seuerne, & come to Shrewesburie without anie detriment or incumbiance. At which message he was sore moued and broiled with melancholie and dolor, crying out, & asking vengeance of them that (against

their oth and promise) had so deceiued him. For which cause he began to haue diffidence in other, inasmuch that he determined himselfe out of hand the same daie to meet with and resist his aduersaries: and in all haste sent out espials to bieu and espie what waie his enemies kept and passed. They diligently doing their dutie, shortly after returned, declaring to the king that the erle was incamped at the towne of Lichfield.

The erle
incamped
at Lichfield.

When he had perfect knowledge where the erle with his armie was sojourning, he hauing continued repaire of his subiects to him, began incontinently without delaie to marchall and put in order his battels (like a valiant capteine and polittike leader) and first he made his battels to set forward, first and first in a ranke, marching toward that waie where his enemies (as was to him reported) intended to passe. In the middle part of the armie, he appointed the traffike and cartage pertaining to the armie. Then he (inuiroed with his gard) with a flowing countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great white courser, and followed with his footmen, the wings of horsemen coasting and ranging on euerie side: and keeping this arrate, he with great pompe entered the towne of Lichfield after the sunne set (full of indignation & malice, which vttered it selfe from the inward hart by the mouth, out of which flowed speaches of horrible heate, tempered with cruel theatinings, equall to his of whome it was thus said long ago:

Horrebant seuis omnia verbumini.]

The erle of Richmond raised his campe, and departed from Lichfield to the towne of Laimworth, therto nere adjoining, and in the mid way passing, there saluted him sir Walter Hungerford, and sir Thomas Bourchier knights, and diuerse other which yeldeo and submitted themselves to his pleasure. For they, being aduertised that king Richard had them in suspicion and gelousie, a little beyond stone stratford left and forsoke the pntlie their capteine Robert Brakenberie; and wandering by night, and in maner by vnknowne paths, and vn certaine waies searching, at the last came to erle Henrie. Diuerse other noble personages, which inwardlie hated king Richard worse than a tode or a serpent, did likewise resort to him with all their power and strength, to thing and working his destruction, who otherwise would haue bene the instrument of their casting away.

The erle of
Richmond
moueth his
power to
Laimworth.

There happened in this progression to the erle of Richmond a strange chance worthie to be noted. For albeit he was a man of valiant courage, & that his armie increased, and daile moze and moze he waxed mightier and stronger; yett he was not a little afraid, because he could in no wise be assured of his father in law Thomas lord Stanley, which for feare of the destruction of the lord Strange his sonne (as you haue heard) as yett inclined to neither partie. For if he had gone to the erle, and that notified to king Richard, his sonne had bene shortly executed. Wherefore he accompanied with twentie light horsemen lingered in his iournie, as a man musing & imagining what was best to be done. And the moze to aggravate his pensiuenesse, it was shewed him, that king Richard was at hand with a strong power & a great armie.

While he thus heauilie dragged behind his host, the whole armie came before the towne of Laimworth; and when he for the deepe darknesse could not perceiue the steps of them that passed on before, and had wandered hither & thither, seeking after his companie, and yett not once hearing anie noise or whispering of them; he turned to a verie little village, being about thre miles from his armie, taking great thought, and much fearing lest he should be espied, and so trapped by king Richards scoutwatch. There he

A strange
chance that
happened
to the erle of
Richmond.

The erle of
Richmond
put to rest
his
be

King Richard
multifich him-
selfe and his
gouernement.

and type of this famous realme, and noble region: by whose puillance & balianteſſe I haue inioind and poſſeſſed the ſtate roiall & dignitie of the ſame, maugre the ill will and ſeditious attempts of all my cankered enimies, and inſidious aduerſaries: by whose prudent & politike counſell I haue ſo gouerned my realme, people, & ſubiect, that I haue omitted nothing apperteyning to the office of a iuſt prince; nor you haue pretermitted nothing belonging to the dutie of wiſe and ſage counſelloz. So that I maie ſaie, and trulie affirme, that your approued fidelitie & tried conſtancie, maketh me to beleue firmelie, and thinke that I am an vndoubted king, and an indubitate prince.

And although in the adeption and obtaining of the garland, I being ſeduced, and provoked by ſinſter counſell, and diabolicall temptation, did commit a wicked and deteſtable act: yet I haue with ſtreit penance and ſalt tears (as I truſt) expiated & clereſſe purged the ſame offence: which abhominable crime I requirer you of friendſhip as clereſſe to forget, as I daile remember to deplore and lament the ſame. If ye will euen now diligentlie call to remembrance in what caſe and perplexitie we do ſtand; and in what doubtfull perill we be all intrapped; I doubt not but you in heart will thinke, and with mouth confeſſe, that if euer amitie and faith preuailed betwene prince and ſubiect, or betwene ſubiect and ſubiect; or if euer bond of allegiance obliged the baſſall to loue and ſerue his naturall ſouereigne lord; or if anie obligation of dutie bound anie prince to aid & defend his ſubiect: all theſe loues, bonds, and duties of neceſſitie are now this day to be tried, ſeised, and put in experience.

He ſpeaketh
oppoſitionallie
of the earle of
Richmond.

For if wiſe men ſaie true (as they do not lie) there is ſome policie in getting, but much more in keeping; the one being but fortunes chance, & the other high wit and policie. For which cauſe, I with you, and you with me, muſt needs this day take labour and paine, to keepe and defend with force, that preheminence and poſſeſſion, which by your prudent deuiles I haue gotten & obtained. I doubt not but you know how the diuell (continuall enimie to humane nature, diſturber of concord, & ſower of ſedition) hath entered into the heart of an vnknowne Welſhman (whose father I neuer knew, nor him perſonallie ſaw) exciting him to aſpire and couet our realme, crowne, and dignitie, and thereof clereſſe to depriue and ſpoile vs and our poſteritie. Ye ſe further, how a companie of traitozs, chaues, outlawes, and runnagates of our owne nation, be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterpriſe, readie at hand to overcome and oppreſſe vs.

You ſe alſo, what a number of beggerlie Britans and faint-hearted Frenchmen be with him arrived to deſtroye vs, our wines and children. Which imminent miſchiefes and apparant inconueniencies, if we will

withſtand & reſell, we muſt liue together as brethren, fight together like lions, & feare not to die together like men. And obſeruing and keeping this rule and precept, beleue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faſter before the greedie grethound, nor the ſillie lark before the ſparrowhawk, nor yet the ſimple ſhepe before the rauenous wolfe; than your proud bragging aduerſaries, altonied and amazed with the onelic ſight of your manlie viſages, will fle, run, and ſkir out of the field. For if you conſider and wiſelie ponder all things in your mind, you ſhall perceiue, that we haue manifold cauſes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie.

And to begin with the erle of Richmond capteine of this rebellion, he is a Welſh milkeſop, a man of ſmall courage, and of leſſe experience in martiall acts and feats of warre, brought up by my mothers meanes, and mine, like a captiue in a cloſe cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine; and neuer ſaw armie, nor was exerciſed in martiall affaires: by reaſon whereof he neither can, nor is able by his owne will or experience to guide or rule an hoſt. For in the wit and policie of the capteine conſiſteth the chiefe adeption of the victorie, and ouerthrow of the enimies. Secondly feare not, but put awaie all doubts; for when the traitozs and runnagates of our realme, ſhall ſee vs with banner diſplayed come againſt them, remembering their oath, promiſe, and fidelitie made vnto vs, as to their ſouereigne lord and anointed king; they ſhall be ſo pricked and ſtung in the bottome of their ſcrupulous conſciences, that they for verie remorde and dread of the diuine plague, will either ſhamefullie fle, or humble ſubmit themſelues to our grace and mercie.

And as for the Frenchmen and Britans, their balianteſſe is ſuch, that our noble progenitors, and your baliant parts haue them oftener banquiſhed and overcome in one moneth, than they in the beginning imagined poſſible to compaſſe and finiſh in a whole yeare. What will you make of them: braggers without audacitie, drunkards without diſcretion, ribalds without reaſon, cowards without reſiſting, and in conſequence, the moſt effeminate and laſciuous people that euer ſhewed themſelues in front of battell; ten times more courageous to fle & eſcape, than once to aſſault the breaſt of our ſtrong & populous armie. Wherefore conſidering all theſe aduantage, expell out of your thoughts all doubts, auoid out of your minds all feare; and like baliant champions aduance forth your ſtandards, & aſſaie whether your enimies can decide and trie the title of battell by dint of ſword. Aduance (I ſay againe) forward my capteins, in whome lacketh neither policie, wiſedome, nor yet puillance. Euerie one giue but one ſure ſtroke, & ſuccelie the iournie is ours. What preuaileth a handfull to a whole realme?

Which ſpeech
perſuade vs
capteins
the earle of
Richmond is
no ſcaring.

Frenchmen
Britans
great boars
ſmall rollers

Deſiring

Richard the third
the earle
of Richmond
the earle
of Richmond
the earle
of Richmond

Desiring you (for the loue that you beare to me) and the affection that you haue to your natue and naturall countrie, and to the safegard of your prince & your selues, that you will this daie take to you your accustomed courage and couragious spirits, for the defense and safegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this daie I will triumph by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortall fame. For they be married and out of the palace of fame disgraced, dieng without renoume, which do not asmuch prefer and exalt the perpetual honor of their natue countrie, as their owne mortall and transitorie life. Now saint George to horow, let vs set forward, and remember well, that I am he which shall with high aduancements reward and preferre the valiant and hardie champions, and punish and torment the shamefull cowards, and dreadfull daards.

This exhortation encouraged all such as fauoured him; but such as were present (more for dread than loue) hated them openlie, whome they inwardlie hated. Other swore outwardlie to take part with such, whose death they secretlie compassed, and inwardlie imagined. Other promised to invade the kings enemies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the king. Other stood still and looked on, intending to take part with the victors and ouercommers. So was his people to him vntrue and vnfaithfull at his end, as he was to his nephues vntrue and vnnatural in his beginning. [How then was it possible that this princes regiment could long stand, seeing the preservation and prologation of his reigne consisted not in the loue of his subjects? In place thereof because feare (yea ferule and forced feare succeeded) he was the sooner forsaken of his people, whose hearts fell from him as licles from a penthouse in a sunnie daie; and in this case the poet saith truelie, and was well worthy of credit when he craued it, saying:

Credite quem metuit quisq; perire capit.

When the earle of Richmond knew by his followers that the king was so nere imbatelled, he rode about his armie from ranke to ranke, & from wing to wing, giuing comfortable words to all men, and that finished (being armed at all peeces, saving his helmet) mounted on a little hill, so that all his people might see and behold him perfectlie, to their great reioicing. For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decozated with all gifts and lineaments of nature, that he seemed more an angelicall creature, than a terrestriall personage. His countenance and aspect was cherefull and couragious, his haire yellow like the burnished gold, his eyes graie shining and quicke; prompt and readie in answering, but of such sobrietie, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were more dull than quicke in speaking (such was his temperance). Now when he had overlooked his armie ouer euerie side, he paused awhile, and after with a low voice and bold spirit spake to his companions these, or the like words following.

The oration of king Henrie the seventh to his armie.



If euer God gaue victorie to men fighting in a iust quarrell, or if he euer aided such as made warre for the wealth & ruination of their

owne naturall and nutritiue countrie, or if he euer succoured them which aduentured their liues for the relafe of innocents, suppressing of malefactors and apparant offenders; no doubt my fellows & friends, but he of his bountifull goodnesse will this daie send vs triumphant victorie, and a luckie tourne ouer our proud enemies, and arrogant aduersaries: for if you remember and consider the bette cause of our iust quarrell, you shall apparantlie perceiue the same to be true, godlie, and vertuous. In the which I doubt not, but God will rather aid vs (yea and fight for vs) than let vs be banquished and ouerthrowne by such as neither feare him nor his laws, nor yet regard iustice or honestie.

Our cause is so iust, that no enterpryse can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuill. For what can be a more honest, godlie, or godlie quarrell, than to fight against a capteine, being an homicide and murthurer of his owne blood or progenie, an extreme destroyer of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrie and the poore subjects of the same a deadly mallet, a drie brand, and a burthen intollerable. Beside him, consider who be of his band and company: such as by murther and buttrich committed against their owne kin and lineage, yea against their prince and seueraigne lord, haue disherited me and you, and wrongfullie deteine and blurpe our lawfull patrimonie & lineall inheritance. For he that calleth himselfe king, keepeth from me the crowne and regiment of this noble realme and countrie, contrarie to all iustice and equitie.

Likewise, his mates and friends occupie your lands, cut downe your woods, and destroye your manors, letting your viues and children range abroad for their liuing: which persons for their penance and punishment I doubt not, but God of his godnes will ether deliuer into our hands, as a great gaine and bootie; or cause them (being greued and compuncted with the pricke of their corrupt consciences) cowardlie to flie, and not abide the battell. Beside this I assure you, that there be yonder in the great battell, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue; souldiers by force compelled, and not with good will assembled; persons which desire rather the destruction than saluation of their maister and capteine: and finally, a multitude, whereof the most part will be our friends, and the least part our enemies.

For truelie I doubt which is greater, the malice of the souldiers toward their capteine; or the feare of him conceived of his people. For suerlie this rule is infallible, that as ill men daile court to destroye the good; so God appointeth the good men to confound the ill. And of all worldlie goods the greatest is to suppress tyrants, and relafe innocents; whereof the one is as much hated, as the other is beloued. If this be true (as clearely preach) who will spare

The earles
cause iust and
right, & there-
fore like of
good successe.

A great mo-
tione to the no-
bles & gentles
assisting the
earle.

The oration of
king Henrie the
seventh to his
armie.

St. Richard
offe ites and
ill qualities
summarie
touchen by
the carle.

spare ponder tyrant Richard duke of Glo-
cester, but tricke calling him selfe king, con-
sidering that he hath violated and broken
both the lawes of God and man: What
vertue is in him which was the confusion
of his brother, and murtherer of his ne-
phewes: What mercie is in him that slei-
eth his trustie frends as well as his ex-
treame enemies: Who can haue confi-
dence in him which putteth diffidence in
all men?

If you haue not read, I haue heard good
clarkes saie, that Tarquine the proud for
the vice of the bodie lost the kingdome of
Rome; and the name of Tarquine bani-
shed the cite for euer: yet was not his
fault so detestable as the fact of cruell Pe-
ro, which slue his own mother, and opened
his entrails, to behold the place of his
conception. Behold ponder Richard, which
is both Tarquine and Pero: yea a tyrant
more than Pero, for he hath not onlie mur-
thered his nephew being his king and soue-
reigne lord, bastarded his noble brethren,
and defamed the wombe of his vertuous
and womanlie mother; but also compassed
all the meanes and waies that he could in-
uent, how to defile and carnallie know his
owne merce, vnder the pretense of a cloked
matrimonie, which ladie I haue sware
and promised to take to my make and wife,
as you all know and beleue.

If this cause be not iust, and this quarrell
godlie: let God (the giuer of victorie) iudge
and determine. We haue (thanks be gi-
uen to Christ) escaped the secret treasons
in Britaine, and auoided the subtile snares
of our fraudulent enemies there, passed the
troubulous seas in good and quiet safegard,
and without resistance haue ouergone the
ample region & large countrie of Wales,
and are now come to the place which we
so much desired: for long we haue fought
the furious boze, and now we haue found
him. Therefore let vs not feare to enter
into the toile, where we may suerlie sleie
him; for God knoweth that we haue liued
in the vales of miserie, tossing our ships in
dangerous stormes: let vs not now dread
to let vp our full sailes in faire weather,
hauling with vs both God and good for-
tune.

If we had come to conquer Wales and
had atchieued it, our praise had bene great,
and our gaine more: but if we win this
battell, the whole rich realme of England,
with the lords and rulers of the same, shall
be ours; the profit shall be ours, and the ho-
nour shall be ours. Therefore labour for
your gaine, & sweate for your right. While
we were in Britaine, we had small liuings
and little plentie of wealth or welfare; now
is the time come to get aboundance of ri-
ches, and copie of profit; which is the re-
ward of your seruice, and merit of your
paines. And this remember with your
selues, that before vs be our enemies; and
on either side of vs be such, as I neither
suerlie trust, nor gratefully beleue; backe-

ward we cannot fle; so that here we stand
like sharpe in a fold, circumuented and com-
passed betwene our enemies and our dour-
full frends.

Therefore let all feare be set aside, and
like sware brethren let vs ioine in one; for
this daie shall be the end of our trauell, and
the gaine of our labour, either by honora-
ble death or famous victorie: and as I
trust, the battell shall not be so slowe, as
the profit shall be swate. Remember that
victorie is not gotten with the multitudes
of men, but with the courages of hearts,
and ballantnesse of minds. The smaller
that our number is, the more glorie is to
vs if we banquish: if we be ouercome, yet
no laud is to be attributed to the victors,
considering that ten men fought against
one. And if we die so glorious a death in
so good a quarrell, neither fretting time, nor
cancarding obliuion, shall be able to dar-
ken or rase out of the booke of fame either
our names, or our godlie attempt. And
this one thing I assure you, that in so iust
and good a cause, and so notable a quarrell,
you shall find me this daie rather a dead
carrion vpon the cold ground, than a free
prisoner on a carpet in a ladies chamber.

Let vs therefore fight like mutincible gi-
ants, and set on our enemies like bitu-
rous tigers, & banish all feare like rapp-
ing lions. And now aduance forward true
men against traitors, pitifull persons a-
gainst murtherers, true inheritors a-
gainst blurspers, the scourges of God a-
gainst tyrants. Displaie my banner with a
good courage, march forth like strong and
robustious champions, and begin the bat-
tell like hardie conquerors. The battell is
at hand, and the victorie approacheth; and if
we shamefullie recule, or cowardlie fle; we
and all our sequele be destroyed, and disho-
nored for euer. This is the daie of gaine,
and this is the time of losse; get this daie
victorie, and be conquerors: and lese this
daies battell, and be villaines. And there-
fore in the name of God and S. George, let
euerie man couragiously aduance forth
his standard.

These cherefull words he set forth with such ge-
sture of his bodie, & smiling countenance, as though
alreadie he had banquished his enemies, and gotten
the spoile. He had scantlie finished his saying, but the
one armie spied the other. Lords how hastily the soldi-
ers buckled their healmes, how quicklie the archers
bent their bowes and frusht their feathers, how readi-
lie the bilmen shoke their billes, and proued their
suaues, readie to approach and ioine, when the terrible
trumpet should sound the bloudie blast to victorie or
death! Betwixte both armies there was a great
marish then (but at this present, by reason of dikes
cast, it is growne to be firme ground) which the carle
of Richmond left on his right hand; for this intent,
that it should be on that side a defense for his part,
and in so doing he had the sunne at his backe, and in
the faces of his enemies. When king Richard saw
the earles companie was passed the marsh, he did
command with all hast to set vpon them. When the
trumpets sounded, and the soldiers shouted, and the
king

Richard
sitteth on
multitudes
but in
manly
valour.

Is Richard
a notorious
tyrant.

Incourage-
ments to his
armie to place
the men in a
iust cause.

The battell
betweene king
Richard and
king Henry
the seventh,
called the
battell of
Bosworth.

The picture
of the carle

hungs archers couragiously let flye their arrowes. The earles bowmen slow not still, but paid them home againe.

The terrible shot once passed, the armies joined and came to hand-strokes, where neither sword nor bill was spared. At which encounter, the lord Stanleie joined with the earle. The earle of Orford in the meane season, fearing least while his companie was fighting, they should be compassed and circumvented with the multitude of the enemies, gave commandement in euerie ranke, that no man should be so hardie, as to go aboute ten feet from the standard. Which commandment once heare, they knit themselves together, and ceased a little from fighting. The aduersaries suddenly aduanced in the matter, and not trusting some fraud and deceit, began also to pause and left striking; and not against the wills of manie, which had rather had the king destroyed, than saved, and therefore they fought verie faintlie, or stood still.

The earle of Orford, bringing all his band together on the one part, set on his enemies freshlie againe. The aduersaries perceiving that, placed their men slender and thin before, but thicke and broad behind, beginning againe hartlie the battell. While the two fore-wards thus mortallie fought, each intending to vanquish and conuince the other; king Richard was admonished by his explorators and espials, that the earle of Richmond (accompanied with a small number of men of armes) was not far off. And as he approached and marched toward him, he perceived alie knew his personage by certeine demonstrations and tokens, which he had learned and known of others that were able to give him full information. Now being inflamed with ire, and vexed with outrageous malice, he put his spurs to his horse, and rode out of the side of the range of his battell, leaving the bent-gard fighting; and like a hungry lion ran with speare in rest toward him. The earle of Richmond perceived well the king furiously coming toward him, and because the whole hope of his wealth and purpose was to be determined by battell, he gladlie proffered to encounter with him bodie to bodie, and man to man.

King Richard set on so sharplie at the first brunt, that he overthrew the earles standard, and slew sir William Brandon his standard-bearer (which was father to sir Charles Brandon by king Henrie the right created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand with sir John Cheitie, a man of great force and strength, which would have resisted him: but the said John was by him manfully overthromen. And so he making open passage by dint of sword as he went forward, the earle of Richmond withstood his violence, and kept him at the sword's point without advantage, longer than his companions either thought or iudged: which being almost in despair of victorie, were suddenly recomforted by sir William Stanleie, which came to his succors with three thousand tall men. At which verie instant, king Richards men were driven backe and fled, & he himselfe manfully fighting in the middle of his enemies, was slaine, and (as he worthilie had deserved) came to a bloudie death, as he had lead a bloudie life.

In the meane season, the earle of Orford with the aid of the lord Stanleie, after no long fight, discomfited the fore-ward of king Richard, whereof a great number were slaine in the chase and fight: but the greatest number which (compelled by feare of the king, and not of their owne voluntarie motion) came to the field, gave neuer a stroke, and having no harme nor damage, safely departed, which came not thither in hope to see the king prosper and preuaile, but to heare that he should be shamefullie confounded and brought to ruine. In this battell died few a

boue the number of a thousand persons: and of the nobilitie were slaine John duke of Suffolke, which was warned by diuerse to refraine from the field, in so much that the night before he should set forward toward the king, or wrote this rime upon his gate:

Jacke of Norfolk be not too bold,

For 'Dik on thy maister is bought and sold.

Yet all this notwithstanding, he regarded more his oth, his honor, and promise made to king Richard, like a gentleman; and as a faithfull subiect to his prince, absented not himselfe from his maister; but as he faithfullie lived under him, so he manfully died with him, to his great fame and laud. And therefore, though his seruice was ill employed in aid of a tyrant (whome it had bene more honorable to haue suppressed than supported) yet because he had upon his fealtie undertaken to fight in his quarell, he thought it lesse losse of life and living than of glorie & honour: so that he might haue said, in respect of his loialtie & promised truth testified with constancie to the death:

Est mihi supplicium causasse pium.

There were slaine beside him, Walter lord Ferrers of Chartleie, sir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Bakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, and not manie gentlemen more. Sir William Catesbie learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe counsellors to the late king, with diuerse other, were two daies after beheaded at Leicester. Amongst them that ran awaie, were sir Francis vicount Lonell, and Humfreie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother, which toke sanctuary in saint Johns at Gloucester. Of captiues and prisoners there were a great number. For after the death of king Richard was knowne and published, euerie man in manner vnarming himselfe, & casting awaie his habiliments of warre, meeklie submitted themselves to the obedience and rule of the earle of Richmond: of the which the more part had gladlie so done in the beginning, if they might haue conuenientlie escaped from king Richards espials, which hauing as cleere eyes as Lynx, and open eares as Aspidas, ranged & searched in euerie quarter.

Amongst these was Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, which (whether it was by the commandement of king Richard, putting diffidence in him; or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the earle) stood still with a great companie, and intermitted not in the battell, which was continually recelued into fauour and made of the council. But Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, which submitted himselfe there, was not taken to grace; because his father was chiefe counsellor, and he greatly familiar with king Richard, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remained; and in conclusion deliuered, was for his truth and fidelitie after promoted to high honors, offices and dignities. On the earle of Richmonds part were slaine scarce one hundred persons, among whome the principall was sir William Brandon his standard-bearer. This battell was fought at Bosworth in Leicestershire, the two and twentieth daie of August, in the yeare of our redemption 1485. The whole conflict indured little about two houres.

King Richard (as the same went) might haue escaped and gotten safeguard by fleeing. For when the which were next about his person, saw and perceived at the first joining of the battell the souldiers faintlie and nothing couragiously to set on their enemies; and not onlie that, but also that some withdrew themselves priuile out of the prease and departed; they began to suspect fraud and to smell treason; and not onlie exhorted, but determinallie aduised him to save himselfe by flight. And when the losse of the battell was imminent and apparant, they brought to him a swift

Duke of Norfolkke slaine in the field.

*Richard.

Ouid. what persons of name were slaine on king Richards side.

Erle of Surreie committed to the Tower notwithstanding his submission.

How king Richard might haue escaped.

Erle of Orford

Erle of Richmond

Erle of Richmond

Erle of Richmond

swift and a light horse, to conueie him awaie. He which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare toward him, casting awaie all hope of fortunate successe and happie chance to come, answered (as men saie) that on that daie he would make an end of all battels, or else there finish his life. Such a great audacitie and such a stomach reigned in his bodie.

For suerlie he knew that to be the daie, in the which it should be decided and determined whether he should peaceablie obtaine and inioy his kingdome during his life, or else vtterlie forgo and be deprived of the same. With which too much hardines he being ouercome, hastily closed his helmet, and entered fiercelie into the hard battell, to the intent to obtaine that daie a quiet reigne and regiment; or else to finish there his vnquiet life, and vnfortunat gouernance. And so this miser at the same verie point had like chance and fortune, as happeneth to such which in place of right iustice and honestie, following their sensuall appetite, loue, and vse to embrace mischief, tyrannie, and vnchastitie. Suerlie these be examples of more vehemencie, than mans tong can expresse, to feare and astonish such cuill persons, as will not haue one houre vacant from doing and exercising crueltie, mischief, or outrageous liuing.

When the earle had thus obtained victorie, and slaine his mortall enimie, he kneeled downe and reuered to almightie God his hartie thanks, with deuout and godlie orisons, beseeching his godnesse to send him grace to aduance and defend the catholike faith; and to mainteine iustice and concord amongst his subiects and people, by God now to his gouernance committed & assigned. Which prayer finished, he replenished with incomparable gladnesse ascended vp to the top of a little mountaine, where he not onelie praised and lauded his valiant souldiers; but also gaue vnto them his hartie thanks, with promise of condigne recompense for their fidelitie and valiant facts, willing and commanding all the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcases to be deliuered to the sepulture. When the people reioiced, and claped their hands, crieng vp to heauen; King Henrie, King Henrie.

When the lord Stanleie saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he took the crowne of king Richard which was found amongst the spoile in the field, and set it on the earles head; as though he had bene elected king by the voice of the people, as in ancient times past in diuerse realmes it hath bene accustomed: and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicitie. ¶ I must put you here in remembrance, how that king Richard (putting some diffidence in the lord Stanleie) had vnto him as an hostage the lord Strange, his eldest sonne, which lord Stanleie (as ye haue heard before) ioined not at the first with his sonne in lawes armie, for feare the king would haue slaine the lord Strange his heire.

When king Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a pursuant to the lord Stanleie, commanding him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his presence; which thing if he refused to do, he swore by Christes passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before he dined. The lord Stanleie answered the pursuant that if the king did so, he had more sonnes aliue; and as to come to him, he was not then so determined. When king Richard heard this answer, he commanded the lord Strange incontinent to be beheaded; which was at that verie same season, when both the armies had fight ech of other. But the counsellors of king Richard pondered the time and cause, knowing also the lord Strange to be innocent of his fathers offense, & perswaded the king that it was now time to fight, & no time to execute.

Besides that, they aduised him to keepe the lord Strange as prisoner till the battell were ended, and then at leisure his pleasure might be accomplished. So (as God would) king Richard brake his holie oath, and the lord was deliuered to the keepers of the kings tents, to be kept as prisoner. Which, when the field was done, and their maister slaine, and proclamation made to know where the child was, they submitted themselves as prisoners to the lord Strange, and he gentlie received them, and brought them to the new proclaimed king; where, of him and of his father he was receiued with great ioy. After this the whole campe removed with bag and baggage.

The same night in the euening, king Henrie with great pompe came to the towne of Leicester; where as well for the refreshing of his people & souldiers, as for preparing all things necessarie for his iournie toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two daies. In the meane season the dead corps of king Richard was shamefullie caried to the towne of Leicester, as he gorgeouslie (the day before) with pompe and pride departed out of the same towne. For his bodie was naked and despoiled to the skin, and nothing left about him, not so much as a clout to couer his priuite members, and was trusted behind a pursuant of arms, one Blanche Senglier, or White boze, like a hog or calfe, his head and armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and his legs on the other side, and all bespinkled with mire and bloud he was brought to the graie friers church within the towne, and there late like a miserable spectacle.

But suerlie considering his mischievous acts and vngratious doings, men made wonder at such a castife, who although he deserued no buriall place either in church or churchyard, chappell or chancell, but otherwise to haue bin bestowed: yet in the said church he was with no lesse funerall pompe & solemnitie interred, than he would be to done at the buriall of his innocent nephues, whome he caused cruellie to be murdered, and vnnaturallie killed. Now when his death was knotone, few lamented, and manie reioiced. The proud bragging white boze (which was his badge) was violentlie rased & plucked downe from euerie signe and place where it might be espied: so ill was his life, that men wished the memorie of him to be buried with his carren ceps. He reigned two yeers, two moneths, and one daie (so long by six and twentie moneths, and foure and twentie houres in most mens opinions, to whome his name and presence was as sweet and delectable, as his doings princelie, and his person amiable.)

As he was small and little of stature, so was he of bodie greatlie deformed; the one shoulder higher than the other; his face was small, but his countenance cruell, and such, that at the first aspect a man would fudge it to sauour and smell of malice, fraud, and deceit. When he stood musing, he would bite and chaw busilie his nether lip; as who said, that his fierre nature in his cruell bodie alwaies chased, stirred, and was euer vnquiet: beside that, the dagger which he ware, he would (when he studied) with his hand plucke vp & dowe in the sheath to the midst, neuer drawing it fullie out: he was of a readie, pregnant, and quicke wit, tollie to feine, and apt to dissemble: he had a proud mind, and an arrogant stomach, the which accompanied him euen to his death, rather choosing to suffer the same by dint of sword, than being forsaken and left helpelesse of his vnfaithfull companions, to preferue by cowardlie flight such a fraille and vncertaine life, which by malice, sickness, or condigne punishment was like sportlie to come to confusion.

Thus ended this prince his mortall life with infamie and dishonour, which neuer preferred fame or honestie

The deuout
behaviour of
the earle of
Richmond
after the vic-
torie.

The lord
Stanleie set-
teth & crown-
eth king Hen-
ries head.

The lord
Stanleies bold
answer to R.
Richards
pursuant.

Proclamation
made to know
where the child
was.

The shame-
full carage of
R. Richards
bodie to the
church.

R. Richards
badge and
cognitions
were taken
downe.

The deforme-
tion of king
Richard.

ness before ambition, tyrannie and mischief. And if he had continued still protector, and suffered his nephews to have lived and reigned, no doubt but the realm had prospered, & he as much praised & loved as he is now had in hatred: but to God, which know his inward thoughts at the houre of his death, I remit the punishment of his offenses committed in his life; which if the one be as manifold as the other, Gods iustice were not to be charged with crueltie. For by nature he is mercifull, slow to anger, and loth to smite: but yet crueltie sinne (in respect of his righteousness) being deadlie (much more heinous and horrible) how can he but by iustice (which is an essentiall vertue in him) punish it feruelie? And if he did it with ten thousand torments, who shall be so hardie as to episcopate and reason why he so doth?

But to leaue the tyrant as he died, you shall understand that A. Henrie the seventh caused a towe to be made and set by ouer the place where he was buried, in the church of the graie friers at Leicester, with a picture of alabaster representing his person, doing that honour to his enimie, vpon a princelie regard and pittifull zeale, which king Richard (moued of an hypocriticall shew of counterfeitt pittie) did to king Henrie the first, whom he had first crueltie murdered, and after in the second yeare of his blurped reigne, caused his corps to be remoued from Chertseie vnto Windsor, and there solemnlie interred. And now to conclude with this cruell tyrant king Richard, we may consider in what sort the ambitious desire to rule and gouerne in the house of Booke, was punished by Gods iustt providence.

For although that the right might seeme to remaine in the person of Richard duke of Booke, laine at Wakefield yet maie there be a fault worthilie reputed in him, so to seeke to preuent the time appointed him by authoritie of parlement to attaine to the crowne intailed to him and his issue; in whome also, and not onelie in himselfe, that offense (as maie bee thought) was duilie punished. For althou, his eldest sonne Edward the fourth, being a prince right proud and circumpect for the suertie of his stonell estate and his children, insomuch that not content to cut off all his armed and apparant enimies, he also of a gealous feare, made a waite his brother the duke of Clarence, and so thought to make all sure: yet Gods vengeance might not be disappointed, for (as ye haue partly heard) he did but further thereby the destruction of his issue, in taking a waite him that onlie might haue staied the crueltie of his brother of Gloucester, who iraged for desire of the kingdome, bereft his innocent nephews of their liues & estates.

And as it thus well appeared, that the house of Booke shewed it selfe more blouidie in seeking to obtaine the kingdome, than that of Lancaster in blurping it: so it came to passe, that the Lords vengeance appeared more heauie towards the same than towards the other, not ceassing till the whole issue male of the said Richard duke of Booke was extinguished. For such is Gods iustice, to leaue no vnrepentant wickednesse unpunished, as especiallie in this cause Richard the third, not deserring so much as the name of a man, much lesse of a king, most manifestlie appeareth. [At whom we will end, with a comparison of the like practise in Lodowicke the first, aspiring to the dukedome of Millane, the name, armes and title wherof he took vpon him, hauing secretlie professed before, that he receiued them as appertaining to him by the inheritance of the king of Romans.

It was published that the death of Calcas (his late predecessor) happened by immoderate cohabita-

tion, but the vnfortunall indgment of Italie was, that he died not of infirmitie naturall, nor by incontinencie, but by poison and violent compulsion. Whereof Theodor de Paula, one of the physicians, assisting when the king visited him, assured the king to see most apparant and manifest signes: and if he were dispatched by poison, there was none that doubted that his vnkle was innocent, either directlie or indirectlie, as he, who not content with an absolute power to be gouernor of the state, but aspiring according to the common desires of great men, to make himselfe glorious with titles and honours; and speciallie he iudged, that both for his proper suertie and the succession of his children, the death of the lawfull prince was necessarie, and therefore thought to establish in himselfe the power and name of duke. Wherein ambition and couetousnesse preuailed aboue conscience and law of nature, and the gealous desire of dominion enforced his disposition (otherwise abhorring blood) to that vile action.

But to end with king Richard sometimes duke of Gloucester, a title of dignitie ioined with misfortune and vnluckinesse (as is noted before.) So that for infelicite it might well be compared vnto the name of Ione, a name vnhappie and much accursed for the kingdome of Naples. As for king Richard, better had it bene for him to haue contented his heart with the protectorship, than to haue cast by his snout, or lifted by his hornes of ambition so high (and that with a setled intent) as to hacke and hew downe by violent blowes all likelie impediments betwixt him and home. Better (I say) had it bene for him to haue dwelt vpon his first hono, than to haue wandered in princeliness; and better had it bene for him neuer to haue inioied the flattering prosperitie of a king, than afterwards to fall, and neuer to recouer losse or ruine, as is noted by the poet, saying:

*Est melius nunquam felicia tempora nosse,
Quam post blanditiis fortuna fata maligna
Nec reparanda pati infortunia sortis iniqua.*

In this yere 1483 died William Dumble who (by the translation of Laurence Both bishop of Durham and chancelor of England from the see of Durham to the cite of Booke) was made bishop of Durham (in place of the said Laurence) by the popes bulles. For by vertue thereof, Edward the fourth in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of Christ 1476, directed his letters patents to the knights and other free men of that bishopricke, with all solemnitie to install the said William Dumble (borne of the honorable house of the lords Dumble) in the said bishopricke of Durham, and to deliuer him quiet possession therof, who was consecrated therevnto in the yeare of Christ 1477, in which he worthilie gouerned six yeares, and died in this yeare, as before.]

Now of learned men that liued, and wrote in the daies of this blurper and his nephew king Edward the first, these we find recorded by Iohn Bale. First, Iohn Penketh an Augustine frier of Warrington in Lancashire, a right subtil fellow in disputation, following the footsteps of his master Iohn Duns, whome he chieflie studied, he wrote diuers treatises, and made that infamous sermon at Pauls crosse, in fauour of the duke of Gloucester then protector, to the disheriting of Edward the first, his lawfull king and gouernor; Iohn Bent or Calke borne in South Wales; George Ripley, first a chanon of Wyndleson, and after a Carmelit frier in Boston, a great mathematician, rhetorician, and poet; Iohn Wyke a Carmelit frier of Wyke, that proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Cambridge; and such like.

See page 627.

Guic. pag. 12.

T. W. as in Am. Quer. 7.

Fr. Thin. The death of William Dumble, bishop of Durham, descended of the honorable house of the Dumbles.

Thus farre Richard the vsurper, vnnaturall vnkle to Edward the first
and Richard duke of Yorke, brethren.

Cccc.

Henrie



Henrie the seauenth, sonne to Ed- mund earle of Richmond, which Edmund *was brother by the moother's side to* Henrie the sixt.

Anno Reg. 1.

Edward
Plantagenet
earle of Warw
the sonne
and heire to
George duke
of Clarence
committed to
the Tower.

King Henrie
commeth to
London.

King Henrie hauing thus
got the victorie at Bosworth,
and slaine his most all enemye
there in the field, did send be-
fore his departure from Leice-
ster, Sir Robert Willough-
bie knight, to the manour of
Sheriffhuton in the countie
of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet earle of War-
wike, sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence
then being of the age of fiftene yeares; whome king
Richard had kept there as prisoner during the time
of his usurped reigne. Sir Robert Willoughbie re-
ceiuing the yong earle of the constable of that castell
conueyed him to London, where he was shut up in
the Tower, for doubt lest some vnquiet and euill
disposed persons might inuent some occasion of new
trouble by this yong gentleman: and therefore king
Henrie thought good to haue him sure.

There was beside him in the castell of Sheriff-
huton the ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter to king
Edward the fourth, whome king Richard (as ye haue
heard) meant to haue married: but God otherwise
ordained for hir, and preserved hir from that vnlaw-
full copulation and incestuous bed. Shortly after, the
being accompanied with a great number as well of
noblemen, as honourable matrons, was with good
speed conueied to London, and brought to hir mo-
ther. In the meane season king Henrie remoued for-
ward by soft iournies towards London, the people
comming in from all sides to behold him, and excee-
dingly reioysing at his presence, as by their voices
and gestures it well appeared.

At his approaching nere to the citie, the maiors and
his brethren, with other worshipfull citizens, being
clothed in violet, met him at Shordich, and reuerent-
ly saluted him: and so with great pompe and tri-
umph he rode thorough the citie to the cathedrall
church of S. Paule, where he offered three standards.
In the one was the image of saint George, in an o-
ther was a red fierie dragon beaten vpon white and
greene sarsenet, and in the third was painted a dun
cow vpon pellow tarterne. After his prayers said,
and *Te Deum* song, he departed to the bishops palace,
and there sojourned a season. Anon after, he as-
sembled together the sage counsellors of the realme,
in which counsell like a prince of iust faith, and true
of promise, to auoid all ciuill discord, he appointed a
daie to loine in marriage with the ladie Elizabeth,
heire of the house of Yorke; with his noble perso-
nage, heire to the line of Lancaster. Which thing not
onely reioysed the hearts of the nobles and gentle-
men of the realme, but also gained the fauours and
good wils of all the commons.

After this, with great pompe he rowed into West-
minster, & there the thirtieth daie of October he was
with all ceremonies accustomed, anointed, & crow-
ned king, by the whole assent as well of the com-
mons as of the nobilitie, and called Henrie the sea-
uenth of that name: which was in the yeare of the
world 5452, and after the birth of our Lord 1485, in
the fortie and sixt yeare of Frederike the third then
emperour of Almanie, Maximilian his sonne being
netolie elected king of the Romans, in the second
yeare of Charles the eight then king of France, and
in the siue and twentieth of king James then ruling
the realme of Scotland. For the establishing of all
things, as well touching the preservation of his
owne estate, as the commendable administration
of iustice and preferment of the common wealth
of his realme, he called his high court of parliament
at Westminster the seauenth daie of November,
wherein was atteinted Richard late duke of Gloce-
ster, calling and naming himselfe by usurpation,
king Richard the third.

Likewise there was atteinted as chiefe alders
and assistants to him in the battell at Bosworth, ad-
uanced against the present king, John late duke of
Bosforke, Thomas earle of Surrie, Francis Louell
knight vicount Lignell, Walter Deuereux knight
late lord Ferrers, John lord Zouch, Robert Har-
rington, Richard Charleton, Richard Ratcliffe,
William Berkeley of Wilete, Robert Spiddleton,
James Harrington, Robert Wabenhurie, Thomas
Wilmington, Walter Hopton, William Catesbie,
Roger Wake, William Sapcote of the countie of
Huntington, Humfrie Stafford, William Clerke
of Wenlocke, Gessie saint Germaine, Richard
Watkins herald of armes, Richard Reuell of Der-
byshe, Thomas Bulster of the countie of Kent, John
Welsh otherwise called Hastings, John Kendall
late secretarie to the said Richard late duke of Glo-
cester, John Bucke, Andrew Kat, and William
Brampton of Burford.

In which atteintment neuertheless there were di-
uerse clauses and promissos for the benefit of their wi-
ues and other persons, that had or might claime any
right, title, or interest lawfullie vnto any castles,
manours, lordships, townes, towneships, honours,
lands, tenements, rents, seruices, fe farmes, an-
nuities, knights fees, advowsons, reuerfions, remain-
ders, and other hereditaments; whereof the said per-
sons atteinted were possessed or seized to the viles of
such other persons: with a speciall promiss also, that
the said atteintment should not be preiudiciall to John
Catesbie knight, Thomas Reuell, and William
Ashbie esquiers, in, of, & vpon the manour of Harke-
bie vpon Wreteshe in the countie of Leicestershire, nor

Henrie the se-
uenth crow-
ned king.

1485

A parliament
at Westmin-
ster, wherein
was atteinted
and a pardon ge-
ntiall.

ut, of, and upon anie other lands and tenements in
Arliebie aforesaid, Melton, Somerbie, Thropfegh-
field, and Cudebie, which they had of the gift & scoffe-
ment of Thomas Dauers, & John Lie. And further,
notwithstanding this atteindoz, diuerse of the said
persons afterwards were not onlie by the king par-
doned, but also restored to their lands and liuings.

Howeuer, in this present parlement, he caused
proclamation to be made, that all men were pardo-
ned and acquitted of their offenses, which would sub-
mit themselves to his mercie, and receiue an oth to
be true and faithfull vnto him: whereupon manie
that came out of sanctuaries and other places were
receiued to grace, and admitted for his subiects. Af-
ter this, he began to remember his speciall friends,
of whome some he aduanced to honour and dignitie,
and some he enriched with goods and possessions, eue-
rie man according to his deserts and merits. And to
begin, his vncle Jasper earle of Penbroke, he crea-
ted duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanleie was
created earle of Derby; and the lord Owen of
Britaine his especiall friend, he made earle of Bath;
sir Giles Danbeneie was made lord Danbeneie; sir
Robert Willoughbie was made lord Wobke. And
Edward Stafford eldest sonne to Henrie late duke
of Buckingham, he restored to his name, dignitie,
& possessions, which by king Richard were confiscat
and atteinted. Beside this, in this parlement was
this notable act assented to and concluded as fol-
loweth; to the pleasure of almighty God, wealth,
prosperitie, and suertie of this realme of England,
and to the singular comfort of all the kings subiects
of the same, in auoiding all ambiguities and que-
stions.

An act for the establishing of the
croune in the line of Henrie
the feuenth.

BE it ordeined, established, and en-
acted by this present parlement,
that the inheritance of the croun
of this realme of England, & also
of France, with all the preheminence, and
dignitie roiall to the same appertaining,
all other seignories to the king belonging
beyond the sea, with the appurtenances
thereto in anie wise due or appertaining,
shall rest, remaine, and abide, in the most
roiall person of our now soueraigne lord
king Henrie the feuenth, and in the heires
of his bodie lawfullie comming, perpetual-
lie, with the grace of God so to indure, and
in none other.

Beside this act, all atteindozs of this king enacted
by king Edward and king Richard were adnihilat-
ed, and the record of the same iudged to be defaced;
and all persons atteinted for his cause and occasion
were restored to their goods, lands, and possessions.
Diuerse acts also made in the time of king Edward
and king Richard were reuoked, and other adiudged
more expedient for the common wealth were put in
their places and concluded. After the dissolution of
this parlement, the king remembzing his friends
left in hostage beyond the seas, that is to wit, the
marquess Dorset, & sir John Bourchier, he with all
convenient speed redeemed them, and sent also into
Flaunders for John Dorton bishop of Elic. These
acts performed, he chose to be of his counsell a con-
uenient number of right graue and wise counsell-
ors.

This did he, that he might the more roiallie go-
uerne his kingdome, which he obtained and inioied
as a thing by God eleated and provided, and by his
speciall fauour and gracious asper compassed and at-
chued. Insomuch that men commonlie report that
seauen hundred nintie & seauen yerres passed, it was
by a heauenlie voice reuealed to Cadwalader last
king of Britains, that his stocke & progenie should
reigne in this land & beare dominion againe. Where-
upon most men were perswaded in their owne opini-
on, that by this heauenlie voice he was provided & or-
deined long before to introy & obtaine this kingdome.
Which thing B. Henrie the first did also shew before,
as it were by propheticall inspiration, at such time as
the earle of Penbroke presented the said Henrie (at
that time a proper child) vnto Henrie the first, whome
after he had beheld, and a good while viewed the com-
linele of his countenance, and orderlie lineaments
of his bodie, he said to such yerres as stood about him:
Lo, suerlie this is he, to whome both we and our ad-
uersaries, leauing the possession of all things, shall
hereafter giue roime and place: & so it came to passe
by the appointment of God, to whose gouernement,
gift, and disposing, all realmes and all dominions
are subiect, as king David confesseth, saieing:

Omnia sunt regno subditaregna Dei.

Now although by this meanes all things seemed
to be brought in god and perfect order, yet there lac-
ked a wiest to the harpe, to set all the strings in a
monocord and perfect tune, which was the matrimo-
nie to be finished betwene the king and the latie E-
lizabeth, daughter to king Edward. Which like a god
prince, according to his oth, & promise, he did both so-
lemnize & consummate shortly after, that is to saie,
on the eighteenth daie of Januarie. By reason of
which marriage, peace was thought to descend out
of heauen into England, considering that the lines
of Lancaster and Bozke were now brought into one
knot, and connered together, of whose two bodies one
heire might succeed to rule and inioie the whole mo-
narchie and realme of England, which before was
rent and diuided into factions & partakings, where-
by manie a mans life was lost, great spoiles made
of peoples goods, wast of wealth, worship, and honoz,
all which ended in this blessed and gracious conue-
nion, authorized by God, as our *Anglorum prelia falsi*:

Hoc Deus omnipotens pacis confecerat auctor,

Ciuisque habuit tandem contentio finem.

Shortly after, for the better preservation of his
roiall person, he constituted and ordeined a certeine
number, as well of archers, as of diuerse other per-
sons, hardie, strong, and aduie to giue daillie atten-
dance on his person, whom he named yeomen of his
gard, which president men thought that he learned of
the french king when he was in France. For it is
not remembred, that anie king of England before
that daie vsed anie such furniture of daillie souldiers.
In this same yere a new kind of sickness inuaded
suddenlie the people of this land, passing through the
same from the one end to the other. It began about
the one and twentieth of September, and continued
vntill the latter end of October, being so sharpe and
deadlie, that the like was neuer heard of to anie
mans remembrance before that time.

For suddenlie a deadlie burning sweat so affat-
ted their bodies, and dissempered their blond with
a most ardent heat, that scarce one amongst an hun-
dred that sickened did escape with life: for all in ma-
ner as sone as the sweat took them, or within a
short time after, yelded the ghost. Beside the great
number which decaised within the citie of London,
two maiors successiuelie died within eight daies and
sir aldermen. At length, by the diligent obseruation
of those that escaped (which marking what things had

done

Abr. Flem. ex
subsequentib.
See the histo-
rie of England
pag. 124.
See also 2D.
Powells histo-
rie of Wales,
pag. 2, and 376,
377, &c.

See before in
Edward the
fourth, pag.
678.

Gen. Ha. in psal.
103.

King Henrie
the feuenth mar-
ried to wife
Elizabeth el-
dest daughter
of Edward
the fourth.
1486

In Hen. 7.

Yeomen of the
gard first
brought in.

The swea-
ting sick-
nesse.

fame altogether false and fained, there was an open path made and beaten forth, for a greater inconueni-
ence to issue. The which matter might seeme verie
strange, how such trouble and mischefe should grow
therof, if the time were not considered, in which it
happened. For in those daies manie persons, either
borne in the wombe of continuall dissention, or nour-
ished with the milke of ciuill sedition, could not for-
beare their vsuall custome of mouing strife, and sow-
ing debate, euer glad to haue anie occasion, though
neuer so small, to stirre bypoxes of warre, and slaugh-
ter of people. Which men if they knew (a matter of
weightie conceipt) the hurts thereof, they would
be as earnest in seeking after peace as they are grie-
die in pursuit of warre, speciallie ciuill warre: but
the cause whie they are defective therein, is the want
of mekenesse and humilitie, as the wiseman saith:

Mite cor horribili seditione vacat.

Amongst other such monsters and limmes of the
diuell, there was one sir Richard Simond priest, a
man of base birth, and yet well learned, but not so
learned as wylie, nor so wylie as vngratious, delight-
ing in fraud & deceit, euen from his youth. He had a
scholer called Lambert Simenell, one of a gentle
nature and pregnant wit, to be the ogame and cheefe
instrument, by the which he might conueie and bring
to passe his mischeuous attempt. The diuell cheefe
master of such practises, put in the venemous bzaime
of this dissuall and traitorous priest, to deuise how
he might make his scholer the foresaid Lambert to
be reputed as right inheritor to the crowne of this
realme: namelie, for that the same went that king
Edwards childzen were not dead, but fled secretlie
into some strange place, and there to be liuing: and
that Edward earle of Marwike, sonne and heire to
the duke of Clarence, either was, or shoulde should
be put to death.

These rumors though they seemed not to be ground-
ed of anie likelihood to the wiser sort of men, yet in-
couraged this pcurish priest to thinke the time come,
that his scholer Lambert might take vpon him the
person and name of one of king Edwards childzen.
And herevpon at Wyke, where their abiding was,
the said priest instructed his pupill both with prince-
lie behauiour, ciuill maners, and good literature, de-
claring to him of what linage he should affirme him-
selfe to be descended, and omitted nothing that might
serue for his purpose. Some after, the rumor was
blowne abroad, that the earle of Marwike was bro-
ken out of prison. And when the priest sir Richard Si-
mond heard of this, he straight intended now by that
occasion to bring his inuented purpose to passe, and
changing the childes name of baptisme, called him
Edward, after the name of the young earle of Mar-
wike, the which were both of like yeares, and of like
 stature.

Then he with his scholer sailed into Ireland, where
he so set forth the matter vnto the nobilitie of that
countrie, that not onelie the lord Thomas Cera-
dine chancelor of that land deceived through his craft-
ie tale, receiued the counterfeit earle into his castell
with all honour and reuerence; but also manie other
noble men determined to aid him (with all their pow-
ers) as one descended of the blond roiall, and lineal-
lie come of the house of Yorke, which the Irish people
euermore highlie fauoured, honoured, and loued a-
bove all other. By this meanes euerie man through-
out all Ireland was willing and readie to take his
part, and to submit themselves to him; already re-
puting and calling him of all hands king. So that
now they of this sect (by the aduise of the priest) sent
into England certeine priuie messengers to get
friends here.

Also they sent into Flanders to the ladie Mar-

garet, sister to king Edward, & late wife to Charles
duke of Burgonie, to purchase aid and helpe at hir
hands. This ladie Margaret bare no small rule in
the low countries, and in verie deed soze grudged in
hir heart, that king Henrie (being descended of the
house of Lancaster) should reigne and gouerne the
realme of England: and therefore, though she well
vnderstood that this was but a coloured matter; yet
to worke hir malicious intencion against king Hen-
rie, she was glad to haue so fit an occasion: and ther-
fore promised the messengers all the aid that she
should be able to make in furtherance of the quarrell;
and also to procure all the friends she could in other
places, to be aiders and partakers of the same con-
spiracie.

King Henrie aduertised of all these doings, was
greatlie vexed therewith: and therefore to haue good
aduise in the matter, he called together his counsell
at the Charterhouse beside his manor of Richmond,
and there consulted with them, by which means best
this begun conspiracie might be appeased and disap-
pointed without more disturbance. It was therefore
determined, that a generall pardon should be publi-
shed to all offenders that were content to receiue the
same. This pardon was so frelie granted, that no of-
fense was excepted, no not so much as high treason
committed against the kings roiall person. It was
further agreed in the same counsell for the time then
present, that the earle of Marwike should personal-
lie be shewed abroad in the citie, and other publike
places: whereby the vntrue report falselie spread a-
broad, that he should be in Ireland, might be among
the commualtie proued and knowne for a baine
imagined lie.

In this solenne counsell, diuerse & manie things
for the wealth of the realme were debated and con-
cluded. And among other it was determined, that
the ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth,
should lose and forfeit all hir lands and possessions, be-
cause she had voluntarilie submitted hir selfe and hir
daughters wholie to the hands of king Richard, con-
trarie to hir promise made to the lords and nobles of
this realme in the beginning of the conspiracie made
against king Richard, whereby she did inough to
haue quailed all the purpose of them that joined with
hir in that matter. But though hir fault was gre-
uous, yet was it iudged by some men that she deser-
ued not by equitie of iustice so great a losse and pu-
nishment. Howbeit, this iudgement was altogether
affectionate and partiall in hir behalfe; besides that
it was reasonable in great measure (all circumstan-
ces considered) for she was not lightlie induced to
do as she did, neither stood it with the frailtie of a
woman to withstand the temptations of a mightie
man, or rather a reaching tyrant.

But such was hir chance by hir lightnesse and
inconstancie, that she wan the displeasure of manie
men, and for that cause liued after in the abbete of
Bermondsey beside Southwarke a wretched and a
miserable life, where not manie yeares after she de-
ceased, and is buried with hir husband at Wyndesore.
Though fortune thus ruleth manie things at hir ple-
sure, yet one worke that this queene accomplished
cannot be forgotten: for in the life time of hir hus-
band king Edward the fourth, she founded and erec-
ted a notable colledge in the vniuersitie of Cam-
bridge, for the finding of scholers and students of the
same vniuersitie, and endowd it with sufficient po-
sessions for the long maintenance of the same, which
at this daie is called the Quenes colledge.

When all things in this counsell were sagelie con-
cluded and agreed to the kings mind, he returned to
London; giuing in commandement, that the next
sundaye ensuing, Edward the young earle of Mar-
wike

Margaret
duchesse of
Burgonie
sister to king
Edward the
fourth, hir
malicious
mind to Lan-
caster house,

A generall
pardon excepta-
ting no offense.

Order taken
that the young
earle of Mar-
wike should
be shewed
abroad.

Ladie Eliza-
beth late wife
to king Ed-
ward the
fourth, aban-
doned to forfeit
all hir lands,
for promise
breaking.

Quenes col-
ledge in Cam-
bridge found-
ed by the la-
die Elizabeth
king Edward
the fourths
wife.

Richard
Simond a
priest

Lambert
Simenell the
scholar of
Richard

Thomas Ce-
radine chan-
celor of Ire-
land receiued
the counter-
feit earle
into his cas-
tell

Edward the
right earle of
Warwicke
showed open-
lie in procel-
sion.

whiche should be brought from the Tower through the most publike streets in all London, to the cathedraill church of saint Paule, where he went openlie in procession, that euerie man might see him, having communication with manie noble men, and with them especiallie that were suspected to be partakers of the late begun conspiracie; that they might perceiue how the Irishmen vpon a vaine shadowe moued warre against the king and his realme. But this medicine little auailed euill disposed persons. For the earle of Lincolne sonne to John de la Pole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, thought it not meet to neglect and omit to reade an occasion of new trouble.

An ill matter
followed to
the people.

Wherefore they determined to vphold the enterprise of the Irishmen, and other complices of this conspiracie: so that consulting with sir Thomas Broughton, and certaine other of his most trustie friends, he purposed to saile into Flanders to his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, trusting by hir helpe to make a puissant armie, and to ioine with the companions of the new raised rebellion. Therefore after the dissolution of the parlement which then was holden, he fled secretlie into Flanders vnto the said ladie Margaret; where Francis lord Louell landed certaine daies before. Where after long consultation had how to proceed in their business, it was agreed, that the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell should go into Ireland; and there to attend vpon the duchesse hir counterfeite nephew, and to honor him as a king, and with the power of the Irishmen to bring him into England.

Now they concluded, that if their doings had successe, then the foresaid Lambert (misnamed the earle of Warwicke) should by consent of the counsell be deposed, and Edward the true earle of Warwicke deliuered out of prison and annointed king. King Henrie supposing that no man would haue bene so mad as to haue attempted anie further enterprise in the name of that new found & counterfeite earle, he onelie studied how to subdue the seditious conspiracie of the Irishmen. But hearing that the earle of Lincolne was fled into Flanders, he was somewhat moued therewith, and caused soldiors to be put in a readinesse out of euerie part of his realme, and to bring them into one place assigned, that when his aduersaries should appeare, he might suddenly set vpon them, vanquish and ouercome them.

The mar-
quesse Dorset
committed to
the Tower.

Thus disposing things for his suertie, he went towards S. Edmunds burie, and being certified that the marquesse Dorset was comming towards his maiestie, to excuse himselfe of things that he was suspected to haue done when he was in France, he sent the earle of Arford to arrest the said marquesse by the waie, and to conueie him to the Tower of London, there to remaine till his truth might be tried. From thence the A. went forth to Norwich, and tarrying there Christmas daie, he departed after to Walsingham, where he offered to the image of our ladie, and then by Cambridge he hostlie returned to London. In which meane time, the earle of Lincolne had gotten together by the aid of the ladie Margaret about two thousand Almaines, with one Martine Sward, a valiant and noble capteine to lead them.

Martine
Sward a val-
iant capteine
of Almaines;
assistant to the
earle of Lin-
colne.

With this power the earle of Lincolne sailed into Ireland, and at the citie of Duvelin caused yong Lambert to be proclaimed and named king of England, after the most solemne fashion, as though he were the vertie heire of the bloud roiall lineallie borne and descended. And so with a great multitude of beggerlie Irishmen, almost all naked and unarmed, saving skains and mantels, of whome the lord Thomas Cerantine was capteine and conducto;

they sailed into England with this new found king, and landed for a purpose at the pile of Fowdrie, within a litle of Lancaster, trusting there to find aid by the means of sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chiefe companions of the conspiracie.

The king had knowledge of the enimies intent before their arrivall, and therefore having assembled a great armie (ouer the which the duke of Bedford, and the earle of Ardenford were chiefe capteins) he went to Countreie, where he was aduertised, that the earle of Lincolne was landed at Lancaster with his new king. Where he took aduise of his counsellors what was best to be done, whether to set on the enimies without further delaie, or to protract time a while. But at length it was thought best to delaie no time, but to give them battell, before they should increase their power, and therevpon he remoued to Potingham, & there by a litle wood called Botwyes, he pitched his field.

Shortlie after this came to him the lord George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, sir John Cheinie, right valiant capteins, with manie other noble and expert men of warre, namelie of the countries nere adioining; so that the kings armie was wonderfullie increased. In this space the earle of Lincolne being entered into Pockelshire, passed hostlie on his iournie without spoiling or hurting of anie man, trusting thereby to haue some companie of people resort vnto him. But after he perceived few or none to follow him, and that it was too late now to returne backe, he determined to trie the matter by dint of sword, and herevpon directed his waie from Pocke to Shewarke vpon Trent.

But before he came there, king Henrie knowing all his enimies purposes, came the night before the daie of the battell to Shewarke; and tarrying there a litle, went thre miles further, and pitching his field, lodged there that night. The earle of Lincolne certified of his comming, was nothing abashed, but kept still on his iournie; and at a litle bilage called Stoke, nigh to the king and his armie, set downe his campe. The next daie the king diuided his whole power into thre battells, and after in good arraie approached nigh to the towne of Stoke. The earle likewise set forth his armie, and encountering with the kings people in a faire plaine there, met for the triall of such a conflict, set vpon them with a manlie courage, desiring his soldiors to remember his honour and their owne liues.

When both the armies ioined and fought verie earnestlie, in so much that the Almaines, being tried and expert men of warre, were in all things, as well in strength as policie, equals and matches to the Englishmen. But as for Martine Sward their coronell, few of the Englishmen, either in valiant courage, or strength, and nimblenesse of bodie was to him comparable. On the other side, the Irishmen, although they fought manfullie, and stucke to it valiantlie; yet because they were (after the maner of their countreie) almost naked, without anie conuenient furniture of armour, they were stricken downe and slaine like dull & brute beasts, which was a great discouragement to the residue of the companie. Thus they fought for a space so long, and so egerlie on both parts, that no man could well iudge to whome the victorie was like to incline.

But at length the kings foreward being full of people, and well fortified with wings, which onelie both began and continued the fight, set vpon the aduersaries with such force and violence, that first they oppelled and killed such capteins, one by one, as resisted their might and puissance: and after that, put all the other to flight, the which were either apprehended as prisoners in their running awaie, or else slaine.

The king
power came
increased.

The earle of
Lincolne
tried his
figure.

The battell
of Stoke.

The armies
joined.

Martine
Sward a
valiant
warrior.

The king
power came
increased.

In the cap-
tivity of the
king's hand.

The number
of the king's
hand.

Henrie
the first
of the
king's
hand.

Henrie
the first
of the
king's
hand.

Henrie
the first
of the
king's
hand.

laine and brought with confusion in a small moment. Now when this battell was ended, and fought out to the extremitie, then it well appeared, what high prowesse, what manfull stomachs, what hardie and couragious hearts rested in the kings aduersaries. For there the chiefe capitaine, the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell, sir Thomas Broughton, Martine Sward, and the lord Scardine capitaine of the Irishmen were slaine, and found dead in the verie places which they had chosen alieue to fight in, not giuing one foot of ground to their aduersaries.

Whomebeit some affirme, that the lord Louell took his horse, and would haue fled ouer Trent, but was not able to recouer the further side for the highnesse of the banke, and so was drowned in the riuer. There were killed at that battell, with their five capitaine beforechered, of that partie about foure thousand. Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which fought in the foreward, and gaue the onset slaine or hurt. Then was Lambert the youngling, which was falslie reported to be the sonne of the duke of Clarence, and his maister sir Richard Simond priest both taken, but neither of them put to death; because that Lambert was but an innocent, and of yeares insufficient of himselfe to doe any such enterprise; and the other was pardoned of life, because he was a priest, and annointed man; but yet was committed to perpetuall prison.

Lambert was at length made one of the kings falconers, after that he had bene a turnebroch for a space in the kings kitchen. This battell was fought on a saturdaye being the sixteenth daie of June, in this second yere of his reigne. In this yere died Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie; and John Spotton bishop of Ely, a man of excellent learning, vertue and policie, succeeded in his place, whom Alexander pope of Rome, the first of that name, created a cardinall, and the king created him also chancellor of England. Of which pope (hauing so convenient a place to speake) it were a fault to omit the ambition, accompanied with other disorders vnbecoming a successor of Peter (but neither personallie nor localitie) as all the brood of them bzag of themselves, & will be intituled with a primacie, vsurped.

This Alexander the first pope of that name, was sometime an ancient cardinall, and one of the greatest in all the court of Rome. One meane that raised him to the seat of the pope, was the difference betwene the cardinals Ascanius Sforze, and Julian S. Petri ad Vincula: but the chiefest thing that accomplished his election, was, that with a new example for that time, he bought by the consent and knowledge of euery one, partlie for monie, and partlie with promises of offices and great dignities, manie voices of the cardinals, who reiecting the instruction of the gospell, were not ashamed to passe to him by sale, an authoritie and potuer to make merchandize of the holie treasures, & that with the name of the celestiall authoritie in the most high part of the temple.

To which abhominable & too prophane negotiation manie of them were induced by the cardinall Ascanius, but that was not more with persuasions and suites, than with his example: for that being corrupted with the insatiable desire of riches, he made the pope promise him for his hire and recompense of so great wickednesse, the office of vicechancellorship (the principallest place in the court of Rome) together with benefices, castles, and his palace of Rome full of moueables of great valour. But the pope for all this could not auoid; neither for the time to come, the iudgement and iustice of God; nor for the present, the infamie and iust hate of men, in whom for this election was no small impressions of astonishment and horror, not onelie for that it was intangled with

meanes dishonest, but also because the natures and conditions of the man chosen, were (for the greatest part) known to manie.

Manie sentences and coniectures were made of his successe. And amongst other, Ferdinand king of Naples, dissembling openlie the griefe he had of that election, signified to the quene his wife with teares (which he was wont to forbear euen in the death of his children) that there was created a pope who would be most hurtfull to Italie, and the whole common weale of christendome. A iudgement not withoutie of the wisdom of such a prince: for that in Alexander the first (for so would this new pope be called) was a subtiltie, sharpnesse, and expedition of wit most singular, a counsell excellent, a wonderfull efficacie in persuation, and in all great affaires a iudgement and care incredible. But these vertues were maruellouslie defaced by his vices, for touching his manners and customes, they were verie dishonest, in his administration he expressed little sinceritie, in his countenance no shame, in his words small truth, in his heart little faith, and in his opinion lesse religion. Of the contrarie, all his actions were defiled with an insatiable couetousnesse, and immoderate ambition, a barbarous crueltie, and a burning desire to raise and make great (by what meanes soeuer) his children, who were manie in number; and amongst others, one no lesse detestable than the father, to whose cursed counsels he became a wicked instrument. Thus much (by waie of digression) of Alexander, a pope (as you heare) well qualified, and therefore forward enough to creat cardinals both in England and elsewhere of like disposition. But to returne to the storie.]

After that the king had got the upper hand of his enemies, he removed to Lincolne, and there taried thre daies, causing euerye of the same daies solemn processions to be made in rendering thanks to God for his fortunate victorie. Then caused he execution to be done, of such rebels & traitors as were taken in the field, either at the battell, or in the chase. And shortly after he went into Dorsetshire, & there coasted the countrie ouerthwart, searching out such as had aided his enemies, and were thought to be seditious persons, whom he punished, some by imprisonment, some by fines, and some by death: according to the qualitie of their offences, and as was thought most expedient [not by extremitie of rigor inclining to tyrannie, but by due moderation of iustice tempering execution with clemencie; according to the good rule of iustice prescribed by the wise man, saying:

*Solus commissum plebat clementia crimen,
Parua negat poenam culpa subire grauem.*

About the middelt of August entering into the third yere of his reigne, he came to Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence sent in ambassage into Scotland Richard For, latelie before made bishop of Excester, and with him Richard Edgecombe knight, controller of his house, to conclude some peace or truce with king James of Scotland. The English ambassadors were honorablie receiued, and longlie interteined of the said king, who gladlie would haue concluded a perpetuall peace with the king of England, if he might haue bene licenced so to haue done: but his people being stedfast in their old accustomed blage, would not agree to any peace, but yet were contented to gratifie their king, that he should take truce with England for the tearme of seuen yeares, which was concluded.

Then was secret promise made by king James, that he would not onlie obserue peace, & continue in perfect amitie with the king of England during his life, but also would renewe againe this truce new taken for other seuen yeares, before the first seuen yeares were fullie expired. The king of Scots indeed was

Pope Alexander
the first
corrupted
with manie
vices,

Thanks giuen
to God
after victorie.

Execution
upon the
felons.

Gu. Ha. in ec-
cle. cap. 10.

Anno. Reg. 3.

For bishop of
Excester sent
ambassadors
to Scotland.

A truce with
Scotland for
seuen yeares.

as desirous of the king of Englands friendship, as the king of England was of his: because that his subiects bare him much euill will, mistaking with all things that either he could do or saie. [So that his regiment was no longer liked, than they were in a good mood, which was when they were well minded; and that was neuer: for that if by gentleness he allured them, they esteemed him a flatterer; if by severity, a tyrant. And therefore it stood him vpon to strengthen himselfe against such a people, of whose pleasure & displeasure depended his estate.]

King Henrie returneth out of the north countrie.

The French kings request for aid against Francis duke of Britaine.

1. Henrie after the returne of his ambassadoys out of Scotland, came from Newcastle to Yorke, and so toward London, and in the way being at Leicester, there came to him ambassadoys from Charles the French king, which declared both the recouerie of certeine townes out of the hands of Maximilian king of Romans, which he had wrongfullie detained from the crowne of France before that time; and also that their maister king Charles had now wars in hand against Francis duke of Britaine, because that he succoured and maintained diuers noble men, as the duke of Orleans and others, that were rebels and traitors, against him and the realme of France. Wherefore his request was, that for the old familiaritie that had bene betwixt them, he would either assist and helpe him, or else stand neuter betwixt them, neither helping nor yet hurting the one nor the other.

Upon good and deliberate aduise taken in this matter, because it was iudged weightie, the king for answer told the French ambassadoys, that he would neither spare paine nor cost, to set some reasonable staie betwixt their soveraigne lord king Charles, and the duke of Britaine: so that a finall end and some perfect conclusion of friendship might be had betwixt them. And so as soon as the French ambassadoys were returned home, the king sent his chapleine Christopher Urswike over into France to king Charles, as well to shew that he was glad of the victorie which he had against Maximilian; as to declare what a tempestuous storme of ciuill rebellion himselfe had escaped & overcome here in England.

King Henries offer to make an attonement betwixt the French king and the duke.

But the chiefeest point of Urswikes errand consisted in this, that he should intimate to the French king, how his maister king Henrie offered himselfe as a mediator betwixt him and the duke of Britaine, to make them friends: and if he perceived that the French king gave eare hereunto, then should he go into Britaine, to moue the duke there to be contented, that some reasonable order might be taken for a quietnesse to be had betwixt the French king and him. Whilest Urswike was travelling in this matter (according to his commission) the king came backe againe to London, where he was received of the citizens with great joy and triumph, they being heartilie glad and greatlie reioysing that he with such good successe had subdued his enemies.

Christopher Urswike.

The marques Dorset deliuered out of the Tower.

The kings loue to his wife queene Elizabeth.

Shortlie after, he deliuered the lord Thomas marques Dorset out of the Tower, receiuing him againe to his former fauor and old familiaritie: because his truth and loialtie by diuers assaies and sundrie arguments had bene thoroughlie tried, and sufficientlie proued. In which meane time, the king for the great loue that he bare to his wife queene Elizabeth, caused hir to be crowned and anointed queene on saint Batharins day in November, with all solemnitie, as in such cases appertineth. In the meane season Christopher Urswike (according to his commission) travelled betwixt the French king and the duke of Britaine in the king of Englands name, to make them friends. But although the French king seemed willing enough to haue peace, yet meant he nothing lesse. For he had as manie subtilties in his heart, as there be faces in the world, according to the poet:

Peioribus fraudes tot sunt quot in orbe figura.

For whilest he went about with faire wordes, courteous letters, and sweet promises to beare the king of England in hand to labour a peace betwixt him and the Britains, he enforced his whole puissance to subdue them, and besieged the citie of Hants. And on the other part, the duke of Orleans being with violence to the duke of Britaine, and one that ruled most about him, had no liking to heare of peace, but did what he could to hinder it. The English ambassadoy Christopher Urswike (having thus passed from the French king to the duke of Britaine, and backe againe to the French king) returned homilie after into England, and shewed vnto king Henrie what he had done betwixt them.

Immediatlie after came to the French king the lord Bernard Daubeneie a Scot borne, which on the French kings behalfe required 1. Henrie to make some maner of end of those Brittainish warres, whatsoeuer it were. King Henrie being desirous of the same, sent ouer againe into France, John the abbat of Abingdon, sir Richard Edgecombe knight, and the forenamed Christopher Urswike, with full and perfect commission & long instructions how to proceed, in obtaining of some agreement betwixt the French men and the Britons. These orators (according as they had in commandement) first went vnto the French king, and after they had communed with him, sir Richard Edgecombe, and Christopher Urswike departed straight to the duke of Britaine, in full hope to conclude a peace, vpon such offers and articles as they had to propound vnto him.

But all their hope was vaine, for the duke refused to agree vpon anye such articles and conditions as they offered; and so without concluding any thing with the duke, they returned backe into France; and from thence signified to the king of England by letters all that they knew, or had done. But in the meane time, Edward lord Mowbray, uncle to the 40. queene, sued to king Henrie that he might haue a power of men appointed to him, with the which he would steale priuilie ouer without licence or passport, so that euerie man should thinke that he was fled the realme, without knowledge of the king, for that no warre should arise by his meanes betwixt the realmes of France and England, and yet should the duke of Britaine be aided against the power of the Frenchmen, which sought to vanquish him, that they might loine his countrie vnto the dominion of France: which in no wise ought to be suffered, considering what annoiance & hurt the same might bring to the realme of England in time to come.

Although this request was utterly denied, and that the lord Mowbray was straightlie commanded by the king to make no such attempt; yet could not all that staie him, but that withdrawing him into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and capitaine, he there gathered together a cruoe of tall & hardie personages, to the number of 400, & with prosperous wind & weather arrived in Britaine, and loined himselfe with the Britons against the Frenchmen. The French king aduertised herof, was not well pleased in his mind towards the king of England; till 1. Henrie by new messengers informed him how gallantly he was in the matter, and that by plaine and euident proofes. With the which excuse the French king seemed to be the better pacified, and was content to dissemble the matter.

Then the English ambassadoys, renewing the league and amitie betwixt king Henrie & the French king, for the space of twelue moneths, they returned into England, and shewed the king all things that they had either heard or seene: so that he perceived that the French king dealt craftilie in this matter of Britaine,

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Britaine, still motioning peace when he meant nothing else but warre. He therefore called his high court of parlement, in the which it was not onelie determined that the duke of Britaine should be aided with a power of men against the wrongfull inuasions of the frenchmen, but also there were diuerse summes of monie granted to the furnishing forth and maintenance of the same. And immediatlie herupon, the king sent his ambassadoys into France to certifie the french king what the estates assembled in parlement here in England had decreed.

Wherefore he required him either to surceasse the warres which he had in hand against the Britons, or else not to be greued though he condescended to the iudgement and determination of the lords both spirituall and temporall, and commons of his realme, in taking vpon him the defense of the duke of Britaine; promising neuerthelesse that the English armie should onelie take land within the duchie of Britaine, and seeke to defend the same against all those that did inuade it, and not to make anie warre within the french dominions. This message was nothing regarded of the french king, in so much that the french armie proceeded in oppressing the Britons, destroying the countie, and besieging towncs.

At length on the seuen and twentieth, (as the chronicles of Aniou haue) the eight and twentieth daie of Julie, the duke of Britains armie gaue battell to the french host nere to a towne called saint Aubin, hauing apparelled a thousand and seuen hundred of the Britons in coates with red crosses, after the English fashion, to make the frenchmen beleue that they had a great number of Englishmen, although they had but foure hundred onelie with the lord Maudouille. The victorie in this battell fell to the frenchmen, so that almost all the Englishmen were slaine with the lord Maudouille, beside sir thousand Britons. The duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were taken prisoners, which were there on the Britons part. The frenchmen lost twelue hundred men, and amongst other, that valiant Italian capteine James Galeot.

These newes being brought into England, caused king Henrie to make hast in sending forth his armie, and therefore was the lord Brooke, with sir John Cheine, sir John Spiddleton, sir Rafe Hilton, sir Richard Cozbet, sir Thomas Leighton, sir Richard Laton, and sir Edmund Cornwell sent ouer into Britaine with all convenient speed, hauing with them an eight thousand men, well armed and furnished in warlike wise, to aid the duke of Britaine against the frenchmen. These lustie capteins being arrived in Britaine, after they had a little refreshed them, marched forward, and comming nere to their enimies, pitched downe their field, not farre from the frenchmens campe.

The frenchmen by experience knowing the Englishmen so long as they be fresh and lustie) in maner to be mutineble, thought not good to match with them in open battell, till they were somewhat wearied with long and lingering abroad in the field. And therefore at the first they sought to wearie them with light skirmishes, appointing their hoisemen to giue them alarmes, & some skirmishes, in the which the frenchmen, by reason of the English archers (which galled both men and horses) were euer put to the worse. But behold the mutabilitie of worldlie chancas! While this warre was thus set forward, Francis duke of Britaine departed this life, & then the cheefe rulers of Britaine, falling at dissention among themselves, tendered not the defense of their countie, but rather minded the destruction thereof.

Whereupon the Englishmen, perceiving in what danger they were, and considering that it was in the middest of winter, a time not meet for men of warre

to lie in the cold and frostie fields, they returned into England, within five monethes after their first setting forth. So that finally the french king got the vpper hand of the Britons, and did incorporate that duchie to his realme and crowne of France, as in the histories of France it may appere at large. ¶ In Julie this yere was a pest leuied for the king in the citie of London, of foure thousand pounds, which was repaied the yere next following. In September, the queene was deliuered at Winchester of hir first sonne, named prince Arthur; and the five and twentieth of Nouember (next ensuing) he was crowned at Westminster with all due solemnitie.

¶ We haue heard, how there was in the last parlement monie granted for the furnishing forth of the armie into Britaine; that is to wit, it was agreed, that euerie man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to paie the tenth penie of his goods. Which monie the most part of them that dwelled in the bishopprike of Durham, and in the parties of Northshire refused vtterlie to paie: either for that they thought themselves overcharged with the same; or were procured to shew themselves disobedient, thorough the cuill counsell of some seditious persons, which conspired against the king, to put him to new trouble. Therefore such as were appointed collectors, after that they could not get the monie, according to their extract deliuered to them by the commissioners, they made their complaint priuilie to Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of the North parts.

The earle forthwith signified to the king all that matter, and the king not willing to pardon them of anie one penie (least the example might doe hurt by encouraging others to shew the like stubbornnes in other parts of the realme) commanded the earle either by distresse or otherwise, to leuie the monie as he should thinke most meet. The rude and beastlie people hearing of this answer from the king, by and by with great violence set vpon the earle by the exciting of a simple fellow named John a Chamber, whome the earle with faire words sought to appease. But they like vnreasonable villaines, alledging all the fault to be in him, as chiefe author of the tax, furiously and cruelly murdered both him and diuerse of his household seruants. Diuerse affirme that the Northerne men bare against this earle continuall grudge euer since the death of king Richard, whome they entircelie fauoured.

Although this offense was great and heinous; yet there succeeded a more mischief: for incontinentlie (to cloke this presumptuous murder) the Northerne men got them to armour, and assembling together, chose them a capteine, no lesse seditious than desirous of trouble, called sir John Egremond knight; and passing by the countiees, they published and declared that they would bid the king battell onlie in defense of their liberties & common freedomes, of the which he went about to bereaue them. But when the matter should come to be tried with blowes, their harts so fainted that they scattered a waie, euerie man seeking to saue himselfe by flight: but that little auailed them.

For the king hearing of this businesse, sent forth Thomas earle of Surreie (whome not long before he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receiued to his speciall fauour) with a cruce of men, to chastise those rebels of the north parts, who skirmished with a certeine companie of them, and them discomfited, and tooke alieue John a Chamber, the first beginner of this rebellion. The king himselfe rood after into Northshire, of whose comming the Surreie rebels were so abashed and afraid, that they fled more and lesse: which afterward were apprehended, and punished.

Thearchie of Britaine incorporated to the realme of France.

John Stow. The birth of prince Arthur.

Anno Reg. 4.

The collectors of the subsidie complained to the earle of Northumberland that they could not get in the tax monie. 1489.

The earle of Northumberland murdered by the Northerne rebels at the instigation and setting on of John a Chamber.

A rebellion in the north for lie (to cloke this presumptuous murder) the Northerne men got them to armour, and assembling together, chose them a capteine, no lesse seditious than desirous of trouble, called sir John Egremond knight; and passing by the countiees, they published and declared that they would bid the king battell onlie in defense of their liberties & common freedomes, of the which he went about to bereaue them. But when the matter should come to be tried with blowes, their harts so fainted that they scattered a waie, euerie man seeking to saue himselfe by flight: but that little auailed them.

Sir John Egremond capteine rebel.

Thomas earle of Surreie sent with a power against the north rebels,

Johna Chamber
hanged
like an arch-
traitor.

Sir John
Grenmond
fled into
Flanders.

The king bo-
roweth a great
summe of mo-
ney of the cha-
rber of London.

Gen. Ha. in Ec-
cles. cap. 9.

A rebellion in
Flanders.

Marimilian
king of Bo-
mans impri-
soned at Bru-
ges by the
to. vncleinen.

The lord
Cozdes mar-
sheth aduan-
tage of occa-
sion.

shed according to their demerits. Yet the king of his clemencie pardoned the innocent people, and executed the chiefe procurers. For John a Chamber was hanged at Yorke on a gibbet set vpon a square paire of gallowes like an archtraitor, and his complices and lewd disciples were hanged on the lower gallowes round about their maister, to the terrible example of other.

But sir John Grenmond fled into Flanders to the ladie Margarete duchesse of Burgognie, that euer enied the prosperitie of king Henrie. After this the king returned to London, leauing the earle of Surreie to rule the north parts, and appointed sir Richard Tempsall, a man of great wit and policie, to gather the subsidie to him due of the people. This yeare the king borrowed of euerie alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eightie two pounds seuentene shillings foure pence; which he repaid againe to the bittermost, with great equitie and thankfulness. A vertue verie laudable in this god king, and so much the more noteworthy as it is rare; speciallie in mightie men and great estates of the world, that count what soeuer they can catch their owne, as though the purses of the people were theires to possesse at pleasure & vse at last, without conscience or care of restitution. Which foule fault Ecclesiasticus noteth (affirming that all is lost that is lent them) in expresse words, saleng:

*Reddere magnates nolunt, que mutua sumunt,
Mutua que trades interisse scias.*

In this season, the emperour Frederike made warre against the Flemings, namelie against Bruges and certeine towne of Flanders, which had rebelled against his sonne Maximilian king of Romans, their liege and souereigne lord; in so much that they of Bruges had not onelie slaine his officers but imprisoned him within their towne, till they had caused him to pardon all their offences, and also to sweare neuer to remember, nor reuenge the same in time to come. But his father Frederike the emperour could not suffer such a reproch & dishonour done to his sonne (whose fame & princelie estate as he tendered and had in gelosie; so was it his hart grieue and inmoderat veration that he should be abused of open conteniments, in such villanous sort as tended highlie to the indignitie of his person, and the aggrauating of their offense and punishment) to passe vnreruenged, & therefore scourged the countrie of Flanders with sharpe and cruell warre.

The lord of Hauenskeine being dynen to take the same oath, that his maister Maximilian toke at Bruges, to shew that the warre was not begun with his assent, to take Maximilian his lord, and toke the towne of Ypre and Soluis, with both the castels of the same haueu, and further did not onelie stir the Cantois, Bugeans, and other towne of Flanders, to rebell against their souereigne lord; but also sent to the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, the lord Cozdes, to aid him to conquer such towne of Flanders, as were not of his opinion. The lord Cozdes, other wise called monsieur de Queredes, was glad to haue so good occasion to set foot in Flanders, as he that had sufficient instructions of his maister the French king, vpon anie such offered occasion so to do, sent forthwith to the aid of the Flemings eight thousand Frenchmen, commanding them to conquer such towne, as were in the waie betwixt France and Bruges.

The captaine, according to his denisse, besieged a litle walled towne called Dirmelw, to whome came foure thousand Flemings with biftels and artillerie, sent from the lord of Hauenskeine. They laid siege on the north side of the towne, in a marish ground then being drie, and so depelie ditched and rampired their

campe about (on which rampire they laid their ordinance) that it was in manner impossible to enter their campe, or do them anie displeasure or damage. The king of England was dailie aduertised of these doings, which nothing lesse desired than to haue the English pale inuironed with French fortresses. Therefore he sent ouer to the lord Daubeneie, then his deputie of Calis, the lord Pooleie, with a crue of valiant archers & souldiers, to the number of a thousand men, with priuie instructions what they should do.

At their comming ouer it was byrdened abroad, that they were sent onelie to defend the English pale, against all attempts that might vpon the sudden in anie wise be made by the Frenchmen, or Flemings; but their enterprize was all other wise. For on a tuesdaye at the shutting of the gates at night, the lord Daubeneie chiefe taine of the armie, the lord Pooleie, sir James Tirrell capteine of Guisnes, sir Henrie Willoughbie, sir Gilbert Talbot, and sir Humfreie Talbot marshall of Calis, with diuerse other knights, and elquiers, and other of the garisons of Hammes, Guisnes, and Calis, to the number of two thousand men or thereabouts, issued priuie out of Calis, & passed the water of Graueling in the morning betimes; and left there for a stale, and to keepe the passage, sir Humfreie Talbot, with sir score archers, and came to Fletwport, where they found the souereigne of Flanders with his hundred Almains, and there they staid that night.

On the next daie they went toward Dirmelw, and by the guiding of a prisoner, that should haue bene hanged on the next morning, they issued out of the south gate of the towne of Dirmelw, and were conueied by their said guide by an high banke set with willowes; so that the Cantois could not well elp them, and so secretlie gat to the end of their enemies campe, and there paused. The lord Daubeneie commanded all men to send their horses and wagons backe, but the lord Pooleie said he would ride till he came to hand strokes. Thus they marched forth till they came to a low banke, and no deepe ditch, where the ordinance laie; and there the archers shot altogether, euerie man an arrow, and so fell prostrate to the ground. The enemies here with discharged their ordinance, and ouershot them.

The Almains lept ouer the ditch with their morrice pikes. The Englishmen in the fore-front waded the ditch, and were holpen up by the Almains, and set on their enemies, and toke manie prisoners. The other Englishmen halsted by the cause to enter in at the north gate of the campe, where the lord Pooleie being on horsebacke in a rich coat, was slaine with a gun. When his death was knowne, euerie man killed his prisoner, and slue all such as did withstand them, to the number of eight thousand men; in so much that of two thousand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemish chronicle reporteth) there came not home one hundred. On the English part was slaine the lord Pooleie, and not an hundred more.

The Englishmen toke their ordinance and sent it to Fletwport, with all the spoile and great horses. And by the waie hearing certeine Frenchmen to be at Ofsend, they made thitherward; but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Fletwport, where the lord Daubeneie left all the Englishmen that were hurt and returned to Calis, where he buried the bodie of the lord Pooleie. The Englishmen got great riches at this field; for they that went forth in cloth, came home in silke, and those that went out on foot, came home on great horses. The lord Cozdes being at Ypre with twentie thousand men, was soe displeased with this ouerthrow; & therefore thinking to be reuenged, besieged the

King Henrie
sent out the
lord Daubeneie
to see the
lord Pooleie
regard the
French.

Sir Humfreie
Talbot with
him the
archers.

The gentle
uice of a
boyerch that
should haue
bene hanged.

The lord
Pooleie slain.

The number
of the Almains
both parts.

The Eng-
lishmen
souldiers.

concordia
the king
the Frenchmen.

towne of Metopost right stronglie, and shot daile at the walls, breaking them in manie places.

But the Englishmen that were hurt at Dymetw field before, and might either stand or draw bolue, neuer came from the walls. On a daie the Frenchmen gaue a great assault to a towre, and perforce entered it, and set vp the banner of the lord Cordes. But see the chance! During the time of the assault, there arrived a barke with foure score fresh English archers, which came straight to the towre, and did so much, that what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurtmen, and of the courageous hartes of the new come archers incouraged greatly by the women of the towne, crying; Shot Englishmen, shot: the towre was regained out of the Frenchmens hands, and the banner of the lord Cordes rent in peeces, and in place thereof the penon of saint George set vp. Then the Frenchmen, supposing a great aid of Englishmen to haue bene come to the towne by sea, left the assault.

Concordia
the king
the Frenchmen.

And the night following, the enuious lord Cordes which so longed for Calis, that he would commonlie saie, that he could be content to lie seuen yeares in hell, so that Calis were in possession of the Frenchmen, byake up his siege, and returned to Hellding with shame. And the Englishmen glad of this victory returned to Calis. This yeare James the thrid of that name king of Scots was slaine by his owne subjects, after they had banquished him in a pigh field. About the same time one Adrian an Italian was sent in ambassage from pope Innocent the eight into Scotland, to haue taken up the variance betwixt the king there and his people. But being arrived here in England, he was informed that king James was slaine, and therefore taried here certaine moneths.

Concordia
the king
the Frenchmen.

And so that he was a man of excellent learning, vertue, and humanitie, the archbishop of Canturburie John Hoxton so commended him to the king, that he made him first bishop of Hereford, and shortly after, that reigned and given ouer, he promoted him to the bishopricke of Bath and Welles. And after that with these honors he was returned to Rome, he was advanced by all the degrees of spiritual dignities into the college of the cardinals. And wothie sure he was of great preferment, for by his meanes, learned men were moued to sake out the vse of eloquent writing and speaking in the Latine tongue, he being the first in the time of our fathers that taught the trade to chuse and vse apt words and fit termes.

1400
An. Reg. 6.
Ambassadors
from France
to the
king of England.

In the first yeare of king Henries reigne there came ambassadors to him from the French king the lord Francis of Lutzenburgh, Charles Marignane, and Robert Caguine minister of the Bonnehomes of the trinitie. The effect of their coming was to haue concluded a peace with king Henrie, and that with god will the French king might dispose of the marriage of the yong dutchesse of Britaine, as he should thinke good; and to make bold the contract and former marriage, which by priorie the depuie of Parliament king of Romans had before time contracted & made with hir. But thereto would not king Henrie giue his consent, ener harping on this string, that the maiden being once lawfullie combined in matrimonie with a Roman, ought not to be compelled against hir will and promise (yea and contrarie to all law, right and equitie) to take anie other person than him to hir spouse and husband.

Henrie is
so that the
French king
should marrie
the dutchesse
of Britaine.

In dred king Henrie was loth that the French king should marrie the dutchesse of Britaine himselfe (as he perceived his meaning was) and so to ioin the dutchesse of Britaine to the crowne of France; and therefore he did what he could to hinder that bar-

gaine. Yet at length it was agreed that a forme of a league should be drawn with conditions, clauses, and covenants. And so full concluding of the same, it was thought expedient, that the king of England should send ambassadors to the French king to finish all matters betwixt them. Whereupon the French ambassadors being dismissed with great remards, freightwaies Thomas erle of Dymond, and Thomas Goldenston prior of Wykes church in Canturburie, were appointed by the king to followe them into France, instructed fullie in althings that he would haue on his behalfe either moued or determined.

In this meane space, Lionell the bishop of Concordia was sent as our ambassador from pope Alexander the first to the French king for certaine matters: and amongst other things, he had in charge to conclude a peace and vntie betwixt the French king and the king of England. He mouing this matter to the French king, found him nothing strange to incline to his motion. Whereupon the bishop of Concordia conceiuing god hope, and therewith desirous (as became him best bearing that title) to set an atonement betwixt those two kings, took his iourne towards England, to the intent he might moue king Henrie to be agreeable therunto, and so coming to Calis, found the English ambassadors there, being so farre on their waie towards the French king; and being honorable received of them into that towne, after they had communed together, the bishop took the sea, and was transported ouer into England, and the ambassadors departed towards the French king.

After the bishop of Concordia had talked with king Henrie, and perceived that (upon reasonable conditions) he could be content to conclude a peace with all christian princes, and to lue in rest after so manie troubles afore time sustained, the said bishop returned backe into France to sollicit this purpose to some perfect conclusion. But the Frenchmen so handled the matter, that whilst they outwardlie shewed holie they desired nothing but friendship and amitie, they allured the yong dutchesse of Britaine to submit herselfe wholie to their discretion, so that shortly after she was married to king Charles. And the English ambassadors, after they perceived which waie the wind would blow, returned againe to their countrie, and nothing done; agreed upon in their matter.

King Henrie so troubled in his mind therewith, determining no more with peaceable messages, but with open warre to determine all controuersies betwixt him and the French king, called his high court of parlement; and there declared the cause why he was iustlie prouoked to make warre against the Frenchmen; and therefore desired that of their beneuolent aid of men and monie toward the maintenance thereof. The cause was so iust, that euery man allowed it; and to the setting forth of the war taken in hand for so necessarie an occasion, euery man promised his helping hand. The king commended them for their true and faithfull hearts. And to the intent that he might spare the poorer sort of the commons (whome he euer desired to keepe in fauor) he thought good first to exact monie of the richest sort by waie of a beneuolence.

Which kind of lending monie was first denfied by king Edward the fourth, as it appeareth before in his history. King Henrie following the like example, published abroad, that by their open gifts he would measure and search their beneuolent hearts and good minds toward him; so that he that gaue most, should be iudged to be his most louing friend; and he that gaue little, to be esteemed according to his gift. By this it appeareth, that what soeuer is practised for the prince

Lionell bishop
of Concordia
sent from the
pope to the
French king.

The dutchesse
of Britaine
married to
Charles.

A parlement
wherein king
Henrie opened
the cause of making
warre against
France.

1400
1401

who first
denfied the
exaction
of monie
called a beneuolence.
See pag. 694.

princes profit, and brought to a president by matter of record, maie be turned to the great prejudice of the people, if rulers in authoritie will so adudge and determine it. But by this means king Henrie got innumerable great summes of monie, with some grudge of the people, for the extremitie shewed by the commissioners in diuers places.

1491.

We haue heard before, how the lord of Hauentsein, by the aid of Bruges & Cant, had taken the towne and two castels of Sluis, which he kept against his soueraigne lord Maximilian, and getting into the haven certeine ships and barks, robbed, spoiled, & took prisoners: the ships and vessels of all nations that passed alongest by that coast, towards the mart at Antwerpe, or into anie part of Babant, Zeland, or Friseland, and was ener sufficientlie vittelled out of France and Picardie. There was a little towne also two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam, which was a bulwroke to Bruges, and an hedging to Sluis. The king of Romans had attempted the winning of this towne diuers times, but missed his purpose; till at length Albert duke of Saronte, a great friend to the king of Romans, by policie found meanes to get it.

Albert the duke of Saronte policie to get the towne of Dam.

This duke feining himselfe as a neuter betwixt the king of Romans, and the rebels of Flanders, required of the lords of Bruges, that he might enter peaceable into their towne according to his estate, with a certeine number of men of armes, to communicate with them diuerse matters of great weight, and sent before his cariages and herbengers to make promise. They of Bruges were in no doubt of him, so that his men of warre entered into the citie in good order, and he followed. They that went before, inquired for innes and lodgings, as though they would haue rested there all the night, and so went forth still in order asking after lodgings, till they came at the gate that leadeth directlie towards Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemish mile, which is called the bulwroke of Bruges.

The duke of Saronte sent forth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis

The capitaine and inhabitants of Dam suspecting no harme to come out of Bruges, thought their friends (knowing some danger towards) had sent them aid, and so nothing mistrusting those that approached their towne, suffered them to enter, and so was the towne of Dam taken by sleight, which could not be wonne by open force: This chance soze displeased them of Bruges, for now could they haue no recourse to the sea, so that they must needs fall into ruine and decaye. The duke of Saronte thus hauing wonne the towne of Dam, sent to the king of England, that if it would please him to minister anie aid by sea, he would besiege Sluis by land. Whereupon the king of England, vpon due consideration of the dukes motion (as he was wise enough in all his enterprizes, and no lesse fortunate in the issue of the same) would conclude nothing vpon the sudden, but (as he did alwaies) ruled his affaires by god counsell, like to the wise man commended in the holie scripture:

Gu. Ha. in Tob. 4.

Consilium sapientis semper sua facta gubernat.

At last he well remembering that Sluis was a rousest, and a berie den of thanes to them that trauesed the seas towards the east parts, incontinentlie dispatched sir Edward Poynings a right valiant knight and hardie capitaine, with twelue ships well furnished with bold soldiers, with sufficient artillerie. Which sir Edward sailed into the haven, and kept the lord of Hauentsein from starting by sea. The Duke of Saronte besieged one of the castels, lieng in a church ouer against it: and the Englishmen assaulted the lesse castell, and issued out of their ships at the ebbe, neuer suffering their enemies to rest in quiet one day together, for the space of twentie daies, and euerie day slue some of their aduersaries; and on

Sir Edward Poynings a valiant capitaine sent into Flanders with an armie

the English part were slaine one there; brother to the earle of Oxford, and fiftie more.

Sir Edward Poynings was brother to the earle of Oxford.

The lord of Hauentsein had made a bridge of botes betwene both the castels, to passe from the one to the other; which bridge one night the Englishmen did set on fire. Then he, perceiving that he must lose his castels by force, and that the Flemings could not aid him, yielded the castels to sir Edward Poynings, and the towne to the duke of Saronte, vpon certeine conditions. Sir Edward Poynings kept the castels a while, of whom the Almaines demanded their wages, because the duke had nothing to paie. Then these two capitaine so handled them of Bruges, that they not onelie submitted themselves to their lord Maximilian; but also were contented to paie and dispatch the Almaines. And so sir Edward Poynings tarried there a long space, and at length returned to the king before Bullogne.

The first day of Aprill this present yeare, the nobles of the realme assembled in the cathedrall church of St. Paule in London, where the maior of the same citie, his brethren the aldermen, and the craftsmen in their liueries also assembled: to whom doctor Ascham chancelor made an oration, declaring how the king of Spaine had wonne the great and rich citie & countrie of Granado from the Turks: for ioy whereof *Te Deum* was song with great solemnitie. But because it is requisite and necessarie in this ample volume, to set downe the report of accidents as they are to be found at large in our owne English writers: you shall heare for the furtherance of your knowledge in this matter concerning Granado, what Ed. Hall hath left noted in his chronicle. Which although it containe diuerse actions of superstition, and popish trumperie: yet should it not offend the reader, considering that a people estranged from the true knowledge of God and sincere religion put the same in practice, as supposing principall holinesse to consist in that blind deuotion.

Ab. Pl. in l. 3. pag. 866.

Ab. Pl. in l. 3. pag. 866.

Ab. Pl. in l. 3. pag. 866.

On the first of Aprill (saith he) this yeare, the king commanded all the nobilitie of his realme to assemble at the cathedrall church of St. Paule in London, where (after *Te Deum* solemnly song) the cardinal of Cantuarburie, standing on the steps before the quier doore, declared to the people, how the famous citie of Granado, which manie yeares had bene possessed of the Moors or Maure nation, being infidels & unchristened people, was now of late besieged a great time by Don Ferdinando and Elizabeth his wife, king and queene of Spaine, Arragon, and Castile. And the said infidels, by reason of siege brought to great penurie and miserie, for lacke of vittels & necessarie viands, perceiving that all succours were clerelie stopped and excluded from them, and so brought into vtter despaire of aid, or comfort, after long consultation had amongst them, determined to render themselves and their citie to the said king vpon diuerse covenants and conditions, and thereupon sent to him diuerse senators of the citie fullie instructed of their mind and purpose.

The king of Spaine and his counsell, considering and sagelie pondering that winter approached & was at hand, and that the christian host had long lien in the fieldes in soze tempests and greuous stormes (which they gladlie suffered for Christs sake, in whose cause and quarell they made that present warre) remembering also that the citie was of such riches, fame, and estimation, that it contained an hundred and fiftie thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages; & that it was replenished with people innumerable, and furnished with three score and ten thousand good fighting men; and finally perceiving that he might inioy now the possession of the same, without assault or effusion of christian blood,

The citie of Granado was named after the name of the king, and was a very rich citie, and was full of people.

bloud by the aduise of his counsell, he accepted, accorded, and agreed to their offers the twentieth and fift of Nouember, in the yere of Christs incarnation 1491, then being the daie of saint Katharine.

By the which composition, the roiall citie of Granada, with all the holdes and fortresses of the realme, and the towres and castels of Alpuſſarare was reuidered into the hands of the said king of Spaine; and that the king of Granada should become subiect and vassall to the king of Spaine, and to relinquish and forsake the vsurped name of a king for euer: and that all the men of warre should franklie depart out of the citie, and none there to remaine, but artificers and merchants: and all these things to be done before the five & twentieth day of Januarie. But the time was preuented, for the Moyses on the first day of Januarie sent six hundred notable personages out of the citie with their children for hostages into the campe of the king of Spaine, to the intent that he should put no dissidence nor mistrust in the citizens, but that he might peaceable and quietlie with his people enter into the citie, and take possession of the same. The which hostages were distributed and lodged in the tents and pavillions of the Spanishe armie.

The third of Januarie, the lord of Guiterins Cardenes, great master & gouernor of Lion, of the order of S. James, departed from the armie, noble and triumphantlie accompanied with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen toward the citie. And as he approached nere to the suburbs, there issued out diuers noble and valiant captains of the Moyses, making to him humble obeisance, and conducted him to a palace adioining to the citie, called the palace of Anararas, and from thence conueied him to the palace roiall of the same citie called Albambza, whereof hee toke quiet and peaceable possession, to the behoofe of the king of Spaine, whome the Moyses promised and confessed to take and obey, as their king and soueraigne lord. And in signe and token that they thought in their hearts, that which they promised by mouth; they prostrated and humbled themselves before the said great master, and with dolorous lamentation and salt teares deliuered to him the keies of the said palace.

When he had the keies, and was also possessed of that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dispatched the house of all the Moyses and pagans, and appointed a garrison of valiant and noble christians, to keepe and defend the same: and the same day caused a masse solemnie to be celebrate in a place of the same palace called Melchita, which done and finished, he toke possession of all the fortresses, towres, and holdes to the said citie and towne of Granada belonging or pertaining. And then he caused to be erected and set by on the highest tower of the palace (where it might best be seene) the signe and token of the crosse, whereon Christ for vs sinners suffered his bitter passion. At the raising whereof were present an archbishop, and three bishops, with other prelates, which deuoutlie sang this anthem: *O crux, que spes*

The said crosse was three times deuoutlie lifted, and at euerie exaltation, the Moyses being within the citie, rosed, howled, & cried, prostrating themselves, groning on the ground, & making dolorous noise and pittifull outcries. The armie incamped without the citie, seeing these things, humbled themselves meeklie before the crosse, rendering to almighty God their most humble and heartie thanks. The king of Spaine, being mounted on horsebacke, perceiving the creation of the crosse, descended from his genet, and kneeled downe on the bare ground; and rendered to God, laud, honour, and praise; for that

noble and triumphant victorie. And after that the crosse was thus set by on the high tower, the banner of saint James, and the kings banners were pitched and fixed vpon the turrets and pinacles of the citie: an herald standing in the top of the high tower, proclaiming and publishing these words following.

Saint James, saint James, saint James; Castile, Castile, Castile; Granada, Granada, Granada. By high and mightie power, lord Ferdinando and Elizabeth, king and queene of Spaine, haue loone from the infidels and Moyses the citie and realme of Granada, through the helpe of our Lord God, & the most glorious virgin his mother, and the vertuous apostle S. James, and the holie father Innocent the eight, together with the aids and succours of the great prelates, knights, and other gentlemen boine, and commons of their realmes and countries. When the herald had finished, the artillerie sounded, the minstrels blew, the people applauded and clapped their hands for gladnesse, that the earth seemed to tremble and quake vnderneath them.

After this ioy ended, there issued out of the citie in manner of procession, seven hundred and mo christians, as well men, as women and children, which had bin there prisoners and liued in bonds, seruitude, and miserable captiuitie, whereof the most part were naked, wounded, and in manner famished for hunger. To whome the king (of his great libeallitie) gaue both apparell, blands and monie. These poore prisoners comming out of the citie sang this psalme; *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui visitauit & fecit redemptionem plebi sue*; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which hath visited and redeemed his people. And so singing forth the psalme, went to the church of saint Faith, which the king Ferdinando had caused to be most sumptuouslie edified during the time of the siege, being distant from Granada two or three miles.

Now as this poore procession passed by the host, one espied his sonne, and another saw his brother; and the son perceiued the father, and the father found the daughter, which were now deliuered out of miserable seruitude and bondage. But they could not reſtaine nor hide themselves from diffilling of teares and sobbing, seeing their parents and kinnsfolke restored to libertie & freedom. And when these people had said their orisons in the church of saint Faith, and were come to the armie, they kneeled before the king, kissed his feet, crying with one voice; God grant to the king of Spaine euerlasting life. The next daie after the lord Cuerus de Mendoza, earle of Tendegile, was by the king made captaine of the house roiall and principall tower of the citie of Granada, called Albambza, hauing to him appointed and assigned one thousand men of armes, and two thousand footmen. Vnto the which earle, the great master deliuered the keies of the said palace and tower, and other ports and fortresses.

On saturday the eight daie of Januarie, in the 60 yere of our Lord 1492, Ferdinando II. of Spaine & Granada, the queene, & their eldest son Don John prince of Spaine, the lord Peter of Mendoza, the archbishop of Toledo, the patriarch of Alexandria, the cardinal of Spaine, the lord Peter prince of Lion, the duke of Caditan, the marques of Villena & Poia, the erle of Capre, the erle of Alenra of Cisneros, and manie other earles, barons, and nobles, whereof some were Englishmen (whose names I haue not) with ten thousand horsemen, and fiftie thousand footmen, with great triumph and roialtie entered into the citie of Granada, and thereof toke reall possession & seazine, and caused masse to be song in a great place called Melchita, where hee caused a solemne church to be builded in the honour of God and his mother.

The Spaniards reioicing & triumphing after the conquest of the Moyses.

The lord Cuerus de Mendoza made captaine of the house roiall.

A great number of states with their traine entered triumphantlie into Granada to take reall possession.

palaces be-
lieued to the
king of Spaine
this fac-
tion.

The banquet
the people
humble sub-
mit the king
to the king
discreet, &
bowed by the
king of the
time.

The manner of
the Spanishe
kinges giving
of them to
warre.

mother. When masse was ended, the king and quene repaired to the palace roiall of Albambra, the which was wonderfull, both in qualitie & sumptuous building, which house was adorned with rich arras and tapestrie in cuerie chamber.

The carle of Wendiglie capteine of the palace, feasted the king and quene, and all the nobilitie at his owne costes and charges. So the king of Spaine there remained till the countrie was reduced into a good conformitie and order, and diuerse fortresses and castels were made for the safeguard and tuition of the realme. And because this victorie obtained, was to the glorie of God, and to the publike wealth of all christianitie, the said cardinall of Canturburie declared to the people, that the king had sent him and the other nobles thither that day, not onlie to notifye and declare to them the vertie of the fact; but also to exhort them to giue lands and praisinges to almighty God, for deliuering so goodlie a citie, so plentifull a countrie, and so notable a region out of the hands of his enemies, and persecutors of his faith and religion. Which declaration ended, the archbishop with the cleargie & the nobles with the communaltie, in most deuout maner went in generall procession, rendering to God for this great atchieued enterpryse, glorie, honour, and most reuerent thanks.]

* Domitie doctor Porton, of whom mention is made in the beginning of this historie.

Abt. Fl. ex l. S. pag. 866.

Sir James Parker knight, running against a gentleman named Hugh Clagham, by casualtie was so sore hurt and abused, that he died thereof. This yeare also two pardoners were set on the pillorie in Coinehill three market daies, for forging of false pardons, wherewith they had deceiued the people, & got much monie. And for that one of them had feined himselfe to be a priest, hee was sent to Heligate, where he died: the other was driven out of London with shame enough. Also this yeare was Robert Fabian scribe of London & alderman, who made a chronicle of England & of France, beginning at the creation of the world, and ending in the third yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which booke is now imprinted to the end of Richard the third.]

Robert Fabian.

Parimilian king of Romans, intending to be reuenged on the Frenchmen for the manie iniuries done to him of late (and especiallie for that king Charles had forsaken his daughter ladie Margaret, and purposed to take to wife the ladie Anne of Britaine) because he was not rich enough to mainteine the warre of himselfe, he sent his ambassadour, one James Contibald, a man of great wisdom, to requite the king of England to take his part against the French king, making diuers great offers on his owne behalfe, if it should please him so to do.

King Henrie and Parimilian agree to plague the Frenchmen.

Anno. Reg. 7.

The cause of Parimilians malice against Charles of France.

King Henrie no lesse desirous than Parimilian to put the French king to trouble, and chieflie to aid the Britains in the extremitie of their businesse, gladly consented to the request of Parimilian; and promised to prepare an armie with all speed, and in time convenient to passe the seas with the same, and invade the French territories. In this verie season, Charles the French king receiued the ladie Anne of Britaine, as his pupill into his hands, and with great solemnitie hie espoused, hauing with hie in dowry, the whole duchie of Britaine.

Now was Parimilian in great chafe toward the French king, not onlie for that he had refused his daughter, but also had bereeued him of his assured wife the said ladie Anne, contrarie to all right and

conscience. Therefore he sent unto king Henrie, desiring him with all speed to passe the seas with his armie, that they might pursue the warre against their aduersarie, with fire, sword and blood. King Henrie hearing this, and hauing no mistrust in the promise of Parimilian, with all speed leuied an armie, and rigged his nauie of ships. And when all things were ready, he sent his almoner Christopher Arlwoke, and sir John Kisele knight unto Parimilian, to certifye him, that the king was in a readinesse, and would arriue at Calis, as soone as he should be aduertised that Parimilian and his men were ready to ioyne with him.

These ambassadoes coming into Flanders, perceiued that Parimilian was neither purueied of men, monie, nor armie, nor of any other thing necessarye for the setting forth of warre; sauing onlie that his will was good, although his power was small. King Henrie being aduertised hereof by letters sent to him from his said ambassadoes, was sore disquieted in his mind, and was almost brought to his wits end, to consider how his companions in arms should thus faile him at need; but taking aduise of his counsell, at length he determined not to stay his prepered iourne, and therefore he so increased his numbers before he took ship, that he with his owne power might be able to match with his aduersaries. When he had thus gathered and assembled his armie, he sailed to Calis the first day of October, and there incamped himselfe for a space, to see all his men and prouision in such readinesse, as nothing should be wanting.

In this place all the armie had knowledge by the ambassadoes (which were newlie returned out of Flanders) that Parimilian could not set forth any armie, for lacke of monie: and therefore there was no succour to be looked for at his hand. But the Englishmen were nothing dismayd therewith, as they that iudged themselves able enough to match the Frenchmen without the helpe of any other nation. In the meane season, although the French king had an armie together, both for number and furniture able to trie in battell with the Englishmen: yet he made semblance as though he desired nothing more than peace, as the thing much more profitable to him than warre: considering the minds of the Britains were not yet wholly settled.

And againe, he was called into Italie to make warre against the king of Naples, whose kingdom he pretended to appertene to him by lawfull succession from his father king Lewis, to whom Reine duke of Anjou last king of Sicill, of the house of Anjou, had transferred his right to that kingdom (as partlie before ye haue heard) wrongfullie and without cause disinheriting his cosine, godsonne and heire, Reine duke of Lorraine and Bar. The lord Charles hauing commission from his maiesty the French king to make some entrie into a treatie for peace with the king of England, wrote letters to him before he passed ouer to Calis, signifying to him that if it might stand with his pleasure to send some of his counsellors to the borders of the English pale adjoining to France, there should be so reasonable conditions of peace proffered, that he doubted not but his grace might with great honour breake up his campe, and retire his armie home againe.

The king of England considering that Britaine was cleerely lost, and past recoverie, and that Parimilian for lacke of monie, and mistrust which he had in his owne subjects, late still like a doymouse doing nothing; and here with weighing that it should be honorable to him, and profitable to his people to determine this great warre without bloodshed, appointed the bishop of Excester, and Miles lord Daubenie to passe

Parimilian's health was such that he was the king of England's great physician.

Parimilian king of the Romans was a man of great power and might.

The division of the French king.

James Contibald was a man of great wisdom and courage.

An. Reg. 7.

Commissioners
of the peace
of the said
king.

Allegiance be-
longing to the
Englishmen
treating him-
self as a
subject.

By the
English pre-
sented peace.

John
Sauage
knight of the
king.

Richard
Bis-
hop of
Bristol
and
Bishop of
Exeter
and
Bishop of
Gloucester
and
Bishop of
Hereford
and
Bishop of
Lichfield
and
Bishop of
Lincoln
and
Bishop of
Norwich
and
Bishop of
Rochester
and
Bishop of
Salisbury
and
Bishop of
Worcester
and
Bishop of
York.

Richard
Bis-
hop of
Bristol
and
Bishop of
Exeter
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Bishop of
Gloucester
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Bishop of
Hereford
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Lichfield
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Bishop of
Lincoln
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Bishop of
Norwich
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Bishop of
Rochester
and
Bishop of
Salisbury
and
Bishop of
Worcester
and
Bishop of
York.

pass the seas to Calis, and so to commun with the
lord Choydes of articles of peace, which took effect as
after ye shall perceive. In the meane time, whilst
the commissioners were communing of peace on
the marches of France, the king of England (as ye
haue heard) was arrived at Calis: from whence af-
ter all things were prepared for such a tournie, he re-
mained in foure battels forward, till he came nere
to the towne of Bullogne, & there pitched his tents
before it in a convenient place for his purpose, mea-
ning to assaile the towne with his whole force & puis-
sance.

But there was such a strong garison of warlike
souldiers within that fortress, and such plentie of ar-
tillerie, and necessarie munitions of warre, that the
losse of Englishmen assaulting the towne (as was
doubted) should be greater damage to the realme of
England, than the gaining thereof should be profit.
Wherfore the daile shot of the kings battering pec-
ces brake the walls, and soze defaced them. But when
enerie man was readie to give the assault, a sudden
rumor rose in the armie that peace was concluded;
which byte as it was pleasant to the Frenchmen,
so was it displeasing to the Englishmen, because they
were prest and readie at all times to set on their en-
emies, and brought into great hope to haue bene in-
riched by the spoile and gaine to haue fallen to their
lots of their enemies goods, beside the glorious fame
of renowned victorie.

And therefore to be defranded hereof by an un-
profitable peace, they were in great fume, and verie
angrie: and namelie for that diuerse of the captiues
to set themselves and their bands the more gorgeously
forward, had borrowed large summes of monie,
and for the repaiment had mortgaged their lands and
possessions, and some happilie had made through sale
thereof, trusting to recouer all againe by the gaines
of this tournie. Wherfore offended with this sudden
conclusion of peace, they spake euill both of the king
and his counsell. But the king like a wise prince af-
swaged their displeasure in part with excusing the
matter, alleging what losse and bloudshed was like
to insue both of captiues and souldiers, if the assault
should haue bene given to the bitterance, especiallie
sith the towne was so well furnished with men and
munitions. When he had somewhat appeased their
minds with these and manie other reasons, he retur-
ned backe againe to Calis.

There were not manie of the English armie left
at this siege of Bullogne, & few or no men of name,
saying that valiant captaine sir John Sauage
knight, the which, as he and sir John Kilslic rode a-
bout the wals of the towne, to view in what place
it might be easilist assaulted, was compassed about
by certeine Frenchmen that were issued out of the
towne, and there staine standing at defense, and vt-
terlie refusing to yeld himselfe as prisoner. But sir
John Kilslic escaped by fleeing awaie. When the k.
was thus returned to Calis, he began to smell a cer-
teine secret smoke, which was like to turne to a
great flame, without wise foresight, and good looking
to. For by the craftie inuention, and diuellsish imagi-
nation of the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie,
a new idoll was set vp in Flanders, and by a forged
name called Richard Plantagenet second sonne to
king Edward the fourth, as though he had bene rai-
sed from death to life.

The newes hereof somewhat troubled him, so that
he was with better will content to receive the hono-
rable conditions of peace offered of his enimie: be-
cause he should not be constrained at one time to
make warre both at home, and also in a forren re-
gion. The conclusion of this agreement made with
the Frenchmen, was this: That this peace should

continue both these yeeres; and that the French king
should pay to the king of England a certeine summe
of monie in hand, according as the commissioners
should appoint for his charges sustained in this tour-
nie. Which as the king certified the maiors of London
by his letters the ninth of November amounted to
the summe of seven hundred fortye and five thousand
duchats: the which is of sterling monie, one hundred
four score and six thousand, two hundred and fiftie
pounds. It was also concluded that he should yeare-
lie (for a certeine space) paie or cause to be paid, for
the monie that the k. had spent & expended in the de-
fence of the Britains five & twentie thousand crowns.

Which yearelie tribute the French king (after-
wards continually occupied in the wars of Italie)
yearelie satisfied & paid so long as k. Henrie liued,
who after he had taried a convenient space at Calis,
toke the sea, and arrived at Douer, and so came to
his manour of Greenwich. Immediatlie after his
returne thus into England, he elected into the fel-
lowship of saint George, commonlie called the order
of the garter, Alphonse duke of Calabrie, sonne and
heire to Ferdinando king of Naples. Christopher
Wriswike the kings almoner was sent to him unto
Naples with the garter, collar, mantell, and other
habillments appertaining to the companions of that
noble order. The which was reuerentlie received of
the said duke, who in a solemne presence renewed
himselfe with that habit, supposing by the counte-
nance of that apparell to be able to resist his aduersa-
rie the French king, sith he was now made a friend
and companion in order with the king of England:
but that little auailed him, as after it was right ap-
parant. And here, because in sundrie actions we haue
sene and obserued the French kings subtilties, his
inconstancie, lacke of truth, honestie, and kingly
modestie; we maie be bold to set downe the descrip-
tion of his person, as we find the same readie by tone
to hand; that by a view thereof we maie conclude
that his properties were proportioned to his person.

It is verie certeine (saith mine autho?) that king
Charles from his infancie was of complexion verie
delicate, and of bodie unsound and diseased, of small
 stature, and of face (if the aspect and dignitie of his
eyes had bene taken awaie) folwe and deformed, his
other members bearing such equall proportion, that
he seemed more a monster than a man: he was not
onelie without all knowledge of god sciences, but
scarcelie he knew the distinct characters of letters:
his mind desirous to command, but more proper to
anie other thing, for that being inuironed alwaies
with his familiars and fauourits, he retained with
them no maiestie or authoritie: he reiected all affaires
and businesse, and yet if he did debate and consider in
anie, he shewed a weake discretion and iudgement.
And if he had any thing in him that caried apparence
of merit or praise, yet being thoroughlie wetted and
sounded, it was found further off from vertue than
from vice: he had an inclination to glorie, but it was
tempered more with rashnesse and furie than with
moderation and counsell: his liberalities were with-
out discretion, measure, or distinction: immeasureable
offentimes in his purposes, but that was rather an
ill grounded obstinacie than constancie. And that
which manie call bountie, deserved more reasonable
in him the name of coldnesse & slackenesse of spirit.]

This yeare the two and twentieth of June, was
borne at Greenwich the lord Henrie, second sonne
to this king Henrie the seuenth, which was created
duke of Yorke, & after prince of Wales, and in con-
clusion succeeded his father in gouernance of this
realme, by the name of Henrie the eight, father to
our gracious souereigne queene Elizabeth. But now
to returne to the new found sonne of king Edward,
J f f f f f, continued

Alphonse duke
of Calabrie
made knight
of the garter.

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 43.
The French
king deformed
and
bed.

The birth of
Henrie duke
of Yorke, after
crowned king
by the name of
Henrie the
eight.

I 492
The malice of
the duchesse of
Burgogne
to the line of
Lancaster.

confured by mens policies from death to life; ye shall vnderstand that the duchesse of Burgogne euer desiring to cast a scorpion in the bosome of king Henrie, not for anie displeasure by him towards hir wrought or done; but onelie because he was descended of the house of Lancaster, being an enimie to hir line, began to spin a new web, like a spider that daile weauech when his hall is tozned: for after that the earle of Lincolne, which was by hir set forth, had mislead the cushion, and lost both horse and spurs, he could not be quiet, vntill he had practised a new deuise to put king Henrie to trouble. And as the diuell prouideth venomous sauce to corrupt stomachs, so for hir purpose she espied a certeine yong man of visage beautiful, of countenance demure, and of wit craftie and subtil.

Perkin war-
becke & coun-
terfeit duke of
York.

This youths name was Peter Warbecke, one for his faintnesse of stomach of the Englishmen in derision called Perkin Warbecke, according to the dutch phrase, which change the name of Peter to Perkin, of yonglings and little boies, which for want of age, lacke of strength, and manlike courage, are not thought worthe of the name of a man. This yong man trauellling many countries, could speake English and diuerse other languages; & for his basenesse of birth and stocke, was almost vnknoone of all men; and driuen to seeke liuing from his childhod, was constrained to go and trauell thorough manie countries. The duchesse glad to haue got so meet an organ for the conuensing of hir inuented purpose, as one not vnlike to be taken and reputed for the duke of Yorke, sonne to hir brother king Edward, which was called Richard, kept him a certeine space with hir priuillie.

The readie
wit of Per-
kin to learne
all that made
for his prefer-
ment to hono-
r.

Besides that, the with such diligence instructed him both in the secrets and common affaires of the realme of England, and of the linage, descent and order of the house of Yorke, that like a good scholar, not forgetting his lesson, he could tell all that was taught him promptlie without anie flackering or staie in his words. And besides that, he kept such a princelie countenance, and so counterfeited a maiestie roiall, that all men in manner did firmelie beleue, that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the dukes of Yorke. For suerlie, it was a gift gluen to that noble progenie, as of nature planted in the root, that all the sequels of that line and stocke did studie and deuise how to be equiualent in honour and fame with their forefathers and noble predecessors.

The emulation
of the dukes
of Yorke.

Perkin war-
becke arri-
ueth in Ire-
land.

When the duches had framed hir cloast meet for the market, she was informed that king Henrie prepared to make warre against Charles the French king. Wherefore she, thinking that the time serued well for the setting forth of hir malicious inuention, sent this Perkin hir new inuented maiuemet, first into Portugale, and so craftilie into the countrie of Ireland; to the intent that he, being both wittie and willie, might inuegle the rude Irishmen (being at those daies more inclined to rebellion than to reasonable order) to a new seditious commotion. Shortly after his arrivall in Ireland, whether by his shrewd wit, or the malicious exhortation of the sauage Irish gouernours, he entred so farre in credit with the people of that Ile, that his words were taken to be as true, as he vntruelie with false demonstrations set forth and published them.

The French king aduertised hercof, then being in displeasure with king Henrie, sent into Ireland for Perkin, to the intent to send him against king Henrie, which was then inuading France (as ye before haue heard.) Perkin thought himselfe aloft, now that he was called to the familiaritie of kings, and therefore with all diligence sailed into France, and

comming to the kings presence, was of him roiallie receiued, and after a princelie fashion interteined, and had a gard to him assigned, whereof was gouernour the lord Congreshall: and to him being at Paris, reioyced sir George Nevill bastard, sir John Tailor, Rowland Robinson, and an hundred English rebels. Now, after that a peace (as before is said) was concluded betwixt the French king, and the king of England, the French king dismissed Perkin, and would no longer keepe him.

But some haue said (which were there attending on him) that Perkin, fearing least the French king should deliuer him to the king of England, beguiled the lord Congreshall, and fled from Paris by night. But whether the French king knew of his departure or not, the truth is, that he being in manner in despair, returned to his first founder the ladie Margaret, of whome he was so welcomed to all outward appearance, that it seemed she could not haue reioiced at anie earthlie thing more, than she did at his presence, and (as she could well dissemble) she made semblance as though she had neuer sene him before that time. Now as she had soze longed to know not once, but diuerse times in open audience, and in solemne presence, she willed him to declare and shew by what means he was preserved from death and destruction, and in what countries he had wandered and sought friendship; and finally, by what chance of fortune he came to hir court.

This did she, to the intent that by the open declaration of these fained phantasies, the people might be perswaded to giue credit, and beleue that he was the true begotten sonne of hir brother king Edward. And after this, she assigned to him a gard of thirtie persons in murrie and blew, and highlie honoured him as a great estate, and called him the white rose of England. The nobilitie of Flanders did to him all reuerence. [All which port and pompe exhibited in most solemne sort, he was well content to take vpon him, forgetting the basenesse of his birth, and glorying in the counterfeited title of honour: much like the tap that would be called a swan, or like the crow that trimming hir selfe with the stolne feathers of a peacocke, would seeme Junos bird; as the poet saith;

*mentito nomine cygnus
Graculus appellat sese, cornicula plumas
Pauonis furata cupit passu ipsa videri.*

In this yeare was one Hugh Clopton maior of London, and of the staple, a gentleman, borne at Clopton village, halfe a mile from Stratford vpon Auen by north, who continued (during his life) a bachelor: he builded the great and sumptuous byldge of Stratford vpon Auen, at the east end of the towne. This byldge hath foureteene great arches, and a long causeie with smaller arches, all made of stone, new walled on each side. At the west end of the byldge, he builded a faire large chappell. Toward the south end of that towne, nere vnto the same, a pretie house of brick and timber, where he laie, and ended his life. He glased the chancell of the parish church in that towne, and made a waie of foure miles long, thre miles from Alesburie towards London, and one mile beyond Alesburie.]

But to returne to Perkin: the brute of whome in England, blowne throughout the realme, soze disquieted the people, insomuch that not onelie the meaner sort, but also manie of the nobles and worshipfull personages beleued and published it abroad, that all was true which was reported of him. And not onelie they that were in sanctuaries, but also manie other that were fallen in debt, assembled in a companie, and passed ouer the seas into Flanders, to their counterfeited duke of Yorke, otherwise rightlie named Perkin Warbecke. Truelie the realme of England was

Perkin
warbecke
counterfeit
duke of
York.

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warbecke
counterfeit
duke of
York.

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Perkin
warbecke
counterfeit
duke of
York.

*As the rumour
of great deliqui-
ties.*

was in maner diuided (with the rumour and vaine
fable spread abroad of this wise borne duke) into par-
takings and contrarie factions. And some of the no-
ble men conspired together, purposing to aid the foze-
said Perkin, as the man whome they reputed to be
the verie sonne of king Edward; and that the matter
was not feigned, but altogether true, iust, and not
imagined of anie malicious pretense or euill pur-
pose.

Anno Reg. 8.

*Perkin com-
menced the
case of 7 yokes
of comming-
in.*

And because the thing was weightie, and required
great aid and assistance, therefore they determined
to send messengers vnto the ladie Spargaret, to
know when Richard duke of Yorke might conueni-
entlie come into England; to the intent that they be-
ing thereof certified, might be in a readinesse to helpe
and succour him at his arriual. So by the common
consent of the conspirators, sir Robert Clifford
knight, and William Warleie, were sent into Flan-
ders, which discovered to the duches all the secret in-
tents and priuie meanings of the friends and fau-
tors of the new found duke. The duches glablie re-
ceiued this message, and after shee had heard their
errand, shee brought the messenger to the sight of
Perkin, who so well counterfeited the gesture, coun-
tenance, and manner of Richard duke of Yorke, that
sir Robert Clifford beleued verelie, that he was the
second sonne of king Edward; and therefore wrote
a letter of credit into England to his complices: and
to put them out of doubt, he affirmed that he knew
him to be king Edwards sonne by his face, and o-
ther lineaments of his bodie.

*Perkins true
image.*

Upon this letter, the chiefe doers in this businesse
spred the signification thereof abroad through the
realme, to the intent to stirre the people to some new
tumult and commotion: but it was done by such a
secret craft, that no man could tell who was the au-
thor of that rumour. The king perceiued that this
vaine fable was not banished out of the mad brains
of the common people. To prouide therefore against
all perils that might thereby insue, he sent certeine
knights that were skilfull men of warre, with com-
petent bands of soldiers, to keepe the sea coasts and
hauiens, to vnderstand who came in and went out of
the realme; doubting least some great conspiracie
were in brewing against him. He also sent into the
low countries certeine persons, to learne the truth
of this forged dukes progenie, where some of them
that were so sent, comming to Tourne, got know-
lege that he was borne in that citie, of base linage,
and named Perkin Warbecke.

*The messengers
sent to Philip
archduke of
Burgonie.*

The king then advertised not onclie by his espi-
als vpon their returne, but also from other his tru-
stie frends, determined with all speed to haue the
fraud published, both in England and forren parts:
and for the same cause sent sir Edward Poynings
knight, & sir William Warram doctor of the lawes
vnto Philip archduke of Burgonie, and to his coun-
cellors; because he was not of age able to gouerne of
himselfe; to signifie to him and them, that the young
man, being with the ladie Spargaret, had falselie and
vntuallie vsurped the name of Richard duke of
Yorke, which long before was murdered with his
brother Edward in the Towre of London, by the
commandement of their vncle king Richard, as ma-
nie men then liuing could testifie.

The ambassadors comming to the court of Phi-
lip the archduke, were honozable interteined of him
and of his counsell, and willed to declare the effect of
their message. William Warram made to them
an eloquent oration, and in the later end somewhat
truelie against the ladie Spargaret, not sparing to
declare, how she now in her later age had brought
forth (within the space of a few yeares together) two
detestable monstres, that is to saie, Lambert of

whom yee heard before; and this same Perkin War-
becke, and being conceiued of these two great babes,
was not deliuered of them in eight or nine moneths
as nature requireth; but in one hundred and eightie
moneths, for both these at the lest were fiftene yeres
of age, yet she would be brought in bed of them, and
shew them openlie; and when they were newlie crept
out of hir wombe, they were no infants but lustie
younglings, and of age sufficient to bid battell to
kings. Although these talents angred the ladie Spar-
garet to the hart, yet Perkin was more veyed with
the things declared in this oration, and especiallie be-
cause his cloaked fuggling was brought to light.

The duches intending to cast hot sulphur into the
new kindled fire, determined with might and maine
to arme and set forward prettie Perkin against the
king of England. When the ambassadors had done
their message, and that the archdukes counsell had
long debated the matter; they made answer, that to
haue the king of Englands loue, the archduke and
they would neither aid nor assist Perkin nor his com-
plices in anie cause or quarrell. Yet notwithstanding
if the ladie Spargaret, persisting in her coted malice
towards the king of England, would be to him aid-
ing and helping, it was not in their power to with-
stand it; for because in the lands assigned to hir for hir
dowry, she might franklie and freelie order all things
at hir will and pleasure, without contradiation of a-
nie other gouernour.

After that the ambassadors were returned with
this answer, the king straight sent forth certeine espi-
als into Flanders, which should feigne themselves
to haue fled to the duke of Yorke; and thereby search
out the whole intent of the conspiracie, and after
what sort they meant to proceed in the same. Others
were sent also to intise sir Robert Clifford and Wil-
liam Warleie, to returne into England, promising to
them pardon of all their offenses, and high rewards,
for obeying the kings request. They that were sent,
did so earnestlie and prouidentlie applie their businesse,
that they brought all things to passe at their owne de-
sires. For first they learned who were the chiefe con-
spirators, and after perswaded sir Robert Clifford to
giue ouer that enterprise, which had no grounded
staie to rest vpon. Albeit William Warleie at the
first would not leaue off, but continued his begynn
attempt; till after two yeares, he repenting him of
his follie, & hauiing pardon granted him of the king,
returned home into his native countrie.

When the king had knowledge of the chiefe cap-
teins of this conspiracie (by the ouerture of his espi-
als which were returned) he caused them to be appre-
hended, and brought to London before his presence.
Of the which the chiefe were John Ratcliffe, lord
Fitz-Water, sir Simon Montford, sir Tho. Whytais
knights, William Daubeneie, Robert Ratcliffe,
Thomas Cressenoz, and Thomas Astwood. Also cer-
teine preests & religious men, as sir William Rich-
ford doctor of diuinitie, and sir Thomas Poines, both
friers of saint Dominicks order, doctor William
Sutton, sir William Mosseleie deane of Paules,
Robert Laiborne, and sir Richard Lesleie. Other
which were guiltie, hearing that their fellows were
apprehended, fled and toke sanctuarie. The other that
were taken were condemned, of the which sir Simon
Montford, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Daube-
nie were beheaded.

Some had their pardons, and the preests also for
their order sake; but yet few of them liued long af-
ter. The lord Fitz-Water pardoned of life, was
conueied to Calis, and there laid in hold, & after lost
his head; because he went about to corrupt his he-
pers with rewards, that he might escape, intending
(as was thought) to haue gone to Perkin. Thus by

*The sum of
D. Wariants
speech to the
archduke.*

*Anno Reg. 9.
Espials sent
into Flanders
from the king
for a subtil
politic.*

*The conspi-
ring fantas-
ies of the coun-
terfeit duke
of yorke.*

Abr. Flem.

f f f f f.

the

the policie and subtilie deuise of the king, practised to the point by his espials, the finewes of this conspiracie was rent in sunder. So that the malicious ladie Margaret was not a little shooke with indignation when she saw the course of hir deuise (now that it had passed so far as that it was knowne to people on this side and beyond the seas) stopped, and the confederacie (whereof she speciallie trusted) dissolved. Yet notwithstanding, as women will not (to die for it) give over an enterprise, which of an envious purpose they attempt; so she put hir irons afresh into the fier to set hir hatred forward: whome a while we will leaue at worke, and shew some doings betwene England and Flanders.]

King Henrie taking displeasure with the king of Romans, for that he kept not touch in aiding him against the French king, and partlie displeased with the Flemings, but speciallie with the ladie Margaret, for keeping and setting forward Perkin Warbecke, not onelie banished all Flemish wares and merchandizes out of his dominions, but also refreshed all English merchants from their repaite and traffike into any of the lands and territories of the king of Romans, or of the archduke Philip, sonne to the same king of the Romans; causing the mart to be kept at Calis, of all English merchandizes and commodities. Wherefore the said king and his sonne banished out of their lands and seignories all English clothes, yarne, tin, lead, and other commodities of this realme. The restraint made by the king sore hindered the merchants aduenturers; for they had no occupying to beare their charges, and to support their credit withall.

And that most greued them, the Casserlings being at libertie, brought to the realme such wares as they were wont, & so serued their customers through out the realme. Whereupon there ensued a riot by the seruants of the mercers, haberdashers, & clothworkers in the citie of London, the tuesday before saint Edwards day. For they perceiuing what hinderance grew to their maisters, in that they were not able so well to keepe them as before they had done, assembled together in purpose to reuenge their malice on the Casserlings, & so came to the Stillard, & began to rife & spoile such chambers & warehouses as they could get into. So that the Casserlings had much ado to withstand them, & keepe them back out of their gates, which with helpe of carpenters, smiths, and other that came to them by water out of Southwarke, they shored & so fortified, that the multitude of the seruants and prentices, being assembled, could not preuaile.

At length came the maior with a number of men, defensible weaponed, to remoue the force; at whose approach those riotous persons fled awaie like a flocke of sheepe. But diuerse of them were apprehended, and vpon inquirie made before the kings commissioners, about foure score seruants & apprentices were found to be conspired together, and sworne not to reueale it; of whom some of the chiefe beginners were committed to the Towre, and there long continued. But in conclusion, because none of their maisters, nor any one householder was found culpable, the king of his clemencie pardoned their offense, and restored them to libertie. [For he thought it no credit to his crowne to take vengeance of such sillie soules by feruencie of death, whom in clemencie pardoning he might restore to a reformed life.]

On the two & twentieth of Februarie in this yere were arraigned in the Chulohall of London foure persons, Thomas Wagnall, John Scot, John Heath, and John Benington, the which were sanctuarie men of saint Partins le grand in London, and latelie before were taken out of the said sanctuarie, for forging of seditious bills, to the slander of the king, & some of

his counsell, for the which three of them were judged to die; and the fourth named Wagnall, pleaded to be restored to sanctuarie: by reason whereof he was reprimed to the Towre till the next tearme: and on the six and twentieth of Februarie, the other three with a Fleming, and a yeoman of the crowne, were all five executed at Tyborne. On the eight and twentieth of April Jone Boughton widow was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certeine opinions of John Wickliffe. Wheat was sold at London at six pence the bushell, baie salt for three pence halfe penie the bushell, flantwich salt was sold for six pence the bushell, white herrings nine shillings the barrel, red herrings at three shillings the cade, red spots six pence the cade, & Calcoigne wine for six pounds the tun.]

Shortlie after sir Robert Clifford, partlie trusting on the kings promise, and partlie mistrusting the desperat begun enterprise, returned suddentlie againe into England. The king certified before of his comming, went straight to the Towre of London the morow after the day of Epiphanie, & there taried till such time as sir Robert Clifford was there presented to his person. This was done for a policie, that if sir Robert accused any of the nobilitie, they might be called thither without suspicion of any euill, and their attached and laid fast. Some thought also, that for a policie king Henrie sent sir Robert Clifford ouer as an espie, or else he would not so soon haue received him into fauour againe. Nevertheless, there were great presumptions that it was nothing so, for both was he in great danger after his begun attempt, and neuer was so much esteemed with the king afterward as he was before.

But this is true, vpon his comming to the kings presence, he besought him of pardon, and obtained it; and therewith opened all the maner of the conspiracie, so far as he knew, and who were aiders, assistants, and chiefe beginners of it; amongst whom he accused sir William Stanleie, whom the king had made his chiefe chamberleine, and one of his priue counsell. The king was sozie to heare this, and could not be induced to beleue that there was so much untruff in him, till by euident proofes it was tried against him. Then the king caused him to be refreshed from his libertie in his owne chamber within the quadrat towre, and there appointed him by his priue counsell to be examined, in which examination he nothing denied, but wiselie and sagelie agreed to all things laid to his charge, if he were faultie therein.

The report is, that this was his offense. When communication was had betwixt him, and the aboue mentioned sir Robert Clifford, as concerning Perkin, which falselie usurped the name of R. Edwards sonne; sir William Stanleie said, that if he knew certeinlie that the young man was the indubitate heire of king Edward the fourth, he would neuer fight or beare armour against him. This point argued, that he bare no hartie good will toward king Henrie as then. But what was the cause that he had continued some inward grudge towards the king; or how it chanced that the king had withdrauen his speciall fauor from him, manie haue doubted. Some indeed haue guessed, that sir William Stanleie, for the service which he shewed at Bosworthfield, thought that all the benefites which he received of the king, should be farre vnder that which he had deserued, in preserving not onelie the kings life; but also in obtaining for him the victorie of his enemies, so that his aduersarie was slaine in the field.

Wherefore desiring to be created earle of Chester, and therof denied, he began to disdaine the king. And one thing incouraged him much, which was the riches and treasure of king Richard, which he onlie possessed at the battell of Bosworth; by reason of which

Flemish
wares long
bidden.

The mart
kept at Calis.

English commodities
banished out of
Flanders.

A riot made
vpon the Casserlings.

Ab. Pl. ex l. S.
pag. 867.
Execution for
seditious bills
against the
kings person.

Chertie
the
cheape.

1494
Anno. reg.

Politicie
of
Robert Clifford.

Sir William
Stanleie
a
fauourer
of
Perkin.

The offense
of
sir William
Stanleie.

Consent
of
sir William
Stanleie
to
the
king's
execution.

riches and great power of men, he set naught by the king his soueraine lord and maister. The king hauing thus an hole in his coat, doubted first what he should do with him; for loth he was to lose the fauour of his brother the earle of Derby: and againe to pardon him, he feared least it should be an euill example to other, that should go about to attempt the like offense. And so at length, seueritie got the vpper hand, & merrie was put backe, in so much that he was arraigned at Westminster and adiudged to die, and (according to that iudgement) was brought to the Tower till the fiftenth daie of Februarie, and there had his head striken off.

[This was the end of sir William Stanley the chiefe helper of king Henrie to the crowne at Bosworth field against king Richard the third, and who set the same crowne first vpon the kings head, when it was found in the field trampled vnder feet. He was a man (while he liued) of great power in his countie, and also of great wealth; in so much as the common fame ran, that there was in his castell of Holt found in ready coine, plate, and iewels, to the value of fortie thousand markes or more, and his land and fees extended to thre thousand pounes by yeare. Heer helpe all helped not; neither his good seruice in Bosworth field, neither his forwardnesse (euen with the hazard of life) to prefer H. Henrie to the crowne, neither his faithfullnesse in cleauing to him at all times, neither the bond of alliance betwixt them, neither the power that he was able to make, neither the riches which he was worth, neither intercession of friends, which he wanted not; none of these, nor all these could procure the redemption of his last life: *officium decus hominum, & variable tempus.*]

On the fiftenth of Nouember was holden the sergeants feast at the bishops place of Elie in Holborne, where dined the king, quene, and all the chiefe lords of Englnd. The new sergeants names were maister Doyant, Wigham, Kingmill, Constable, Butler, Pakelleie, Frowliche, Drenbridge, & Constable. In digging for to laie a new foundation in the church of saint Marie hill in London, the bodie of Beckete, which had bene buried in the church the space of 170 yeares, was found whole of skinn, & the points of his armes pliable: which corpe was kept aboue ground some daies without annoiunce, and then buried againe. Also this yeare (as maister Gratton saith) at the charges of maister John Late alderman of London was the church of saint Anthones founded, & annexed vnto the college of Windesore, wherein was erected one notable and free schole to the furtherance of learning, and a number of poore people (by the name of almshouses, which were poore, aged, and decayed householders) releued, to the great commendation of that worthy man, who so liued in worship, that his death by his worthy doings may both him self alure; for he was not forgetfull to beautifie the good state of this citie, in which by wealth he had tasted of Gods blessings.]

About this same time, diuerse men were punished that had vpon a presumptuous boldnesse spoken manie slanderous words against the kings maiestie, hoping still for the arruall of the seigned Richard duke of Yorke. After the death of sir William Stanley, Giles lord Daubenie was elected and made the kings chiefe chamberlein. Also, the k. sent into Ireland to purge out the euill & wicked seeds of rebellion amongst the wild & sauaige Irish people, sowed there by the craftie conuenance of Perkin Warbecke: sir Henrie Deane, late abbat of Langtonie (whome he made chancelor of that Ile); sir Edward Poynings knight, with an armie of men. The fauourers of Perkin, hearing that sir Edward Poynings was come with a power to persecute them, withdrew

streightwaies, and fled into the woods and marishes for the safegard of themselves.

Sir Edward Poynings according to his commission, intending to punish such as had aided and advanced the enterprize of Perkin, with his whole armie marched forward against the wild Irishmen, because that all other being culpable of that offense, fled and resorted to them for succour. But when he saw that his purpose succeeded not as he would haue wished it; both because the Irish lords sent him no succour according to their promises; and also for that his owne number was not sufficient to furnish his enterprize, because his enemies were dispersed amongst woods, mounteins, and marishes: he was constrained to recule backe, fore displeased in his mind against Gerald earle of Wildare, being then the kings deputie.

Now, the cause of this his discontentment was, for that the said earle was suspected to be the meane that he had no succours sent him, and was so informed in deed by such as bare the earle no good will. And therefore suddenlie he caused the earle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his companie into England. Which earle being examined, and sundrie points of treason laid to him, he confessed them all, & laid the burthen in other mens necks, that he was dismissed, and sent into Ireland againe, there to be deputie and lieutenant as he was before. The king being now in some better snertie of his estate, did take his progresse into Lancashire the five & twentieth daie of June, there to make merrie with his mother the countesse of Derby, which then laie at Lathome in the countie.

In this meane while, Perkin Warbecke, being in Flanders, fore troubled that his tuggling was discovered, yet he determined not to leaue off his enterprize, in hope at length to attaine the crowne of England: and so gathering a power of all nations, some bankrupts, some false English sanctuarie men, some theues, robbers, and vagabunds, which desiring to liue by rapine, were glad to serue him. And thus furnished, he took such ships as his friends had provided for him: and departing from Flanders towards England, he arrived vpon the Kentish coast, & there cast anchor, purposing to proue how the people there were affected towards him: and therefore he sent certeine of his men to land, to signifie to the countie his arruall with such power, that the victorie must incline to his part.

The Kentishmen vnderstanding that Perkin was but Perkin, and had none with him (to make account of) but strangers bozne, like faithfull subjects determined to fall vpon those that were thus new come to land, and to trie if they might allure the whole number out of their ships, so to giue them battell. But Perkin wiselie considering that the maner of a multitude is not to consult, and sagelie to aduise with themselves in anie deliberate sort, but suddenlie and rashlie to run headlong into rebellion, would not set one foot out of his ship, but till he saw all things sure. Yet he permitted some of his souldiers to go on land, which being trained forth a pretie waie from their ships, were suddenlie compassed about and beset of the Kentishmen, and at one stroke vanquished and driuen backe to their ships.

Of these discomfited soules were taken prisoners an hundred and fortie persons, whereof Hue, Pontfort, Corbet, White, Belt, Quintin (or otherwaie Genin) being captiues were brought to London by sir John Debie, shiriffe of Kent, railed in ropes like horses draiuing in a cart, & after vpon their arraignment confessed their offense, and were executed, some at London, and other in the towne adioining to the sea coast. And thus Perkin, missing of his purpose, fled

Gerald earle of Wildare deputie of Irelands appointed.

King Henries progresse into Lancashire.

Perkin at a tempreth to land in Kent in hope of victorie.

Perkins mens discomfited.

Perkins captiues taken & executed.

Perkin returneth into Flanders.

...backe into Flanders. In this berie season departed to Sicilie duchesse of Yorke mother to king Edward the fourth, at hir castell of Berkhamssted, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buried by hir husband in the college of Ffodzingrie.

The king being aduertised that his enemies were landed, leaving off his progresse, purposed to haue returned to London; but being certified the next day of the luckie speed of his faithfull subjects, continued his progresse, & did send sir Richard Gifford both to commend the fidelitie and manhood of the Kentishmen, and also to render to them most hartie thanks for the same. He also caused order to be taken for the erecting of beacons, and watching of them. Perkin then perceiving that he should not be receiued into England, sailed into Ireland, trusting there to augment his numbers, and then to returne towards the coast of England againe, and to take land in the West countrie, if occasion serued; but if not, then he determined to saile straight into Scotland, to seke friendship there.

After he had therefore staid a while in Ireland, and perceined that the hope of victorie consisted not in the Irish nation, being naked people, without furniture of armour or weapon, he toke the sea againe at Corke, and sailed into Scotland; where comming to the presence of king James, he forged such a painted processe to moue him to beleue that he was the berie sonne of king Edward: that the Scottish king, whether blinded with error, or blisng dissimulation, that he might vnder a colourable pretext make war against England, began to haue Perkin in great honour, and caused him openlie to be called duke of Yorke. And to persuaade the world that so he was indeed, he caused the ladie Katharine, daughter to Alexander earle of Huntley, his nigh kinsman, to be espoused to him. (But yer we passe anie further, you shall see and peruse (if you will) the said painted processe of Perkin, as it is left in record by Edward Hall for an example what working force is in words (speciallie where the hearers are easie to be seduced) and not to be ouer hastie to giue them too quicke & hastie credit. For the poet saith of gate words void of truth:

M. Pal. in Virg.

*Verba nitent phaleris, at nullas verba medullas
Inus habent.*

The colourable oration or counterfeit tale that Perkin told the king of Scots to iustifie his false title.

Abt. Flem. ex Edw. Hall fol. xxxviii, xxxix.
Perkin saith that he is Edward the fourths lawfull sonne.

THinke it is not vnknowne vnto you (most noble king and puissant prince) into what ruine the stocke house, and familie of Edward the fourth, of that name king of England, is now of late brought to and fallen in, either by Gods permission, or by diuine punishment; whose indubitate sonne (if you know not already) I am, and by the power of almighty God, preferred aliuie to this houre from the mightie hand of a tyrant. For my father king Edward (when he died) appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protector, and defendour; whome the more that he loued & studied to aduance and promote, the better he thought that he would loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my vnfortunate chance I may say how hath his trust bene turned into treason, and his hope into hinderance, all men know and I feele.

Our vncke was not the tutor and preseruer of our stocke and linage, but the confounder & destroyer of our bloud and progenie. For that tyrant, blinded and gluttied with the desire of ruling and souereigntie, commanded Edward my brother & me to be slaine and dispatched out of this mortall life. Whereupon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and giuen to oppresse and destroye by power innocent infants and guiltlesse babes, the more that he abhorred this heinous and butcherlie offense, the more he feared to commit it.

And so wauering in mind and doubtful what to doe, at the length willing in part to stanch the bloudie thirst of the unnatural tyrant, and in part to abstaine from so heinous & detestable homicide, he destroyed my brother and preserued me; like the good priest Joiada, who saved little Joas, when all the children of the bloud totall were commanded by Athalia the queene to be slaine and vtterlie destroyed. And further, to the intent that my life might be in surer, he appointed one to conueie me into some strange countrie; where when I was furthest off, and had most need of comfort he forsooke me suddenlie (I thinke he was so appointed to doe) and left me desolate alone without friend or knowlege of anie reliefe or refuge. And so king Richard did obtaine the crowne as a preie mischeuouslie gotten by the dispatching awaie of my brother and me. So that I thus elcasing, by reason of my tender infancie, forgot almost my selfe, and knew not well what I was. But after long wandering from countrie to countrie, and from citie to citie, I perceiued and learned by little and little what was my estate & degree; and so in conclusion came to mine owne aunt the ladie Margaret living in Flanders, which was sometime married to Charles duke of Burgogne, which as iustfullie receiued and welcomed me, as if I had come out of hell into heauen, as the onelie type and garland of hir noble stirpe and linage. But forsomuch as she being onelie Dowager of the duchie of Burgogne, and hauing nothing but hir dowrie proper to hir selfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munitions of warre, as she would gladlie haue done for the recouerie of my fathers reime & rightfull inheritance: I therefore am driuen to seke further aid and succour.

And therefore by hir counsell and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and souldiers, I am repaired to your presence for succours; of whome (as the publike fame is spred ouer the whole world) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie chased or driuen out of his countrie, region, or inheritance, or by extort power and tyrannie kept out of the same (as I my selfe from mine infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and denied at your hand. Therefore, by the maiestie of your realme & countrie I desire, & heartlie wish

Perkin telleth the king how he was preserued, & kept aliuie.

Perkin telleth the king how he was preserued, & kept aliuie.

Perkin telleth the king how he was preserued, & kept aliuie.

with praier as I can, I beseech and exhort you to helpe and relieue me now in my extreme necessitie. And if it chance me by your aid and succour to recouer & possesse my fathers realme and dignitie; not onelie I, but all the kings of our linage, which hereafter shall obtaine the same, shall be so much obliged and bound vnto you; that they must needs thinke, that doing to you all the pleasure and benefits that they can, yet with all thanks that can be giuen your great kindnesse can neuer in full measure be recompensed.

When he had thus said, the king bad him be of good comfort, and promised him that whatsoeuer he were, it should neuer repent him of his comming to him.] Shortly after, hauing this Perkin with him in company, he entered into England with a puissant armie, and caused proclamation to be made, to spare all those that would submit themselves vnto Richard duke of Yorke. Wherewith they began the warre in most cruell manner, with slaughter of men, burning of townes, spoiling of houses, and committing of all other detestable enormities; so that all the countrie of Northumberland was by them in manner wasted, and destroyed. At length, when the souldiers were laden with spoiles, and faciate with blood, perceiuing that no succours came out of England vnto the new inuenced duke, contrarie to that which he had made them to beleue would come to passe; they determined to retire rather with assured gaine, than to tarrise the vncertaine victorie of that counterfeit duke, and so thereupon they withdrew backe into Scotland enriched with preies and booties.

It is said, that Perkin Warbecke, being returned into Scotland with the king of Scots, vnder a cloaked pretense should fore lament the great slaughter, spoile, and damage, which had bene done at this last roade made into England; and therefore as one that bare a naturall loue toward his native countrie, besought the king of Scots, that from thenceforth, he would no more so deface his naturall reline, and destroy his subiects with such terrible fire, flame and hauckie; as who should saie, he being overcome now with compassion, did betwix the cruell destruction of his naturall countrie of England. But the Scottish li. told him, that he seemed to take thought for that which appeared to be none of his, sith that not so much as one gentleman or yeoman (for ought he could see) would once thew themselves readie to aid him in the warre begun for his cause, & in his name, within that realme which he pretended to claime to appertene to him.

The king of England being certified of this inuasion, prepared an armie with all diligence to haue resisted the Scots: but they were returned per the English power could assemble together. Now when the king was truelie certified that the Scottish king was returned home, he staied all the preparations made at that time to go against him. But yet meaning to be reuenged of the wrongs done to him by king James and his people; he first called a parliament, and in that assemble of three estates of the realme, he declared the cause of the instant warre, and how necessarie it should be for the suertie and wealth of the realme of England to haue that warre pursued against those enemies that had begun it. To this motion all the nobilitie wholie agreed. And to the maintenance of that warre, a subsidie was by whole assent of the parliament freely giuen and granted. Which payment though it was not great, yet manie of the common people soze grudged to pay the same,

as they that euer abhorre such taxes and exactions. At the same parliament were diuerse acts and statutes made, necessarie & expedient (as was thought) for the publike weale of the realme.

In the meane season the king of Scots, perceiuing that the Englishmen would shortly go about to reuenge the iniuries done to them by him and his people, assembled esthones a puissant armie, that he might either defend his realme against the English power, attempting to inuade his countrie, or else freshly to enter into the English borders. And thus these two mightie princes minded nothing more than the one to indamage the other. But the king of England would not deferre one houre by (his good will) till he were reuenged, and therefore prepared a mightie armie to inuade Scotland, and ordeined for chiefeine thereof the lord Daubenie. But as this armie was assembled, and that the lord Daubenie was forward on his iournie towards Scotland, he was suddenlie staied and called backe againe, by reason of a new commotion begun by the Cornishmen for the payment of the subsidie which was granted at the last parliament.

These vnicolie people the Cornishmen, inhabiting in a barren countrie and vnfruitfull, at the first soze repined that they should be so grauonslie taxed, and burdened the kings counsell as the onelie cause of such polling and pilling: and so being in their rage, menaced the chiefe authors with death and present destruction. And thus being in a roze, two persons of the same affinitie, the one called Thomas Flam-mocke, a gentleman, learned in the lawes of the realme; and the other Michaell Joseph, a smith, men of stout stomachs and high courages, took vpon them to be captains of this seditious companie. They laid the fault and cause of this exaction vnto John Morton archbishop of Canturburie, and to sir Reginald Bate; because they were chiefe of the kings counsell. Such rewards haue they commonlie that be in great authoritie with kings and princes.

The captains Flam-mocke and Joseph exhorted the common people to put on harnesse, and not to be asfear'd to follow them in that quarrell, promising not to hurt anie creature, but onelie to see them punished that procured such exactions to be laid on the people, without anie reasonable cause, as vnder the colour of a little trouble with the Scots, which sith they were withydwone home they toke to be well quieted and appeased. So these captains bent on mischief, (were their outward pretense neuer so finelie coloured) perswaded a great number of people to assemble together, and condescended to do as their captains would agree and appoint. When these captains praising much the hardines of the people, when all things were ready for their infortunate iournie, set forward with their armie, and came to Taunton, where they slue the prouost of Berin, which was one of the commissioners of the subsidie, and from thence came to Welles, so intending to go to London, where the king then sojourned.

When the king was aduertised of these doings, he was somewhat astonied, and not without cause; being thus troubled with the warre against the Scots, and this ciuill commotion of his subiects at one instant. But first meaning to subdue his rebellious subiects; and after to proceed against the Scots, as occasion should serue, he reuoked the lord Daubenie which (as you haue heard) was going against the Scots, and increased his armie with manie chosen and piked warriours. Also mistrusting that the Scots might now (hauing such opportunitie) inuade the realme againe; he appointed the lord Th. Howard erle of Surrie (which after the death of the lord Witham was made high treasurer of England) to gather a

1497
The king of England and Scotland prepare for mutual warre.

A rebellion in Cornwall for the payment of a subsidie.

The two captains in this commotion.

The prouost of Berin slain by the rebels.

Thomas Howard erle of Surrie high treasurer of England.

1496
The Scottish king made with an armie in Perkin his name.

The counter- for complice- as of Perkin.

An. Reg. 11.

A parliament of the three estates of the realme.

2. 1496.

band of men in the countie Palatine of Durham, that they with the aid of the inhabitants adjoining, and the borderers, might keepe backe the Scots if they chanced to make anye inuasion. The nobles of the realme hearing of the rebellion of the Cornishmen, came to London, euery man with as many men of warre as they could put in a readinesse, to aid the king if need should be. In the which number were the earle of Essex, and the lord Montjoy, with diuerse other.

James Twichet lord Audley cheefe captaine of the Cornish rebels,

In the meane time, James Twichet lord Audley being confederate with the rebels of Cornwall joined with them, being come to Welles, and toke upon him as their cheefe captaine to lead them against their naturall lord and king. From Welles they went to Salisbury, and from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they hoped to haue had great aid, but they were deceived in that their expectation. For the erle of Kent, George lord of Aburgaenie, John Brooke, lord Cobham, sir Edward Poynings, sir Richard Gifford, sir Thomas Bourchier, John Pechey, William Scot, and a great number of of people, were not onely prest and readie to defend the countie, to keepe the people in due obedience, but bent to fight with such as would lift up sword, or other weapon against their soueraigne lord: inasmuch that the Kentishmen would not once come nere the Cornishmen, to aid or assist them in anye manner of wise.

Want of the Cornishmen take their heate by night.

Which thing maruelouslie dismayed the hearts of the Cornishmen, when they saw themselves thus deceived of the succours which they most trusted upon, so that many of them (feearing the euill chance that might happen) fled in the night from their companie, and left them, in hope so to saue themselves. The captaines of the rebels, perceiving they could haue no helpe of the Kentishmen, putting their onely hope in their owne puissance, brought their people to Blacke heath, a foure miles distant from London, and there in a plaine on the top of an hill, they ordered their battels, either readie to fight with the king if he would assaile them, or else to assault the citie of London: for they thought the king durst not haue encountered with them in battell. But they were deceived: for the king although he had power inough about to haue fought with them before their coming so nere to the citie; yet he thought it best to suffer them to come forward, till he had them farre off from their native countie, and then to set upon them being destitute of aid in some place of aduantage.

The citie of London fore afraid of the rebels.

The citie was in a great feare at the first knowledge given, how the rebels were so nere incamped to the citie, euery man getting himselfe to harnesse, and placing themselves, some at the gates, some on the walles, so that no part was undefended. But the king deliuered the citie of that feare: for after that he perceived how the Cornishmen were all daie readie to fight, and that on the hill; he sent straight John Earle of Wrenford, Henrie Bourchier, earle of Essex, Edmund de la Pole, earle of Suffolke, sir Rafe ap Thomas, and sir Humfreie Stanleie, noble warriors, with a great companie of archers and horsemen, to entaile the hill on the right side, and on the left, to the intent that all bywaters being stopped and foreclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from them. And incontinentlie he himselfe, being as well incouraged with manlie stomachs as furnished with a populous armie and plentie of artillerie, set forward out of the citie, and incamped himselfe in saint Georges field, where he on the first daie at night then lodged.

On the saturday in the morning, he sent the lord Daubeney with a great companie to set on them

earlye in the morning, which first got the bridge at Wretford Strand, which was manfullie defended by certeine archers of the rebels, whose arrowes (as is reported) were in length a full cloth yarb. While the earles set on them on euery side, the lord Daubeney came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting, the Cornishmen were overcome; and first they toke the lord Daubeney prisoner: but whether it were for feare, or for hope of fauour, they let him go at libertie, without hurt or detriment. There were slaine of the rebels which fought and resisted, aboue thousand men (as Edward Hall noteth) and taken prisoners an infinite number, & amongst them the blacke smith, and other the cheefe captaines, which were shortly after put to death. When this battell was ended, the king wanted of all his numbers but thre hundred, which were slaine at that conflict.

Some affirme, that the king appointed to haue fought with them not till the mondaie, and preventing the time set on them on the saturday before, taking them vnprovidd, and in no arraie of battell; and so by that policie obtained the field and victory. The prisoners as well captaines as other, were pardoned, sauing the cheefe captaines and first beginners, to whom he shewed no mercie at all. The lord Audley was dyatone from Newgate to the Tower hill in a coate of his owne armes, painted upon paper reuerfed and all to toyme, and there was beheaded the foure and twentieth of June. Thomas Flamme, moche & Michaell Joseph were hanged, dyatone, and quartered after the maner of traitors, & their heads and quarters were pitched upon stakes, and set vp in London, and in other places: although at the first, the king meant to haue sent them into Cornwall, to haue bene set vp there for a terror to all others. But hearing that the Cornishmen at home were readie to begin a new conspiracie, leaue he should the more irritate and prouoke them by that displeasing sight, he changed his purpose, for doubt to wape himselfe in more trouble than needed.

While these thyngs were aduoying in England, the king of Scots being aduertised of the whole matter and rebellion of the Cornishmen, thought not to let passe that occasion: and therefore he establisht inuaded the frontiers of England, wasting the countie, burning towne, and murdering the people, sparing neither place nor person: and while his light horsemen were riding to forraie and despoile the bishopricke of Durham, and there burned all about, he with an other part of his armie did besiege the castell of Po:ham. The bishop of Durham Richard For, being owner of that castell, had well furnished it both with men and munitions aforesaid, doubting least that would follow which came now to passe. The bishop, after that the Scots made this inuasion, aduertised the king (as then being at London) of all thyngs that chanced in the North parts; and sent in all post hast to the earle of Surrie, to come to the rescue. The earle being then in Dorsetshire, and hauing gathered an armie, upon knowledge given to him from the bishop, with all diligence marched forward, and after him followed other noble men out of all the quarters of the North, euery of them bringing as many men as they could gather, for defense of their countie.

Amongst these, the cheefe leaders were, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Dacres, Rafe lord Peuill, George lord Strange, Richard lord Lattimer, George lord Lumley, John lord Scrope, Henrie lord Clifford, George lord Ogle, William lord Coniers, Thomas lord Darcie, Of knights, Thomas baron of Hiltun, sir William Persie, sir William Bulmer, sir William Salsgoigne, sir Rafe Bigod, sir

Blacksmith.

James Twichet lord Audley cheefe captaine of the Cornish rebels,

James Twichet lord Audley cheefe captaine of the Cornish rebels,

Anno Regis.

The citie of London fore afraid of the rebels.

James Twichet lord Audley cheefe captaine of the Cornish rebels,

Wale Bowes, sir Thomas a Barre, sir Wale Ellec-
ker, sir John Constable, sir John Ratcliffe, sir John
Saull, sir Thomas Strangweis, and a great num-
ber of other knights and esquires besides. The whole
armie was little lesse than twentie thousand men,
beside the naue, whereof the lord Brooke was ad-
mirall.

When the Scots had diuerse waies assaulted and
beaten the castell of Rotham, but could make no
batterie to enter the same, they determined of their
owne accord to raise the siege, and returne; and that
so much the sooner in verie deed, because they heard
that the earle of Surrie was within two daies four-
nie of them, with a great puissance. Wherefore king
James raised his siege, and returned home into his
owne realme. When the earle knew of the kings re-
turne, he followed him with all hast possible, trust-
ing suerlie to ouertake him, and to giue him battell.

Creation of
duke of
Albany
and
Scotland
refusing
to his and
marriage.

When the earle was entred Scotland, he ouerthrow
and desired the castell of Cabodestreines, the tower
of Hyetenhall, the tower of Edington, the tower of
Fulden: and he sent Porrie king at armes to the
captaine of Halton castell, which was one of the
strongest places betwixt Berwicke and Cdenburgh,
to deliuer him the castell. Which he denied to do, as-
suring that he was sure of speedie succours.

The earle hereupon laid his ordinance to the ca-
stell, and continuallie beat it, from two of the clocke
till five at night, in such wise, that they within rende-
red by the place, their liues onelic saued. The earle
caused his minors to raise & ouerthrow the forresse
to the plaine ground. The Scottish king was within
a mile of the siege, and both knew it, and saw the
smoke, but would not set one foot forward to the re-
scue. While the earle laie at Halton, the king of Scots
sent to him spachement, and an other herald, desir-
ing him at his election, either to fight with whole
puissance against puissance, or else they two to fight
person to person, requiring that if the victorie fell to
the Scottish king, that then the earle should deliuer
for his ransom, the towne of Berwicke, with the
fishgarths of the same.

The battell
betwixt the earle
of Surrie re-
sisting at his
disputacie to
fight hand to
hand with the
king of Scots.

The earle made answer hereto, that the towne
of Berwicke was the king his maisters, and not his,
the which he neither ought nor would laie to pledge,
without the king of Englands assent; but he would
gage his bodie, which was more pretious to him
than all the townes of the world, promising on his
honour, that if he toke the king prisoner in that sin-
gular combat, he would release to him all his part
of the fine and ransom; and if it chanced the king to
vanquish him, he would gladlie paie such ransom as
was conuenient for the degree of an earle, and than-
ked him greatly for the offer: for suerlie he thought
himselfe much honored, that so noble a prince would
bound safe to admit so poore an earle to fight with him
bodily to bodie. When he had rewarded and dismissed
the heralds, he set his armie in a readinesse, to abide
the coming of the king of Scots, and so stood all
daie.

But king James not regarding his offers, would
neither performe the one nor the other; fearing to
cope with the English nation in any condition; and
so thereupon fled in the night season with all his puis-
sance. When the earle knew that the king was re-
turned, and had bene in Scotland six or seven daies, be-
ing daile and nightlie vexed with continuall wind
and raine, upon god and deliberate aduise returned
backe to the towne of Berwicke, and there dissolved
his armie, tarrying there himselfe, till he might vi-
sident further of the kings pleasure. In the meane
time there came an ambassadour to the li. of Scots
from the li. of Spaine, one Peter Hialas, a man of
no lesse learning than wit & policie, to moue & intret

a peace betwene the two kings of England & Scot-
land [that their people might fall to their necessarie
trades of aduantage with quietnesse, and friend with
friend, husband with wife, father with children, and
maisters with seruants dwell and accompanie: a dis-
solution and separation of whome one from another
is procured by bloudie warre, wherein as there is no
pittie, so is there is no pette, as one saith full trulie:

*Nulla fides pietasque uiris qui castra sequuntur,
Nulla salus bello.*

Luc. lib. 19.

This Spanish ambassadour so earnestlie travel-
led in his message vnto the king of Scots, that at
length he found him conformable to his purpose:
and therefore wrote to the king of England, that it
would please him to send one of his nobilitie or coun-
cell, to be associat with him in concluding of peace
with the Scottish king. The king of England was
neuer dangerous to agree to any reasonable peace,
so it might stand with his honour; and therefore ap-
pointed the bishop of Durham doctor For, to go in-
to Scotland about that treatie which Peter Hialas
had begun. The bishop (according to his commission)
went honorablie into Scotland, where he and Peter
Hialas at the towne of Jedworth, after long argu-
ing and debating of matters with the Scottish com-
missioners, in freed of peace concluded a truce for cer-
taine yeares; upon condition, that James king of
Scots should conuene Perkin Warbecke out of his
realme, seignories, and dominions.

About the same time, king Henrie receiued the
ambassadors that were sent to him from the French
king, and had bene staied at Douer, till the Cornish
rebels were vanquished and subdued. Also the lord of
Camphire, and other oratours of Philip archduke of
Austrie, and duke of Burgognie came to him for
the conclusion of amitie, and to haue the English
merchants to resort againe to their countrie. Which
request being verie agreeable to the quietnesse and
wealth of his realme, and especiallie at that time, he
did fauourable grant and agree vnto. And so did the
Englishmen resort againe into the archdukes domi-
nions, and were receiued into Antwerpe with gene-
rall procession: so glad was that towne of their re-
turne. Shortly after the concluding of the truce be-
twene England and Scotland, Perkin Warbecke
being willed of the king of Scots to depart out of
the Scottish dominions, sailed with his wife and fa-
mily into Ireland, there determining with himselfe
either to repaire into Flanders to his first setter by
the duches of Burgognie, or else ioine and take part
with the Cornishmen.

The English
merchants re-
ceiued into
Antwerpe
with generall
procession.

Perkin is
saied to packe
out of Scot-
land.

But howsoeuer it came to passe, whilste he laie in
Ireland, he had knowledge from the Cornishmen,
that they were ready to renew the warre againe.
Whereupon he minding not to let passe so fauore
an occasion, hauing with him foure small ships, and not
aboue six score men, sailed into Cornwall; and there-
landed in the moneth of September, and came to a
towne called Bodman, and there did so prouoke the
wavering people, that with faire words and large
promises, that he gathered to him aboue three thou-
sand persons, which immediatlie called him their
captaine, promising to take his part, and follow him
to the death. When Perkin well encouraged, made
proclamations in the name of king Richard the
fourth, as sonne to king Edward the fourth. And by
the aduise of his three counsellors, John Heron mer-
cer a bankrupt, Richard Skelton a tailor, and John
Astelle a scutener determined first of all to assaie
the winning of Excester.

Perkin war-
becke arriveth
in Cornwall.

Another re-
bellion by the
Cornishmen.

Perkins three
counsellors.

When passing thither, he laid siege to it, and man-
ning ordinance to make batterie, studied all waies
possible how to breake the gates, and what with cast-
ing of stones, heaving with iron barres, and kindling
of

Excester as-
saulted by
Perkin & the
Cornishmen.

The citie of
Exceſter pre-
ſerued from
fire by fire.

The king ma-
kerth out his
power agatst
Perkin.

Edward the
young duke of
Buckingham
and his com-
panie come
with the king.

Perkin ſleth
and taketh
Beaudrie
ſanctuarie.

of fire vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuised for the furtherance of his purpose. The citizens, perceiuing in what danger they stood, first let certeine messengers doleone by cords ouer the wall, that might certifie the king of their necessitie & trouble. And herewith taking vnto them boldnesse of courage, determined to repell fire with fire, and caused fagots to be brought and laid to the inward parts of the gates, and set them all on fire; to the intent that the fire being inflamed on both sides the gates, might as well keepe out their enemies from entring, as shut in the citizens from fleeing out, and that they in the meane season might make trenches and rampyres to defend their enemies in stead of gates and bulwarks. Thus by fire was the citie preſerued from fire.

Then Perkin of verie necessitie compelled to forsake the gates, assaulted the towne in diuerſe weake and vnfortified places, and set vp ladders to take the citie. But the citizens, with helpe of such as were come forth of the countrie adioining to their aid, so valiantlie defended the walles, that they slue aboue two hundred of Perkins souldiers at that assault. The king hauing aduertisement of this siege of Exceſter, hastied forth with his host, in as much speed as was possible, and sent the lord Daubeneie with certeine bands of light horsemen before, to aduertise all men of his coming at hand. But in the meane season, the lord Edward Courtenie earle of Deuonſhire, and the valiant lord William saint Spawre, accompanied with sir Edmund Carew, sir Thomas Trenchard, sir William Courtenie, sir Thomas Fulford, sir John Halewell, sir John Croker, Water Courtenie, Peter Edgecombe, William saint Spawre, with all speed came into the citie of Exceſter, and holpe the citizens, and at the last assault was the earle hurt in the arme with an arrow, and so were manie of his companie, but verie few slaine.

When Perkin saw that he could not win the citie of Exceſter, sith he sawe it was so well fortified both with men and munitions, he departed from thence, and went vnto Taunton, and there the twentieth day of September he mustered his men; as though he were readie to giue battell: but perceiuing his number to be diminished, by the secret withdrawing of sundrie companies from him, he began to put mistrust in all the remnant. In deed when the people that followed him, in hope that no small number of the nobilitie would come with him, saw no such matter come to passe, they ſlue alwaie from him by secret companies. When the king heard that he was gone to Taunton, he followed after him with all speed. And by the way there came to him Edward duke of Buckingham, a young prince of great towardnesse; and him followed a great companie of noble men, knights and esquires, as sir Alexander Balam, sir Maurice Barkleie, sir Robert Came, sir John Guise, sir Robert Pointz, sir Henrie Vernon, sir John Portimer, sir Thomas Tremaille, sir Edward Sutton, sir Amise Pauter, sir John Birkenell, sir John Sapcotes, sir Hugh Lutterell, sir Francis Cheineie, and diuerſe other.

At the kings appoaching to the towne of Taunton, he sent before him Robert lord Brooke lord steward of his house, Giles lord Daubeneie his chiefe chamberleine, and sir Rice ap Thomas. But as some say Perkin was informed that his enemies were readie to giue him battell, he that nothing lesse minded than to fight in open field with the kings puissance, dissembled all the daie time with his companie, as though nothing could make him afraid: and about midnight, accompanied with three score horsemen, he departed from Taunton in post to a sanctuarie towne beside Southampton, called Beaudrie, & there

he and John Heron with other registered themselves as persons privileged. When as king Henrie knew that Perkin was thus fled, he sent after him the lord Daubeneie with three hundred horsemen toward the sea side, to apprehend him before he should get away. Although Perkin escaped (as I haue said) vnto sanctuarie, yet manie of his chiefe captiues were taken and presented to the king.

Also the horsemen that were sent, without anie stop or staie came to saint Michaels mount, and there (as chance was) found the ladic Katharine Countesse wife to Perkin, and brought hir straight to the king. At whose beautie and amiable countenance the king much marvelled, and thought hir a piece more meet for a prince, than for the meane souldiers, and sent hir incontinentlie vnto London to the queene, accompanied with a sort of sage matrones and gentlewomen, because she was but young. The common people that had followed Perkin, after that their chafeteine was fled, threw alwaie their armour as people amazed, and submitted themselves to the king, humbly beseeching him of merrie, which he most gentlie granted, and receiued them to his fauour. After this the king rood to Exceſter, and there not onelie commended the citizens, but also hartlie thanked them for doing so well their duties in defending their citie from their enemies. He also put there to execution diuerſe Counsellmen, which were the authors and principall beginners of this new conspiracie and insurrection. Neuerthelesse, he ſhewd marvellous clemencie also in pardoning a great number of the rebels.

For when king Henrie was come to Exceſter with a great armie, moued thereto (as you haue heard) by reason of the rebellion of Perkin Warbecke, who was fled before the kings coming, he staied a few daies about the examination of the said rebellion, and the executing of the chiefe and principall captiues. In the end, the multitude of the offenders being great, and most humbly craning for pardon, the king caused them all to be assembled in the churchyard of saint Peters, where they all appeared bare headed, in their shirts, and with halters about their necks. His grace was then lodged in the treasurerors house, lieng fast vpon the churchyard, and out of a faire and large window (made for the purpose) he toke the view of them, who shouted and cried out for pardon. At length, when the king had paused, he made a speech vnto them, exhorting them to obedience, and in hope he should thenceforth find them dutifull, he pardoned them all: whereat they all made a great shout, gaue the king thanks, and hurled alwaie their halters. Yet neuerthelesse, some returned againe, and joined themselves with the Cornish people, which had not all submitted themselves, nor sought for pardon.]

Now while he remained at Exceſter, he considered with himselfe, that he had done nothing, if he could not get into his hands the chiefe head of this trouble and seditious businesse. Wherefore he caused the sanctuarie wherein Perkin was inclosed, to be surrounded with two bands of light horsemen, to watch diligently, that Perkin should not escape by anie means forth of that place vntaken: and withall attempted by faire promises of pardon and forgiveness, if Perkin would submit himselfe to him and become his man. Perkin perceiuing himselfe so shut by, that he could no waie escape, of his owne free will came out of the sanctuarie, and committed himselfe to the kings pleasure. When the king had thus attained his purpose, he returned to London, and appointed certeine keepers to attend on Perkin, which should not (the breadth of a naille) go from his person; least he should conueie himselfe by anie means out of the

The beames
full of fire
burne the
church. Per-
kin was
preſerued to
the king.

John Heron
and Warbeck

All Perkin
paraboles
to their
South
about
their
necks
before
the king.

Perkin
sanctuarie
allwaie.

Perkin
the
will
came
to
the
king
and
the
king
saw
the
king.

the land [and set them troubles abrood by such practices as he had to fore bid, for the advancement of himselfe to the estate of a king, by assuming vnto himselfe the name of a kings sonne, when in deed he was come of base parentage. But Iacke will be a gentleman, the long eared aile will be taken for a leopard, a the pelting plisire for a lion as one saith: *Nine scissus pardum vocat & fignis lionem.*]

After this, the king caused inquries to be made, of all such as had aided with men or monie the Scottish rebels, so that diuerse persons as well in Shiremerethire as Devonshire were detested of that offense which he intended for example sake should take some part of due punishments for their crimes, according to the qualitie thereof. And therefore he appointed Thomas lord Darcie, Amies knight knight, and Robert Sherborne deane of Beules (that was after bishop of Chichester) to be commissioners for assessing of their fines that were found culpable. These commissioners so bestired themselves in tolling the cofters and substance of all the inhabitants of both those shires, that there was not one person imbrued or spotted with the filth of that abominable crime, that escaped the paine which he had deserved: but to such yet as offended rather by constraint than of malice, they were gentle and fauourable, so that equitie therein was verie well and iustlie executed.

In this yeare all the gardens which had bene continued time out of mind, without more gate of London, were destroyed, and of them was made a plaine field for archers to shoot in. Also this yeare was a great drought, by reason whereof a load of haie, which was before sold at London at five shillings, was this yeare sold for ten or twelue more. Also this yeare, one Sebastian Cabato, a Genoas sonne, borne in Wistow, possessing himselfe to be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and Islands of the same, as by his charts and other reasonable demonstrations he shewed, caused the king to man and vittell a ship at Wistow, to search for an Island which he knew to be replenished with rich commodities. In the ship diuerse merchants of London aduentured small stocks, and in the companie of this ship sailed also out of Wistow three or foure small ships straight with light and grosse warres, as course cloath, caps, laies, points, and such other.

Sir Humtrie Gilbert knight, in his booke intituled, A discoverie for a new passage to Cataia, writeth thus; Sebastian Cabato, by his personall experience and trauell, hath described and set forth this passage in his charts, which are yet to be seene in the queenes maiesties priuie gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discoverie by king Henrie the seuenth, and entered the same fret, affirming that he sailed verie farre westward, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of terra de Labrador, the eleuenth of June, untill he came to the septentrionall latitude of 67½ degrees, and finding the seas still open, said, that he might & would haue gon to Cataia, if the enuie of the maister and mariners had not bene. *per uerthelesse*, he went verie farre, euen to a nation inhabited with people more like beastes than men, as appeareth in the yeare 1502, and the seuententh of this kings reigne, when the said traueler was returned, and presented himselfe to the kings maiestie.]

In this yeare the warre had like to haue bene renewed betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland by a small occasion, as thus. Certaine yongmen of the Scots came arrived before Rosham castell, & beheld it wondrous circumpectie, as though they would haue bene of counsell to know what was done therein. The keepers not perceiuing anie damage attempted against them for the first time, determined not to moue anie question to them, or

once to stirre out. But when they came againe the next day, and viewed it likewise, the keepers of the castell suspecting some euill meaning, demanded of them what their intent was, and why they viewed and aduised so the castell. The Scots answered them roughly with disdainfull words, so that the Englishmen fell to and replied with strokes; and after manie blowes giuen and receiued, diuerse Scots were wounded, and some slaine; and the residue overmarched with multitude of the Englishmen, fled as fast as their horses could carie them.

The Scottish king hereof aduertised, was highly displeased, and in all hast signified to king Henrie by his herald Marchmont, in what sort his people (to the breach of the truce) were abused and handled. King Henrie being not in will to breake with anie of his neighbours, excused the matter, affirming that he was not of knowledge to the misdeemeanor of those that had the castell in keeping; requiring the king of Scots not to thinke the truce broken for anie thing done without his consent; promising in the word of a king to inquire of the truth, and if the offense were found to be begun on the partie of the keepers of the castell, he assured him that they should for no meed nor fauour escape due correction and punishment.

This answer (though it was more than reasonable) could not pacifie the king of Scots, till the bishop of Durham (that was owner of the castell of Rosham) who sore lamented, that by such as he appointed keepers there, the warre should be renewed) with sundrie letters written to the Scottish king, at length aduaged his displeasure, so that the said king wrote courteously to the bishop againe, signifying that because he had manie secret things in his mind, which he would communicate onelie with him touching this matter now in variance; therefore he required him to take the paine to come into his countrie, trusting that he should thinke his labor well bestowed. The bishop was glad, and sent word hereof to the king his master, who willed him to accomplish the desire of the Scottish king, which he tooke to be reasonable.

At his coming into Scotland, he was courteously receiued of the king himselfe at the abbey of Melrose. And there, after the king had (for a countenance) complained much of the vniust slaughter of his men late committed at Rosham: upon the bishops gentle answers therunto, he forgane the same, and after began to talke secretlie without witness alone with the bishop. And first he declared what causes moued him in times past to seeke amitie with the king of England: which now he desired much more to haue confirmed, for further maintenance & increase thereof. Which he doubted not but should sort to a fortunate conclusion, if the king of England would vouchsafe to giue to him in matrimonie his first begotten daughter the ladie Margaret, upon which point he purposed latelie to haue sent his ambassadores into England, which thing he would the sooner do if he knew the bishops mind therein to be readie to further his sute. The bishop answered but few words, saying that when he were returned to the king his maister, he would do the best in the matter that he could.

When the bishop was returned into England, and come to the king, he declared to him all the communication had betwene king James and him, from point to point in order. The king liked well thereof, as he to whom peace was euer a soueraigne solace and comfort. In this meane time Perkin Warbecke, disappointed of all hope to escape out of the Englishmens hands (which was the onelie thing that he most desired) found meanes yet at length to

Egg g. j.

deceius

The bishop of Durham alswageth the kings displeasure by letters.

The bishop of Durham goeth into Scotland.

The Scottish king desireth the ladie Margaret eldest daughter of Henrie the seuenth to be his wife.

Perkin war-
becke escapeth
from his pris-
oners.

deceiue his keepers, & took him to his heels. But when he came to the sea coasts, and could not passe, he was in a marvellous perplexitie: for euerie byway, lane, and corner was laid for him, and such search made, that being brought to his wits end, and cut short of his pretended iournie, he came to the house of Bethlem, called the priozie of Sheene beside Richmond in Southerie, and betooke himselfe to the prioz of that monasterie, requiring him for the honour of God, to beg his pardon of life of the kings maiestie.

The prioz, which for the opinion that men had conceiued of his vertue, was had in great estimation, pittying the wretched state of that castife, came to the king, and shewed him of this Perkin, whose pardon he humbly craved, and had it as freely granted. Incontinentlie after was Perkin brought to the court againe at Westminster, and was one day set fettered in a paire of stocks, before the doore of Westminster hall, and there stood a whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mocks and scorninges. And the next daie he was caried through London, and set vpon a like scaffold in Cheape by the standard, with like ginnies and stocks as he occupied the daie before, and there stood all daie, and read openlie his owne confession, written with his owne hand, the verie copie whereof here insueth.

The confession of Perkin as it was written with his owne hand, which he read openlie vpon a scaffold by the standard in Cheape.

Perkin made
with an ana-
tomic of his
descent of his
stage.

Is first to be knobone, that I was borne in the towne of Turneie in Flanders, and my fathers name is John Osbecke, which said John Osbecke was controulor of the said towne of Turneie, and my mothers name is Katharine de Faro. And one of my grandfathers vpon my fathers side was named Diricke Osbeck, which died. After whose death my grandmother was married vnto Peter Flamin, that was receiuer of the forenamed towne of Turneie, & deane of the botemen that row vpon the water or riuer called le Scheld. And my grandfire vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of S. Johns within the same towne of Turneie. Also I had an uncle called maister John Stalin, dwelling in the parish of S. Bias within the same towne, which had married my fathers sister, whose name was Ione or Jane, with whome I dwelt a certeine season.

Perkins education
by bringing by.

And after I was led by my mother to Antwerpe for to learne Flemish, in a house of a couline of mine, an officer of the said towne, called John Stienbecke, with whome I was the space of halfe a yere. And after that I returned againe to Turneie, by reason of warres that were in Flanders. And within a yere following I was sent with a merchant of the said towne of Turneie, named Berlo, to the mart of Antwerpe, where I fell sicke, which sickenesse continued vpon me fve moneths. And the said Berlo set me to board in a skinners house, that dwelled beside the house of the English nation. And by him I was from thence caried to Barow

mart, and I lodged at the signe of the old man, where I abode for the space of two moneths.

After this, the said Berlo set me with a merchant of Middleborow to seruite for to learne the language, whose name was John Strew, with whome I dwelt from Christmasse to Easter, and then I went into Dortingall in companie of sir Edward Bramptons wife, in a ship which was called the quans ship. And when I was come thither, then was I put in seruice to a knight that dwelled in Lushborne, which was called Peter Vacs de Cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yere, which said knight had but one eie. And because I desired to see other countries, I took licence of him, and then I put my selfe in seruice with a Britan, called Regent Mreno, which brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were there arrived in the towne of Corke, they of the towne (because I was arraigned with some cloths of silke of my said maisters) came vnto me, & threatened vpon me that I should be the duke of Clarences sonne, that was before time at Dublin.

But forsomuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holie euangelists, and the crosse, by the maior of the towne, which was called John Leweline, and there in the presence of him and others, I took mine oth (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephan Poitron, and one John Water, and laid to me in swearing great oths, that they knew well that I was king Richards bastard sonne: to whome I answered with like oths, that I was not. Then they aduised me not to be afeard, but that I should take it vpon me boldlie: and if I would so do, they would aid and assist me with all their power against the king of England; & not onelie they, but they were well assured, that the earle of Desmond & Kildare should do the same.

For they forced not what part they toke, so that they might be reuenged on the king of England: and so against my will made me to learne English, and taught me what I should do and saie. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, because king Richards bastard sonne was in the handes of the king of England. And vpon this the said Water, Stephan Poitron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with manie others, as the foresaid earles, entered into this false quarell, and within short time others. The French k. sent an ambassadoe into Ireland, whose name was Loit Lucas, and maister Stephan Friham, to aduertise me to come into France. And then I went into France, and from thence into Flanders, & from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, & so into England.

Perkin was
table lands
loper.

The Irish
would have
Perkin take
vpon him to
be the duke
of Clarences
sonne.

They knew
Perkin
to be the
bastard sonne
of Richards
the third.

They called
me duke of
Yorke.

Then the night of the same daie (being the fifteenth of June) was come , after he had food all that daie in the face of the citie , he was committed to the Tower , there to remaine vnder safe keeping , least hapilie he might euenly run awaie , and escape out of the land , to put the king and realme to some new trouble . For he had a wonderfull deſtertie and readineſſe to circumuent , a heart full of ouer-reaching imaginations , an aſpiring mind , a head more willic (3 willic) than witlic ; hold he was and preſumptuous in his behaviour , as forward to be the inſtrument of a miſchance , as any deuiler of wickedneſſe would wiſh ; a ſend of the diuels owne forging , nurſed and trained vp in the studie of commotions , making offer to reach as high as he could looke ; ſuch was his inordinate ambition , wherewith he did ſwell as conuicting to be a princes peer : much like the tode that would match the buil in drinking , but in the end ſhe buſt in peeces and neuer dranke more ; as the poet telleth the tale (by the imitation of the ſabler) ſaieng :

cupiens aquare bibendo

Rana boreum, rupta nunquam bibit amplius aluo.

In this yeare was an Auguſtine frier called Patrike in the parties of Suffolke , the which hauing a ſcholer named Raſe Wilford (a ſhoemakers ſonne of London as Stow noteth) had ſo framed him to his purpoſe , that in hope to worke ſome great enterpriſe , as to diſappoint the king of his crowne and ſeat roiall , take vpon him to be the earle of Warwicke , inſomuch that both the maſter and ſcholer hauing counſelled betwene themſelues of their enterpriſe , they went into Kent , & there began the young man to tell priuile to manie , that he was the verie earle of Warwicke , and latelie gotten out of the Tower , by the helpe of this frier Patrike . To which ſaiengs when the frier perceiued ſome light credence to be giuen , he declared it openlie in the pulpit , and deſired all men of helpe . But the danger of this ſeditious attempt was ſhortlie remoued and taken awaie , the maſter and ſcholer being both apprehended and caſt into priſon and atteinted .

The ſcholer was hanged on Shrouetueſdaie at ſaint Thomas Waterings , and the frier condemned to perpetual priſon . For at that time ſo much reuerence was attributed to the holie orders , that to a preſt (although he had committed high treaſon againſt his ſouereigne lord) his life was ſpared , in like caſe as to any other offender in murder , rape , or theft , that had receiued any of the three higher holie orders . (The cheſe cauſe (ſaith Edward Hall) of this fauour was this , becauſe biſhops of a long time and ſeaſon did not take knowledge , nor intermix themſelues with the ſearch & puniſhment of ſuch heinous and deteſtable offences : by reaſon whereof they did not diſgrade and depriue from the holie orders ſuch malefactor and wicked perſons , which without that ceremony by the canon lawes could not be put to death .

Furthermore , what ſhould a man ſaie , it was alſo beſed , that he that could but onelie read (yea although he vnderſtood not what he read) how heinous or deteſtable a crime ſo euer he had committed (treaſon once lie excepted) ſhould likewiſe as affines & allies to the holie orders be ſaued , and committed to the biſhops priſon . And to the intent that if they ſhould eſcape , and be againe taken , committing like offence , that their liues be no more to them pardoned : it was ordeined that murderers ſhould be burnt on the blaue of the left hand with an hot iron ſigned with this letter M . and theues in the ſame place with this letter T . So that if they , which were once ſigned with any of theſe marks or tokens did reiterate like crime & offence againe , ſhould ſuffer the paines and puniſhments which they had both merited and deſer-

ued . Which decre was enacted and eſtabliſhed in a ſeſſion of parlement kept in the time of this kings reigne , and taken (as I conſecture) of the French nation , which are wont , if they take any ſuch offender , to cut off one of his eares , as a ſure token and marke hereafter of his euill doing .]

Perkin Warbecke (as before ye haue heard) being now in hold , by falſe perſuaſions and great promiſes corrupted his keepers , Stranguiſh , Blewet , Alwood , and long Roger , ſeruants to ſir John Digbie lieutenant of the Tower . Inſomuch that they (as it was at their arreignment openlie proued) intended to haue ſlaine their maſter , and to haue ſet Perkin and the earle of Warwicke at large . Which earle of Warwicke had bene kept in priſon within the Tower almoſt from his tender yeares , that is to ſaie , from the firſt yeare of the king , to this ſixtenth yeare , out of all companie of men & ſight of beaſts , inſomuch that he could not diſcerne a goſe from a capon , and therefore by common reaſon and open apparance could not of himſelfe ſaue his owne death and deſtruction . But yet by the diſt and offence of another he was brought to his death and conſuſion .

For being made priuile of this enterpriſe deuiled by Perkin and his complices , thereunto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) he aſſented and agreed . But this craftie deuſe and ſubtil imagination being reuealed , ſort to none effect , ſo that Perkin and John Awater ſometime maior of Cork in Ireland , one of his cheſe founders , and his ſonne , were on the ſixtenth daie of Nouember arreigned and condemned at Weſtmiſter . And on the three and twentieth daie of the ſame moneth , Perkin and John Awater were drawne to Tiburne , where Perkin ſtanding on a little ſcaffold , read his confeſſion (as before he had done in Cheape ſide) taking it on his death to be true . And ſo he and John Awater asked the king forgiveness , and died patientlie .

This was the reward of the ſeined gloſe and counterfeited comment of Perkin Warbecke , the which as by his falſe ſurmiſes in his life time had brought manie honourable perſonages to their deaths , and vndone manie an honeſt man : ſo now at his death he brought other of the ſame ſort to their not altogether vndeſerued puniſhment . And amongeſt others Edward Plantagenet the forenamed erle of Warwicke , which (as the ſame went) conſented to breake priſon , and to depart out of the realme with Perkin (which in priſoners is high treaſon) was the one and twentieth daie of the ſaid moneth arreigned at Weſtmiſter before the earle of Drenford then high ſeward of England of the ſaid treaſon , which (whether it were by inſolent and perſuaſion of other , or of his owne free will manie doubted , becauſe of his innocencie) confeſſed the ſact , and ſubmitted himſelfe to the kings mercie ; and vpon his confeſſion had his iudgement , and according therunto the eight and twentieth daie of Nouember in the yeare 1499 , was brought to the ſcaffold on the Tower hill , and there beheaded .

The ſame after his death ſpying abroad , that Ferdinand king of Spaine would make no full concluſion of the matrimonie to be had betwene prince Arthur and the ladie Katharine daughter to the ſaid Ferdinand , nor ſend him into England as long as this earle liued . For he imagined that ſo long as any earle of Warwicke liued , England ſhould neuer be purged of ciuill warre and priuile ſedition ; ſo much was the name of Warwicke in other regions had in feare and gealouſie . The next yeare after there was a great plague , whereof men died in manie places berie ſore ; but ſpeciallie and moſt of all in the citie of London , where died in that yeare thirtie thouſand . The ſoure and twentieth of Februarie in this ſixtenth

1566

Burning in the hand when enacted.

Perkin corrupted his keepers.

Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwicke a verie innocent.

Perkin and John Awater executed at Tiburne.

Edward Plantagenet the young earle of warwicke beheaded.

1566 A great plague.

Edward the
kings thirde
somme cha-
stened.
The manour
of Sheene
burnt & Rich-
mond built in
place thereof.
I.S. pag. 874.

King Henrie
the seuenth
saileth to Calis.

The king of
England and
the duke of
Burgonie
meet at saint
Peters church
without Calis.
Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall, in
Hen. 7. follij.

Anno Reg. 16.

A yeare of
Iubile.

Pope Alexan-
der maketh
profit of his
great pardon
of heauenlie
grace as he
termeth it.

yeare of this kings reigne his thirde son was christe-
ned and was named Edward. Also in this yeare
was burned a place of the kings, called the manour
of Sheene situate nigh the Thames side, which he af-
ter builded againe sumptuoullie, and changed the
name of Sheene, and called it Richmond; because his
father and he were earles of Richmond: or (as some
note) for that so manie notable and rich iewels were
there burnt. He also new builded Wainards castell
in London, and repaired Crenelwich.]

The king, whether to auoid the danger of so great
and perillous sicknesse, then raging, or to take occa-
sion to commen with the duke of Burgonie, did
personallie take his ship at Douer in the beginning
of Maye, and sailed to Calis, whither the duke of
Burgonie sent to him honourable personages in
ambassage to welcome him into those parties, and
to declare that the said duke would gladlie repaire
personallie to his presence with such a number as
the king should appoint, so that it were within no
walled towne nor fortreffe. For hauing denied the
French king to enter into anie of his fortreffes to
tallye with him, he would be loth now to giue a presi-
dent to him to desire the like meeting. The king in-
terteining the ambassadours, and thanking the duke
of his courteous offer, appointed the place at saint
Peters church without Calis.

Upon tuesday in Whitsonweke the archduke Phi-
lip came thither with a conuenient companie. The
king and the queene with manie a lustie lord and la-
die rode thither to welcome him. And when the king
approched, the duke at his lighting offered to hold his
stirrup, which the king in no wise would suffer to be
done. When the king was descended from his horse,
he and the archduke embraced each other with most
princelie familiaritie, and then the queene and all the
nobles saluted him. And after most louing intertein-
ments, banquettings, mirth, and pastime theye dwelt a-
mongest them, there was communication of marri-
ages, treating of further strengthening of leagues,
requestes of tolles in Flanders to be minished: with
manie other things touching the commoditie and
traffike of both their countreies. And when all things
were set in order, the two princes took their leave,
and departed; the king to Calis, and the archduke to
S. Omers. After his departing, there came as am-
bassadours from the French king, the lord Grouthouse
gouernour of Picardie, and the lord Peruelliers
bailliffe of Amiens, which declared to the king the get-
ting of Millaine and taking of the duke. The king
highlie feasted them, and rewarded them princelie at
their departing.

Some after, when the death was slaked, the king
returned againe into England about the end of
June. Shortlie after there came to him one Casper
Pons a Spaniard, a man of excellent learning and
most ciuill behauiour, sent from Alexander the bishop
of Rome to distribute the heauenlie grace (as he ter-
med it) to all such as (letted by anie forceable impedi-
ment) could not come to Rome that yeare to the Ju-
bile, which was there celebrate, being the yeare after
the birth of our Sauour, 1500. This beneuolent li-
beralitie was not altogether freely giuen. For Alex-
ander looking to the health of mens soules, thought
to do somewhat for his owne both at commoditie, &
therefore he set a certeine price of that his grace and
pardon. And to the end that the king should not hin-
der his purpose, he offered part of his gaires to the
king.

And to colour the matter with some fauourable
pretext, and to make men the better willing, & more
readie to giue franklie, he promised with that monie
to make warre against the Turke. By this meanes
the pope got a great masse of monie, which he had

conueied ouer vnto him by such trustie messengers
(doubt you not) as he had appointed; and yet nothing
done against the Turkes, which in the meane season
did much hurt to the christians. [For it was no part
of his meaning (what colourable theye sooner he
made of tendering the succourlesse people) to impart
anie portion thereof to so good a use; but rather for the
supportation of him and his swarme, who before theye
will bate an ace of their gorgeous gallantnesse, the
whole world shalbe consumed. Such is the collusion of
the pope, such be the shamelesse shifts of him and his
cleargie for the maintenance of their owne courtlie
brauerie, which is wicked banitie; farre passing the
pompe of anie prince, were the same of neuer so rare
magnificence; as he well noteth that said full trulle:

*immensis princeps non visus in orbe est,
Cui tanti fastus tantæ pompa fuit.
Ingreditur quando misere Babylon in urbes,
Cernitur hic plusquam regia pompa comes.
Huic equus est spumans ostrog insignis & auro,
Alriso cuius sub pede terra fremit, &c.]*

About this time died these bishops in England,
John Porcion archbishop of Cantuarburie, Thomas
Langton bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Roche-
ram archbishop of Poike. After him succeeded Tho-
mas Savage bishop of London, a man of great ho-
nour and worthinesse: in whose place succeeded Wil-
liam Warham, of whome before is made mention.
And Hertrie Deane bishop of Salisbury, was made
archbishop of Cantuarburie, and Richard For was
remoued from Durham to the see of Winchester.
Also this yeare two notable mariages were conclu-
ded, but not consummate till afterwards, as you
shall heare in place conuenient. For king Henrie
granted his daughter ladie Margaret to James the
fourth king of Scots. And Ferdinando king of
Spaine gaue his daughter ladie Katharine to Ar-
thur prince of Wales, some and heire apparent to
the king of England.

Among other articles of the marriage concluded
with the Scottish king this was one, that no English
men should be receiued into Scotland without let-
ters commendatorie of their soueraigne lord, or safe
conduct of his warden of the marches; and the same
prohibition was in like maner giuen to the Scots.
This yeare the ladie Katharine of Spaine was sent
by hir father king Ferdinando with a puissant manie
of ships into England, where she arrived in the ha-
uen of Plimmouth the second daie of October then
being saturday. Upon the twelfe of Nouember she
was conueied from Lambeth through London with
all triumph and honour that might be deuised to the
bishops palace, the streets being hanged, and page-
ants erected after the maner as is used at a corona-
tion: which solemnitie Edward Hall describeth with
the sumptuous shewes then glistering in the behol-
ders eyes.

I passe ouer (saith he) the wise deuises, the pre-
sent speeches, the costlie works, the cunning portra-
tures, practised and set forth in seuen godlie beauti-
full pageants, created and set vp in diuerse places of
the citie. I leaue also the godlie ballades, the sweet
harmonic, the muscalle instruments, which sounded
with heauenlie noise on euerie side of the streets. I o-
mit further, the costlie apparell both of goldsmiths
worke and imbroiderie, the rich iewels, the masse
chaines, the stirring hordes, the beautifull bardes
and the glittering trappers, both with belles and spangels
of gold. I pretermitt also the rich apparell of the prin-
cesse, the strange fashion of the Spanish nation, the
beautie of the English ladies, the godlie demaure
of the yong damoels, the amorous countenance of
the lustie bachelers. I passe ouer also the fine ingrai-
ned clothes, the costlie furs of the citizens, standing

And

And

Two

1501

Katharine
daughter to
Ferdinando
king of Spaine
arrived in the
harbour of
Wales.

Anno Reg.

The fourth
of October then
being saturday
noted.

Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall
follij.

on scaffolds, raised from Gracechurch to Paules. That should I speake of the odouriferous scarlets, the fine velvets, the pleasant furs, the masse chaines, which the maior of London with the senat, sitting on horsebacke at the little conduit in Cheape, ware on their bodies and about their neckes: I will not speake of the rich arras, the costlie tapestrie, the fine clothes both of gold and silver, the curious beluets, the beautifull fatteries, nor the pleasant silkes which did hang in euerie street where she passed, the wine that ran continuallie out of the conduits, and the grauelling of the streets needeth not to be remembered.]

Whilest this ladie sojourned for hir recreation in the bishops palace of London, being in the meane time visited of the king, the queene, and the kings mother, there was erected in the bodie of St. Paules church a long brydge made of timber, extending from the west bore of the church to the step at the entring into the quere, which was fir sot from the ground. On the said brydge of stage, such direalie before the confisioe of the church, was a place raised like a mount for eight persons to stand vpon, compassed round about with steps to ascend and descend, which was covered with fine red woisted, and in likewise were all the railles of the said stage. On the north side of this mount was a place decked and trimmed for the king and queene, and such other as they appointed to haue. On the south side of the same mount stood the maior and the magistrates of the citie.

When all things were prepared and set in order, upon the fourteenth of Nouember then being Sundaye, the foresaid ladie was led to the said mount, and there prince Arthur openly espoused hir, both being clad in white, both lustie and amorous, he of the age of sixteen and more, and she of the age of eighteen or thereabouts, the king and queene standing nighly on their stage. After the matrimonie celebrated, the prince and his wife went vp into the quere, and there heard a solemne masse song by the archbishop of Cantuarburie, associat with nineteen prelates mitred. And after the masse finished, the bride was led homewards to the bishops palace by the duke of Yorke being then a goodlie yong pynce, and the legat of Spaine. Next after followed the ladie Cicilie sister to the queene, suppoztng the traine of the spouse.

But to speake of all the solemne pompe, noble compaignie of lords and ladies, and what a sumptuous feast and plentifull was kept, with dancng and disgiuings, words might sooner faile than matter words of rehearsall. Notwith euerie daie endeth and night inueth, and so when night was come, the prince and his beautifull bride were brought and ioined together in one bed, where they laie as man and wife all that night. ¶ Now when the morning appeared, the prince, as his familiar scruiours, which had then neither cause nor reward to lie as faine, openly told the tale called for drinke, which he before times was not accustomed to do. At which thing one of his chamberleines maruelling, asked the cause of his drouth. To whom the prince answered merilie, saying: I haue this night bene in the middelt of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iourne maketh me so drie: and if then haddest bene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldest haue bene drier than I.]

Shortlie after the king and the queene, with the new wedded spouses went from Bainsards castell by water to Westmynster, on whom the maior and communalte of London in barges gorgeously trimmed gaue their attendance. And there in the palace were such martiall seats, valiant iusts, vigozous turnes, and such fierce fight at the barriers, as before that time was of no man had in remembrance. Of this roiall triumph lord Edward duke of Bucking-

ham was chiefe challenger, and lord Thomas Greie marquisse Dorset chiefe defender, which with their aids and companions bare themselves so valiantlie, that they got great praise and honour, both of the Spaniards, and of their owne countrymen. During the time of these iusts and triumphs, were receiued into London, an earle, a bishop, and diuerse noble personages sent from the king of Scots into England, for conclusion of the mariage betwene the ladie Margaret and him; which earle by pporie, in the name of king James his master, assied and contracted the said ladie. Which affiance was published at Paules crosse, the daie of the conuersion of saint Paule: in reioicing whereof *Te Deum* was song, and great fiers made through the citie of London.

These things being accomplished, the ambassadoys as well of Spaine as Scotland toke their leaue of the king, and not without great rewards returned into their countries. When the ambassadoys were departed, he sent his sonne prince Arthur againe into Wales, to keepe that countrie in good order; appointing to him wise and expert counsellors, as sir Richard Pole his kinsman, which was his chiefe chamberleine, also sir Henrie Wernon, sir Richard Cross, sir David Philip, sir William Udall, sir Thomas Englefield, sir Peter Newton knights; John Wallleson, Henrie Marston, a doctor William Smith, president of his counsell, and doctor Charles; of the which two doctors, the one was after bishop of Lincoln, and the other bishop of Hereford.

¶ This yeare John Shaw (who was maior of London) caused his brethren the aldermen to ride from the Guildhall vnto the water side, when he went to Westmynster to be presented in the exchequer. He also caused the kitchens and other houses of office to be builded at the Guildhall, where since that time the maiors feasts haue bene kept, which before had bene in the grocers or tailors hall. About Easter, all the Greie friers in England changed their habit, for whereas of long time before they had vsed to weare bryowne russet of foure shillings, six shillings, and eight shillings the yarde; now they were compelled to weare russet of two shillings the yarde and not above, which was brought to passe by the friers of Grénewich. This yeare, the dike called Turnemill broke, with all the course of flet dike, were so scowered downe to the Thames, that boates with fish and felwell were rowed vp to Holborne brydge, as they of old time had bene accustomed: which was a great commoditie to all the inhabitants in that part of London. Also the tower nere to the Blacke friers was taken downe by the commandement of the maior. Also this yeare were brought vnto the king three men taken in the new found Islands, by Sebastian Gabato, before named in Anno 1468. These men were clothed in beasts skins, and eat raw flesh, but spake such a language as no man could vnderstand them, of the which three men, two of them were seene in the kings court at Westmynster two yeares after, clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen.]

A few moneths before the mariage of prince Arthur, Edmund de la Pole earle of Suffolke, sonne to John duke of Suffolke, and ladie Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, being bold and rash withall, was indicted of murther, for sleaing of a meane person in his rage and fure. And although the king pardoned him whome he might iustlie haue put to death for that offense; yet because he was brought to the barre before the kings Bench, and arraigned (which fact he toke as a great blemish to his honour) shortlie after vpon that displeasure he fled into Flanders vnto his aunt the ladie Margaret, the king not being pynie to his going ouer. Neuertheless, wher

Margaret eldest daughter to king Henrie assied to James king of Scots.

1502

Prince Arthur is sent into Wales,

John Stow pag. 874, 875.

The maiors feast first kept at Guildhall,

Wollen cloth of two shillings the yarde. Dikes of London clenched.

Men brought from the new found Islands,

Edmund erls of Suffolke fled into Flanders.

The solemn pompe of the marriage between Prince Arthur and Cicilie sister to the king of Spaine,

¶ g g g.

ther he was perswaded by his friends thereunto, whom the king had willed to deale with him therein; or whether vpon trust of his innocencie: true it is that he returned againe, and excused himselfe to the king, so that he thought him to be guiltlesse of anie crime that might be objected against him.

But when the marriage betwixt the prince & the ladie Katharine of Spaine was kept at London, this erle either for that he had passed his compasse in excessive charges and sumptuousnesse at that great triumph and solemnitie, and by reason thereof was farre run into debt; either else through the procurement of his aunt the foresaid ladie Margaret; or picked with some private enuie, which could not patientlie with open eyes behold king Henrie (being of the aduerser faction to his linage) so long to reigne in wealth and felicitie: in conclusion with his brother Richard fled againe into Flanders. This departure of the erle sore vexed the king, doubting of some new trouble to insue thereof.

The discontented mind of the erle of Suffolke.

The kings discontented mind of the erle of Suffolke.

But yet to vnderstand the full meaning of the said erle, the king vsed his old fetch: for immediately after the erle was fled, he appointed sir Robert Curson, whome he had advanced to the order of knighthood, and made capitaine of Hammes castle, a valiant man and a circumspect, to dissemble himselfe one of that conspiracie; who went into Flanders, to espie what was done there by the ladie Margaret, and his nephew the erle of Suffolke. After that the said sir Robert Curson was thus gone into Flanders, the king to put him out of all suspicion with the said ladie Margaret and the erle, caused the said erle, and sir Robert Curson, and five persons more to be accused at Paules crosse, the first Sunday of Nouember, as enemies to him and his realme.

To be briefe, the king by his meanes, and other such diligent inquisition as he made, tried out such as he suspected, partlie to be deuilers of mischance against him, and partlie to beare no sincere affection towards his person, so that he could readily name them: whereof a great part were within few daies apprehended and taken. And amongst them William lord Courtenie, sonne to the erle of Deuonshire, which married the ladie Katharine, daughter to king Edward the fourth; lord William de la Pole, brother to the foresaid erle of Suffolke, sir James Tirrell, & sir John Windham. Both the Williams were rather taken of suspicion, because they were so neere of kin to the conspirators, than for anie proued matter. But sir James Tirrell and John Windham, because they were traitors, and so attainted, the first daie of Maie after their apprehension, they were on the Tower hill beheaded.

Tirrell and Windham beheaded.

When the erle of Suffolke heard what fortune thus happened to his friends, as one in bitter despaire to haue anie good successe in his pretended enterprise, towards about all Germany and France, to purchase some aid and succour, if by anie means he might. But when he perceived no steadfast ground to catch anchor hold vpon, he submitted himselfe vnder the protection of Philip archduke of Austrich. But his brother Richard, being a politike man, so wisely ordered himselfe in this stormie tempest, that he was not intrayped either with net or snare. The king not yet out of all doubt of ciuill sedition, because a great number of well disposed persons partakers of this conspiracie, were fled into sundrie sanctuaries, decreed to haue all the gates of sanctuaries and places privileged shut and locked vp, so that none should issue out from thence to perturb and disquiet him.

And for that intent he wrote vnto pope Alexander, desiring him by his authoritie to adiudge all Englishmen, being fled to sanctuarie for the offense

of treason as enemies to the christan faith, interdicting and prohibiting the refuge and priuilege of sanctuarie to all such, as once had enioied the libertie and protection of the same, and after that fled out, and eschewes returned againe. Which thing after that the pope had granted, turned to the great quietnesse of the king and his realme. For manie that had offended, for feare to fall into danger, returned to the due subiection of their prince; and other that were yet free from perill, durst not hazard themselves so boldlie as they durst haue done before, vpon hope of such starting holes.

When the king had thus settled things to his owne contentation and pleasure, there suddenly happened to him a lamentable chance. For that noble prince Arthur, the kings first begotten sonne, after he had bene married to the ladie Katharine his wife, the space of five moneths, departed out of this transitorie life, in his castle of Ludlow, and with great funeral obsequie was buried in the cathedrall church of Worcester. His brother the duke of Yorke was deaied from the title of Prince by the space of a moneth, till to women it might appeare whether the ladie Katharine wife to the said prince Arthur was conceived with child or not. [It is reported that this ladie Katharine thought and feared such dolorous chance to come: for when she had imbraced hir father, and taken hir leaue of hir noble and prudent mother, and sailed towards England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled hither and thither with boisterous winds, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the winds, hir ship was prohibited diuerse times to approach the shoare and take land.]

In this eighteenth yeare, the twentieth fourth daie of Januarie, a quarter of an houre afore thre of the clocke at after none of the same daie, the first stone of our ladie chapell within the monasterie of Westminster was laid, by the hands of John Skip abbat of the same monasterie, sir Reginald Braie knight of the garter, doctor Barnes maister of the colleges, doctor Wall chapleine to the kings maiestie, maister Hugh Oldham chapleine to the countesse of Darbie and Richmond the kings mother, sir Edward Stanhope knight, and diuerse others. Vpon the same stone was this scripture ingrauen: *Illustrissimus Henricus septimus rex Anglia & Francia, & dominus Hibernia, posuit hanc petram in honore beatae virginis Mariae, 24. die Ianuarij, anno Domini 1502. Et anno dicti regis Henrici septimi, decimo octauo.* The charges whereof amounted (as some report, vpon credible information as they saie) to fouretene thousand pounds.

Quene Elizabeth lieng within the Tower of London, was brought a bed of a faire daughter on Candlemasse daie, which was there christened and named Katharine; and the eleuenth of the same moneth the said quene there deceased, and was buried at Westminster, whose daughter also liued but a small season after hir mother. [King Henrie the seauenth being himselfe a brother of the tailors company in London, as diuerse other his predecessors kings before him had bene (to wit Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henrie the first, Henrie the fifth, Henrie the fourth, and Richard the second; also of dukes eleuen, earles eight and twentie, and lords eight and fortie) he now gaue to them the name and title of merchant tailors, as a name of worship to indure for ener. This yeare, about the later end of March, the prior of the Charterhouse of Shene was murdered in a cell of his owne house, by means of one Godwine, a monke of the same cloister, and his adherents artificers of London. A drie summer hauing no notable raine from Whitsuntide to the later ladie daie in harueft.

The eighteenth of February, the king at his palace

Summarie reference.

The death of Arthur prince of Wales.

Edward the fourth.

Anno Reg. 1502. King Henrie the seauenth's chapel at Westminster.

Ab. Fl. 1502. pag. 895. The kings of England were then with the tailors company in London, before they were called merchant tailors.

The death of Godwine.

place of Westminster created his onelie sonne Henrie prince of Wales, earle of Chester, &c: who afterward succeeded his father in possession of the regall crowne of this realme. Moreover, this yeare also, after the decesse of that noble queene, for hir vertue commonlie called good queene Elizabeth, departed out of this world also sic Reginald Bate knight of the garter, a verie father of his countrie, for his high wisdom and singular loue to iustice well woorthie to beare that title. If anie thing had bene done amisse contrarie to law and equitie, he would after an humble sort plainlie blame the king, and giue him good aduertisement, that he should not onelie reue the same, but also be more circumspect in anie other the like case. Of the same vertue and faithfull plainnesse was John Hoxton archbishop of Canturburie, which died (as is shewed above) two yeares before.

So these two persons were restrainers of the kings unbridled libertie; whereas the common people ignorant altogether of the truth in such matters, judged and reported, that the counsell of those two woorthie personages corrupted the kings cleane and immaculate conscience, contrarie to his princelie disposition and naturall inclination; such is ever the error of the common people. About this time died Henrie the archbishop of Canturburie, whose name doctor William Warham bishop of London supplied. And to the see of London William Barnes was appointed, and after his death succeeded one Richard fitz James. This yeare also the lord Cassimire marquisse of Brandenburg, accompanied with an earle, a bishop, and a great number of gentlemen well appaile, came in ambassage from the emperor Maximilian, and were triumphantlie receiued into London, and lodged at Croftes place.

Their message was for three causes, one to comfort the king in his time of heavinesse for the losse of his wife. The second for the renewing of amitie, and the old league. The third (which was not apparent) was to move the king to marie the emperours daughter, the lady Margaret, duchesse Dowager of Savoy. The two first took effect: for the king upon Passen funday rode to Paules in great triumph, the said marquisse riding on his left hand. And there the bishop made to the king an excellent consolation concerning the death of the queene. And there also the king openlie swore to keepe the new renewed league and amitie during their two lives. But the third request (whether the let was on the mans side, or on the womans) neuer forted to anie conclusion.

The lady Margaret the kings daughter, affianced (as ye haue heard) to the king of Scots, was appointed to be conveyed into Scotland, by the earle of Surrie; and the earle of Northumberland, as warden of the marches, was commanded to deliuer hir at the confines of both the realmes. And so hereupon, after hir coming to Berwicke, she was conveyed to Lamberton kitch in Scotland, where the king of Scots, with the flower of all the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, was readie to receiue hir: to whom the earle of Northumberland (according to his commission) deliuered hir. The said earle of Northumberland that daie, what for the riches of his coat being goldsmithes worke, garnished with pearle and stone, and what for the gallant apparell of his henchmen, and brave trapers of his horse, beside some hundred tall men well horsed and appaile in his colours, was esteemed both of the Scots and Englishmen more like a prince than a subiect.

From Lamberton, the foresaid lady was conveyed to Edinburgh, and there the daie after, king James the fourth, in the presence of all his nobilitie,

espoused hir, and feasted the English lords, and shewed iusts and other pastimes verie honourable, after the fashion of that countrie. And after all things were finished according to their commission, the earle of Surrie with all the English lords and ladies returned into their countrie. In this yeare the king kept his high court of parlement, in the which diuerse acts esteemed necessarie for the preservation of the common-wealth were established: and amongst other, it was enacted, that thieves and murderers duellie convicted by the law to die, and yet saved by their books, should be committed to the bishops custodie. After this, a subside was granted, both of the tempozaltie, and spiritaaltie, and so that parlement ended.

But the king now drawing into age, and willing to fill his chests with abundance of treasure, was not satisfied with this onelie subside, but deuised another meane how to enrich himselfe, as thus. He considered that the Englishmen little regarded the keeping of penall lawes, and pecuniall statutes, devised for the good preservation of the common-wealth. Therefore he caused inquisition to be made of those that had transgressed anie of the same lawes, so that there were but few noble men, merchants, farmers, husbandmen, graffers, or occupiers, that could clerelie proue themselves faultlesse, but had offered in some one or other of the same lawes. At the first, they that were found gilty were easilie fined. But after, there were appointed two maisters and suruisors of his forfeits, the one sir Richard Empson, and the other Edmund Dobleie.

These two were learned in the lawes of the realme, who meaning to satisfie their princes pleasure, and to see their commission executed to the vttermost, seemed little to respect the peril that might insue. Whereupon they being furnished with a sort of accusers, commonlie called promoters, or (as they themselves will be named) informers, troubled manie a man, whereby they wan them great hatred, and the king (by such rigorous proceedings) lost the loue and fauour which the people before time had borne towards him; so that he for setting them a worke, and they for executing of it in such extreme wise, ran vnto obloquie with the subiects of this realme.

On the thirtieth of Nouember was holden within the palace of the archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, the sergeants feast, where dined the king and all his nobles. And upon the same day, Thomas Granger, newlie chosen shiriffe of London, was presented before the barons of the kings exchequer, there to take his oth, and after went with the maior vnto the same feast, which saued him monie in his purse; for if that day that feast had not bene kept, he must haue feasted the maior, aldermen, and others, woorthie of the citie. This feast was kept at the charge of ten learned men, newlie admitted to bee sergeants to the kings law, whose names were, Robert Widdonell, William Crenill, Thomas Harlow, George Edgore, John Hore, John Cutler, Thomas Eliot, Lewes Pollard, Gue Palmis, William Faircliff. On the one and twentieth of Nouember at night, began a perillous fier at the signe of the painter vpon London bridge, nere to saint Magnus church; where six tenements were burned per the same could be quenched. On the seuenth of Ianuarie, were certeine houses consumed with fire against saint Butolphes church in Thames street. On the five and twentieth of Ianuarie began a parlement at Westminster, of the which was chosen speaker for the commons, master Edmund Dobleie.

A new coine of siluer was ordeined of grotes and halfe grotes, which bare but halfe faces; and some paces of the value of twelue pence were then stamped,

garcer king
Henries el-
dest daughter.

Anno Reg. 19.

The king co-
nicious in his
old age.

1504

Richard
Empson &
Edmund
Dobleie.

Promoters

Abr. Fl. ex
I.S. pag. 876.
Sergeant's
feast whereat
were the king
and all his
nobles at
dinner.

Fire on London
bridge.

Fire.

Parliament.

Anno reg. 20.

Thun deere.

Cages and
stocks ordi-
ned.
Hunsditch
pauid.

Prisoners of
the Marshale
ke brake out.

John Hooker,
and Vowell.
A beneuolence
put into the
kings head to
be leued ouer
the whole
land.

The cleargie
of two sorts,
and both de-
sirous to
spare their
purses.

The wisdome
of bishop For-
ster procuring
these cleargie
men to be con-
tributors to
the beneuolence.

Stamped, though very few of that sort came abroad. In this yeare, alium, which manie yeares had bene sold for sir shillings an hundred, and lower, arose to five nobles an hundred, and after to foure marks, &c. Sir William Capell, who for this yeare was mayor, caused in euerie ward of London a cage with a paire of stocks, therein to punish bagabunds. Also he caused all Hunsditch to be ouerpaued, which manie yeares before lay full noisidie and perillousie for all trauellers that way. About Christmas, the more part of the prisoners of the Marshale in Southwarke brake out, and manie of them being thortlie after taken, were put to execution, speciallie those which had laine for felonie or treason. On the fifteenth of Aprill, a monie maker, one of the coiners of the Tower, was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged.

In this twentieth yeare (saith one of Crecster) the king (hauing some need of monie) was by his counsell advised (by way of beneuolence) to leule the same upon the whole realme, as well of the cleargie as of the laitie. And for the same, commissioners were assigned accordingly. For the cleargie, Richard Forster, sometime bishop of Crecster, but now of Windesster, a verie wise, graue, and trustie counsellor, was appointed chiefe commissioner, and had the chiefeest dealing therein. He at daies and times appointed, assembled the cleargie before him, and (according to the trust committed vnto him) he perswaded them by all the meanes he could, to be liberrall contributours to the king, considering his present need, and who (for their causes, & the safetie of all the common-wealth) was now to vse and imploie some monie.

The cleargie was of two sorts, the one shewing themselves as they were wealthie, hemelic, & comelie; the other pretending that which was not, pouertie, barenesse, and scaritic: but both were of one mind, and denied all the waies they could to saue their purses. The first being called, alledged that they were daile at great charges and expences in keeping of hospitalitie, in maintaining themselves, their house and familie; besides extraordinaries which daile did grow and increase vpon them: and by that meanes they were but bare and poore, and praied that they might be bozne withall, and pardoned for that time.

The other sort alledged, that their liuinges were but small and slender, and scarce able to mainteine themselves withall, which compelled them to go bare, and to liue a hard and a poore life, and therefore (they hauing nothing) praied that they might be excused. The bishop when he had heard them at full, and well considered thereof, verie wittlie, and with a pretie dilemma answered them both, saieing to the first: It is true, you are at great charges, and are well beset in your apparell, well mounted vpon your faire pastures, and haue your men waiting vpon you in good order; your hospitalitie is good, and your daile expences are large, and you are for the same well repoyted amongst your neighbours; all which are plaine demonstrations of your wealth and abilitie, other-

wise you would not be at such voluntarie charges. Then hauing store to spend in such order, there is no reason, but that to your prince you should much more be well willing & ready to yeld your selues contributorie and dutifull, and therefore you must paie. To the other sort he said: Albeit your liuinges be not of the best, yet good, sufficient, and able to mainteine you in better estate than you doe imploie it: but it appeareth that you are frugall and thristie men; and that others doe voluntarilie spend in apparell, house, and familie, you warilie doe keepe, and haue it to lie by you; and therefore it is good reason that of your store you should spare with a good will and contribute to your prince; wherefore be contented, for you shall

paie. And so by this pretie dilemma he reduced them to yeld a good payment to the king.

The king after he had gotten a great masse of monie together, hauing pitie on the people, which oppressed with the sharpe proceedings of his greedie officers, cried daily to God for vengeance, ment to haue depriued them of their offices (as some write) & that such monie as had bene violentlie craded, should haue bene restored and deliuered againe, if he had not bene prevented by death. And yet by his last will he commanded that it should be dulle and trulic perfoymed, but in the meane season many mens coffers were emptied. [¶ Thomas Lancashire mayor of London for this yeare, of his owine goods, builded the conduit at Bishops gate. He gaue to the fishmongers certeine tenements, for the which they be bound to find foure scholers that studie art; two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge, euerie of them foure pounds the yeare. They be bound also to giue to twelue aged poore people of their companie, to euerie one of them at Bartholomew tide a winter garment for euere. Also to giue to the prisoners of Ludgate and Newgate euerie yeare fortie shillings, &c. The first of Januarie in the night, the kings chamber was fired at Richmond, the which might not be quenched, till manie curtains, carpets, rich beds, and much other stufte was consumed.

In this verie season, and the yeare of our Lord 1506, Elizabeth queene of Castile died without issue male, by reason whereof the inheritance of Castile (because that kingdome is not partible) descended to lady Jane hir eldest daughter by king Ferdinando, the which was married to Philip archduke of Austrie. Wherefore the yeare following, about the first day of Januarie, hauing a great nauie prepared, he intitled now king of Castile, sailed out of Flanders with his wife towards Spaine, but by a mightie tempest of wind and foule weather, the whole nauie was dispersed and sparkled abroad in diuerse places on the coasts of England. The kings ship with two other vessels were blowne by tempest on the west part of the realme, to the port of Wexmouth in Dorsetshire. The king being wearied with the tossing of the seas, as one not accustomed thereto, contrarie to the mind of his counsellors, came on land to refresh himselfe.

When it was knowne that strange ships were arrived in that place, there came thither a great number, as well of gentlemen as commons of the countrie, to beat them backe if they proued to be enimies. But when they perceiued that the king of Spaine was there diuen on land by force of weather, sir Thomas Trenchard knight, chiefe of that companie, went with great humblenesse vnto him, and did what he could to haue him to his house, being not farre off, and so to cause him to stay, till such time as king Henrie might be certified of his arriuall; to whome with all speed he sent diuerse posts to aduertise him of king Philips landing. In this meane while came people in from all sides, vpon knowlege of this strange princes comming. And among other there came sir John Carew, with a goodlie band of piket men. Which sir John and sir Thomas Trenchard intreated the king of Castile not to depart, vntill such time as he had spoken with the king.

The king of Castile excused him by necessitie of his weightie enterpryse: but when he perceiued that if he would proffer to go once abroad to his ships againe, he might be letted, and was like so to be; he thought good rather to assent to their humble request and so seeme to gratifie them; than by denying it to procure their enill willes, and yet neuer the wiser of his purpose. When king Henrie was informed of his landing, he was right glad thereof, and wrote vnto

Thun deere
pauide
1506

Ann. Dom.
1506
Crecster
Windsor
1506

Richmond
on fire

Ann. Dom.
1506

Philip arch
duke of Aus
trich landed
in the west
part of
England

King of
France
and
Spain

to Sir John Carew, and to Sir Thomas Trenchard, that they should intertaine him in the most honorable sort they could devise, till he might come himselfe in person to welcome him. Whiche this, he sent the earle of Arundell with manie lords and knights to attend upon him. Whiche earle (according to the kings letters) receiued him with three hundred horses, all by torchlight, to the great admiration of the strangers.

King Philip seeing no remedie but that he must needs tarry, would no longer gaze after king Henrie coming, but took his iourne toward Windso:re castell, where the king late: and five miles from Windso:re the prince of Wales, accompanied with five earles, and diuerse lords and knights, and other to the number of five hundred persons gorgeouslie apparelled, receiued him after the most honorable fashion. And within halfe a mile of Windso:re, the king, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and a great part of the nobilitie of this realme, welcomed him, & so conueied him to the castell of Windso:re, where he was made companion of the noble order of the garter. After him came to Windso:re his wife queene Jane, sister to the princeesse Dowager, late wife to prince Arthur.

King of
France
and
Spain

After the two kings had renewed & confirmed the league and amitie betwixt them, king Henrie desired to haue Edmund de la Pole earle of Suffolke to be deliuered into his hands. To whome the king of Castile answered, that he verelie was not within his dominion: and therefore it laie not in him to deliuer him. In deed he was loth to be the authour of his death: that came to him for succour, and was receiued vnder his protection: yet upon the earnest request and assured promise of king Henrie: that he would pardon him of all erecutions and paines of death he granted to king Henries desire: and so incontinentlie caused the said earle secretlie to be sent for. After this, to protract time till he were possessed of his prey, king Henrie conueied the king of Castile vnto the cite of London, that he might see the head cite of his realme.

King of
France
and
Spain

Then he led him from Wainords castell by Cheape to Warking; and so returned by Watling street againe: during which time there was shot out of the Towre a wonderful peale of ordinance. But he would not enter into the Towre, because as ye haue heard before: he had aduowed not to enter the fortress of anye foreign prince, in the which a garrison was maintained. From London the king brought him to Richmond, where manie notable feates of armes were played both of tilt, turne, and barriers. In the meane season the erle of Suffolke, perceiving what hope was to be had in forreine princes, and trusting that after his life to him once granted, king Henrie would graunte set him at his full libertie, was in manner contented to returne againe into his native countrie.

King of
France
and
Spain

When all pacts and covenants betwixt the kings of England and Castile were appointed, concluded, and agreed, king Philip took his leave of king Henrie: promising to him most hearty thanks for his high chere and princelie entertainment. And being accompanied with diuerse lords of England, he came to the cite of Oxford, and so to Salisbury in Cornuwall, and there taking ship sailed vnto Spain, where he came after he had being thirtie yeares of age. The loss of his heart concerned, of countenance amiable of bodye strong and great, quickie witted, bold and brave. Whensoeuer he traueled that he suffered on the sea was huge, and much distressed also upon the land, in such that the violence of the wind blew downe an eagle of brass, being set to flye on which part the wind blew, from a pinnacle of spire of Pauls church,

and in the falling, the same eagle brake and battered an other eagle that was set up for a signe at a tauerne doore in Cheape side.

Whereupon men that were giuen to gesse things that should happen by marking of strange tokens, deemed that the emperour Maximilian, which gaue the eagle, should suffer some great misfortune: as he did shortly after by the losse of his sonne, the said king Philip. And verelie these prodigious accidents are not to be omitted as matter of course; for they haue their weight, and shew their truth in the issue. Examples in this booke be diuerse, among which one is verie memorable, mentioned in the thirtie ninth yeare of Henrie the first. At what time the duke of Poike making an oration to the lords of the parliament, for the iustifying of his title to the crowne, it chanced that a crowne which hang in the middle of the nether house (to garnish a branch to set lights vpon) without touch of man or blast of wind suddentlie fell downe. About which season also fell downe the crowne which stood on the top of Dover castell. Which things were construed to be signes that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall; and so it came to passe.

And because the euents of these foresayd had their truth, as manie more of the like nature; it shall not be amisse here to ad by waie of digression; what hath bene obserued in former ages by forren writers in and about such foretokens. The consent of the heauens and of men, pronounced to Italie their calamities to come: for that such as made profession to haue iudgement either by science or diuine inspiration in the things to come, assured with one voice that there were in preparing, both more great mutations and more strange and horrible accidents, than for manie worldes before had bene discerned in any part or circuit of the earth. There were scene in the night in Pouille three suns in the midst of the firmament, but manie clouds about them, with right fearefull thunders and lightnings. In the territories of Aretze, were visible scene passing in the aize, infinit numbers of armed men vpon mighty horses, with a terrible noise of drums and trumpets. The images & figures of saints did sweat in manie parts of Italie.

In euerie place of the countrie were brought forth manie monsters of men and other creatures, with manie other things against the order of nature concurring all at one time, but in diuerse places: by means wherof the people were caried into incredible feares, being already amazed with the brute of the French powiers & furie of that nation, with which according to the testimonie of histories: they had sometime run ouer all Italie, sacked and made desolate with fire and sword the cite of Rome, and subdued in Asia manie provinces; and generally no part of the world which had not felt the vertue of their armes. But albeit these iudgements are oftentimes fallible, and rather conuincit vncertainte, than effects happening: yet the accidents that drew on, brought to them, in the spirits of fraile men, an abhorrent faith, credit, & religion. So that there is in force the most matter of moment to be obserued, howsoever the world lieth asleep in the lap of security, yet is toucht with no feare of change. But alas the Heathen could see the contrarie, and therefore said:

Quem non multum metueret ipse timor,
Nec se superbiuam terra & cetera cuncta
Exultant, et cetera, cetera, cetera, cetera.

Prodigious
tokens
of
accidents
haue
their
illustre
truth.

See pag 657.

Abr. Fleto. et
Guic. pag 40.

Three sunnes
came at once
in the night.

M. anti. lib.
Apollin.

But to returne to our owne story. Shortly after the departing of king Philip, the king of England began to suspect Sir George Broull lord of Abouge name, and Sir Thomas Greene of Oremers parson, as partakers in the beginning of the conspiracy with the earle of Suffolke; and so upon that suspicion

they were commanded to the Towler. But shortly after, when they had bene tried and purged of that suspicion, he commanded them both to be set at libertie. But sir Thomas Grene fell sicke before, and remained in the Towler, in hope to be restored to his health as well as to his libertie but by death he was prevented. [And here because it is good to see the content of histories in the report of accidents, it shall not be amisse to repeat the entier relation of a late writer stranger touching this casuallie which befell to king Philip, in such sort to be cast vpon the English coast; as also the promise of the said king to deliver the duke of Suffolke into the hands of king Henrie, with the cause (as it is supposed) why the king desired to haue him within his owne reach.

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 355.
King Philip
saileth out of
Flanders into
to Spaine.

King Philip was imbarked to saile out of Flanders into Spaine with a great armie by sea; and to reduce his going to a more facilitie and safetie (for he feared least his father in law by the aid of the French would hinder his passage) he practised the Spanishe subtilties, and agreed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and policie of the most part of affaires, and that they shuld take in common the title of king of Spaine, according to the example in the quenes time: and lastlie, that the reuenues and tributes shoud be diuided in an order certeine & indifferent. By reason of which accord, his father in law, notwithstanding he was not assured of the obseruation, sent him into Flanders manie ships to furnish his voyage: with the which, hauing imbarked his wife, and Ferdinand his second sonne, he toke his course into Spaine with forward winds, which, within two daies turning cleane contrarie, after his nauie had runne a dangerous fortune, and made a wearie resistance against the furie of the sea, his ships were cast vpon sundrie coasts of England and Britaine; his owne perfort with two or three ships being diuinen with manifest perill vpon England into the haven of South Hampton.

King Philip
cast by casuall-
tie of sea vpon
the coasts of
England.

Whereof Henrie the seventh then king of that nation being aduertised, sent to him with speed manie barons to do him honour, and desire him to come to his court, then at London: a request which Philip could not denie, the king of Englands demand being no lesse honourable, than his owne estate full of necessitie and nakednesse. He remained in the court of England, vntill all his nauie was reassembled, and shippes rigged, making in the meane while he fluene them into capitulations: wherein albeit Philip in all other things held himselfe used as a king, yet in this one thing complained, that he was constrained as a prisoner, to consent to redeliuer to k. Henrie hands the duke of Suffolke, whom he held prisoner within the castell of Hamur, and whom the king of England desired much to haue in his power, for that he quarrelled the title of the crowne, pretending the right of the kingdome to appertene to him: one lie the king of England assured Philip by the faith and word of a king, that he would not put him to death. Which he did as iustlie performe, as he had honorable promised, keeping him in prison so long as he liued, and afterwards was beheaded vnder the roigme and commandement of his sonne.]

Anno Reg. 22.

The sweating
sickness est-
ablishes re-
turneth.

This yeare the king began to be diseased of a certeine infirmittie, which thise euerie yeare, but specially in the springtime sore bered him. And because for the most part the harme that chanceth to the prince, is parted with his subiects, the sweating sickness, which (as ye haue heard) in the first yeare of the king first afflicted the people of this realme, now assailed them againe; howbeit by the remedie found at the beginning of it, nothing the like number died thereof now this second time, as did at the first time till the said remedie was inuented. But now the third plague

equall to the pestilence insued, by the working of the maisters of the forfeitures, and such informers as were appointed thereto. By whose meanes manie a rich & wealthe perfon by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme were condemned and brought to great losse and humberance.

A great part of which their bndomings proceeded by the inconuenience of such vnforsionable officers, as by the abuse of exigents outlawed those that neuer heard, no; had knowledge of the lites commented against them, of which hard and sharpe dealing (the harme that thereof insucth considered) if the occasion might be taken awaie by some other more reasonable forme and order of law deuised, whereby the parties might haue personal warning, it would both preserve manie an innocent man from vnderferued beration, and danger of vnmereifull losse of goods; and also rebound highlie to the commendation of the prince, and such other as chanced to be reformers of that colourable law, where they be called onelie in the counties without other knowledge giuen to them or theirs at their dwelling houses.

But now to retorne. Such maner of outlawes, old recognisances of the peace, and god abearings, escapes, riots, & innumerable statutes penall, were put in execution, and called vpon by Cympton and Duddleie; so that euerie man, both the spirituallie and tempozaltie, hauing either lands or substance, were inuited to that plucking banquet. For these two rauening wolues had a gard of false perjured persons appertaining to them, which were impanelled in euerie quest. Learned men in the law, when they were required of their aduise, would say: So agree is the best counsell that I can giue you. By this vndermanes, these couetous persons filled the kinges coffers, and enriched themselves. And at this vnrascionable and extort doing, noble men grudged, meane men kicked, poore men lamented, preachers openlie at Donles crosse and other places exclaimed, rebuked, and detested. Howbeit the good king in his last daies conserued and pardoned his poore subiects of such vnrcharitable pokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

Sir Gilbert Talbot knight, and Richard Bere abbat of Classeburie, and doctor Robert Sherborne deane of Poules, were sent as ambassadoys from the k. to Rome, to declare to Pius the thirde of that name newlie elected pope in place of Alexander the first deceased, what joy and gladnesse had: after the kings heart for his preferment. But he taried not the coming of those ambassadoys, for within a moneth after that he was installed, he rendered his debt to nature, and so had short pleasure of his promotion (not beguiling the hopes which the cardinals conceived of him at the time of his creation, the six & twentieth day after his election, which was in short time to die. This popes name was Francis Piccolomini cardinal of Sienna, in whom was no expectation of long life, both for his extreame age, and present sicknesse: a cardinall sure of vnspotted report, and for his other conditions not vnworthie that degree; who to reuelo the memorie of Pius secundus his uncle, toke vpon him the name of Pius the thirde.

He succeeded Alexander the first, who went to supper in a vineyard nere the Vatican to reioice in the delight & pleasure of the fresh aire, & was suddenly caried for dead to the bishops palace; his sonne also communicating in the same accident, but with better fortune. For the day folowing, which was the eighteenth day of August, the dead corps of the pope (according to custome) was borne into the church of saint Peter, blacke, swolne, and most deformid; most manifest signes of poison. But Valentines, with the help of his vigour and strength of his youth, and ready helpe of strong

Ed. Hall's
Hen. 7. fol. 9

1507

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 355

pag. 11

pag. 10

strong medicines and counterpoisons, had his life saved, remaining notwithstanding oppressed with long and grievous sicknesse: it was assuredly believed that the accident proceeded of poison, the discourse whereof (according to common report) was in this sort.

The duke Valentinois, who was to be present at that supper, had determined to poison Adrian cardinal of Cornette, referring that time and place to execute his bloudie resolution: for it is most certaine that in his father and him were naturall customes to use poison, not onlie to be revenged of their enemies, or to be assured of suspicions; but also upon a wicked courtinesse, to despoile rich men of their goods, whether they were cardinals or courtiers, although they had never done them wrong, as hapned to the cardinal saint Ange, who was verie rich. This manner of rage they would use also against their greatest friends & familiars, and such as had bin their most faithfull servants, such as were the cardinals of Capua and Spomeno: a recompense unworthie the merits of good men, and not disagreeable to the disposition of such a father and sonne, whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile dispensation; and with the other nothing was dishonest therein was opportunitie to his purposes. The duke Valentinois sent before certaine flagons with wine infected with poison, which he gave to a servant that knew nothing of the matter, commanding that no person should touch them.

A common judgement preiudiciall to his maister, as the ignorance of the servant was the instrument in the evil that hapned both to the father and son. Such is the assistance of God, who in the execution of his judgements raiseth one murderer to kill another, & breaketh the bands of the fire upon the head of him that first kindled it: for the pope coming by adventure somewhat before supper, and overcome with the brought and immoderate heat of the time, called for drinke. And because his drinke provision was not yet brought from the palace, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to be recommended to his keeping for a wine most excellent, gave the pope to drinke of the same wine which Valentinois had sent, who arriving while his father was drinking drinke also of the same wine, being but tust that they both should taste of the same cup which they had brued for the destruction of others. All the towne of Rome ran with great gliaoness to saint Peters about the dead bodie of the pope, their cries not satisfied to see dead and destroyed a serpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poisoned insidelitie, together with all the horrible examples of crueltie, luxurie, and monstrous concutinesse, selling without distinction both holie things and prophane things, had infected the whole world.

And yet was he accompanied with a most rare, & almost perpetuall prosperitie even from his young age, to the end of his life; desiring alwaies great things, and obtaining most often that he desired. An example of much importance, to confound the arrogancie of those men, who presuming to know and see perfectie with humane eyes the depth of Gods judgements on assure, that what happeneth either good or ill to mortall men, proceedeth either of their merits or faults: as though we saw not daily manie good men unfortunatly tormented, & wicked persons above their desertings live in ease and honour: wherein who makes an other interpretation, derogates the justice and power of God, the greatnesse of which being not to be contained within any scripts or tearmes preter. knoweth how well and largely to discern in an other time and place the iust from the uniuist, and that with rewards and eternall punishments. In the

meane time he potozeth out his vengeance upon the imaginers of mischief in this life, so providing, as that they are caught in their owne snares, and overtaken with such destruction as they had prepared for others, according to that saying of the Psalmist:

*Effudit puteum, fucumque eduxit ab imo,
Et miser in laqueis incidit ipse suos.
In verticem ipsius recurrit
Pernicies, reciduntque fraudes.*

*Eccl. Hist. & G.
Buch in Psal. 7.*

At the same time died Giles lord Daubencie the kings chiefe chamberleine, whose office Charles, barard sonne to Henrie last duke of Summerset occupied and enjoyed; a man of good wit, and great experience. Some after, the king caused Gudebald duke of Ardeine to be created knight of the order of the garter, in like maner as his father duke Frederike had bene before him, which was chosen and admitted into the order by king Edward the fourth. Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the other two ambassadors being appointed to keepe on their iourne unto pope Julius the second, elected after the death of the said Pius the third, bare the habit and collar also unto the said duke Gudebald; which after he had received the same, sent sir Balthasar Castilio, knight, a Spaniard, as his orator unto king Henrie, which was for him installed, according to the ordinances of the order.

*The lord
Daubencie
died.*

*Anno Reg. 23.
Gudebald
duke of Ardeine
made knight
of the garter.*

This yeare that worthy prelate Thomas Savage archbishop of Poike departed this life at his castell of Catwood: a man beside the worthinesse of his birth highlie esteemed with his prince for his fast fidelitie and great wisdom. He bestowed great cost in repairing the castell of Catwood and the manor of Scrobie. His bodie was buried at Poike, but he appointed by his testament, that his hart should be buried at Spacresfield in Cheshire, where he was bozne, in a chapell there of his foundation, joining to the south side of the church, meaning to have founded a college there also, if his purpose had not bene prevented by death. After him succeeded doctor Wembridge in the archbishops see of Poike, being the fiftie and first archbishop that had sat in that see.

*Thomas Savage
archbishop of Poike
shop of Cantuarie
deceased.*

About this same time Letoes the French king, the twelfe of that name (who succeeded Charles the eighth that died at Amboise the night before the eighth daie of Aprill, of a catarrhe, which the physicians call an apoplexie, the same rising in him with such abundance, as he beheld a match played at tennisse, that in few houres he ended at the same place his life: during the which, he had with greater importunitie than vertue troubled the whole world with great apparance of danger to kindle some new fires of innovation and troubles) married his eldest daughter named Clare, unto Francis de Chalots Dolphin of Vienne, and duke of Angolessine, which ladie was promised unto Charles the king of Castile: whereupon by ambassadors sent to and fro betwixt king Henrie and the said king of Castile, a marriage was concluded betwixt the said king of Castile, and the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie, being about the age of ten yeares. For conclusion of which marriage, the lord of Baroyn, & other ambassadors were sent into England from the emperor Martimilian which with great rewards returned.

*Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 184.*

William Wolone mercer maior of London this yeare deceased, and forthwith sir Laurence Ailmer draper was chosen and sworn, and went home in a grate cloake, with the sword borne before him, on the eight and twentieth daie of March. Item he took his oath at the Tower, and kept no feast. William Capell was put in suite by the king for things by him done in his maioraltie. Also Thomas Kneifworth that had bene maior of London, and his sherriffes, were sent to the kings Bench, till they were put to their

1508

*Abr. Fl. ex
L. Spag. 879.*

*William Capell
sued by the king
Tho. Kneifworth
imprisoned.*

Roꝛwich on
ſer.

Free ſchool at
Wolfrun-
hampton.

John Ligh of
Wolfrunchap-
ton, his rare
example of
charitie.

Wolfrunchap-
ton, corruptly
called Wol-
uerhampton.

Excharia Regia

Smart.
Hospitall of
the Hauoie.

Rec. of Can-
turb. church.

Fe. Thin.
Thomas Rithall
thall biſhop of
Durham.

their fines of ſoare ſcore hundred pounds. In the mo-
neth of June, the cite of Roꝛwich was ſore perſhed,
& nere conſumed with fier, that began in a French
mans houſe named Peter Johnſon, a ſurgian, in
the pariſh of ſaint George.

Stephen Genings merchant tailor, maſor of
London, founded a free grammar ſchole at Wol-
frunhampton in Staſſordſhire, with conuenient
lodgings for the maſter and other, in the ſame
place where he was borne. He gave lands ſufficient
for the maintenance, leaving the ouerſight thereof
to the merchant tailors in London, who haue hither-
to ſufflie dealt in that matter, and alſo augmented
the building there. Maſter Nichols, who married the
onellie daughter and heire of the aforeſaid Stephen
Genings, gave lands to mainteine the pauements
of that towne. Alſo, John Leneſon eſquier, about
Anno 1556, gave lands, whereof foure pounds ſhould
be dealt euerie yeare, on good Friday, to the poore
people of Wolfrunhampton, and ſix and twentie
ſhillings eight pence pærelie, towards the reparati-
on of the church there.

Moreover, about Anno 1566, ſir John Ligh a
preſt, which had ſerued in that church there, the ſpace
of threſcore years, for five pounds, ſix ſhillings eight
pence the yeare, without anie other augmentation
of his living, who would neuer take anie benefice, or
other preferment, gave twentie pounds, to purchaſe
twentie ſhillings the yeare lands, the ſame to be gi-
uen pærelie for euer to the poore of Wolfrunchap-
ton upon good Friday, & twelue pounds thirtene ſhil-
lings foure pence, to purchaſe a marke a yeare lands,
the ſame to be giuen to the poore of Chirhall, in the
countie of Salop, where the ſaid Ligh was borne.
This man liued nigh one hundred years. He beſto-
wed beſides his owne labour which was great (in bea-
ring of ſtones, &c.) aboue twentie pounds on the high
waies about that towne of Wolfrunhampton.

This towne of Wolfrunhampton, is now cor-
ruptly called Wolnerhampton: for in Anno 996,
in king Ethelreds time (who wrote himſelfe *Rex Ang-
lorum & princeps Northhumbroꝝ Olympiade tertia regni
ſui*, for ſo he wrote the count of his reigne then, which
was the ſixteenth yeare) it was then called Hamp-
ton, as appeareth by an old charter written by the no-
tarie of the ſaid king Ethelred, which charter I haue
ſene and read. And for that a noble woman named
Wulftrune a widow, ſometime wiſe to Alhelme duke
of Northampton, did obtaine of the ſaid king to giue
lands vnto the church there which ſhe had founded, the
ſaid towne took the addition of the ſame Wulftrune,
for that charter ſo nameth hir Wulftrune, and the
towne Hampton.

In this yeare was finiſhed the goodlie hospitall
of the Hauoie nere vnto Charing croſſe, which was
a notable foundation for the poore, done by king
Henrie the ſeuenth, vnto the which he purchaſed and
gave lands for the relieuing of one hundred poore peo-
ple. This was firſt named Hauoie place, by Peter
earle of Hauoie, father to Boniface archbiſhop of
Canturburie, about the nine and twentieth yeare of
king Henrie the third, who made the ſaid Peter erle
of Richmond. This houſe belonged ſince to the duke
of Lancaſter, and at this time was conuerted to an
hospitall, ſtill retaining the firſt name of Hauoie.
King Henrie alſo builded thre houſes of Francis-
cane friers, which are called obſeruant, at Rich-
mond, Grenewich, and Newmarke; and thre other of
the familie of Franciſcane friers which are called
conuentuals, at Canturburie, Newcaſtell, and
Southampton.]

«This yeare was Thomas Rithall made biſhop
of Durham by Henrie the ſeuenth, touching whole
place of birth (being at Cirenceſter now Ciceſter)

and himſelfe, I will not reſuſe to ſet downe what
Leland (about the yeare 1542) hath written, not be-
ing vntill here to be recorded. Cirenceſter (ſaith he) in
Latine called *Corinium* ſtandeth on the river Chorne.
There haue bene thre pariſh churches, whereof
ſaint Ciceilies church is cleane downe, being of late
but a chapell. Saint Laurence yet ſtandeth, but it is
no pariſh church. There be two poore almes houſes
endued with land. There is now but one pariſh church
in all Cirenceſter that is verie faire, the bodie of
which church is all new worke, to the which Rithall
biſhop of Durham (borne and brought vp in Ciren-
ceſter) promiſſed much, but (preuented by death) gave
nothing. One Anne Aneling aunt to doctor Rithall
by the mothers ſide, gave one hundred markes to the
building of that church. King Henrie the firſt made
the hoſpitall of ſaint Johns at Cirenceſter. Thus
ſaith Leland.

This man thus borne at Cirenceſter in Gloce-
ſterſhire, and made biſhop of Durham, was after
the death of king Henrie the ſeuenth, one of the pri-
uie counſell to king Henrie the eighth, in whoſe court
he was ſo continuallie attendant, that he could not
ſcale anie time to attend the affaires of his biſhop-
ricke. But yet not altogether careleſſe (though not ſo
much as he ought to haue bene) of the place and
cauſe from whence and for which he receiued ſo great
reuenues, as came vnto his hands from that ſee. He
repaired the third part of the bridge next vnto the
ſouth, which he might well doe; for he was accepted
the richeſt ſubiect through the realme. To whom re-
mainings then at the court) the king gave in charge
to write a booke of the whole eſtate of the kingdom,
becauſe he was knowne to the king to be a man of
ſufficientie for the diſcharge thereof, which he did ac-
cordinglie.

Afterwards, the king commanded cardinall
Wolſeie to go to this biſhop, and to bring the booke
aſwaie with him to deliuer to his maieſtie. But ſee
the miſhap! that a man in all other things ſo promi-
dent, ſhould now be ſo negligent: and at that time
moſt forget himſelfe, when (as if after ſell out) he had
moſt need to haue remembred himſelfe. For this bi-
ſhop hauing written two bookes (the one to anſwer
the kings command, and the other intreating of his
owne priuate affaires) did bind them both after one
ſort in vellame, full of one length, breadth, and thick-
neſſe, and in all points in ſuch like proportion an-
ſwering one an other, as the one could not by anie e-
ſpeciall note be diſcerned from the other: both which
he alſo laid by together in one place of his ſtudio.

Now when the cardinall came to demand the
booke due to the king: the biſhop vnaduiſedly com-
manded his ſervant to bring him the booke bound in
white vellame lieng in his ſtudio in ſuch a place. The
ſervant doing accordinglie, brought forth one of
thoſe bookes ſo bound, being the booke intreating of
the ſtate of the biſhop, and deliuered the ſame vnto
his maſter, who receiuing it (without further conſi-
deration or looking on) gave it to the cardinall to
beare vnto the king. The cardinall hauing the booke,
went from the biſhop, and after (in his ſtudio by him-
ſelfe) orderſtanding the contents thereof, he greatly
reioiſed, hauing now occaſion (which he long ſought
for) offered vnto him to bring the biſhop into the
kings diſgrace.

Wherefore he went forthwith to the king, deliue-
red the booke into his hands, and breſſedlie informed
the king of the contents thereof; putting further into
the kings head, that if at anie time he were deſir-
tute of a maſſe of monie, he ſhould not need to ſeke
further therefore than to the coſers of the biſhop, who
by the tenor of his owne booke had accompted his
proper riches and ſubſtance to the value of a hundred
thou

thousand pounds. Of all which when the bishop had intelligence (what he had done, how the cardinall used him, what the king said, and what the world reported of him) he was stricken with such griefe of the same, that he thortlie through extream sorrow ended his life at London, in the yeare of Christ 1523. After whose death the cardinall, which had long before ga-
ped after the said bishoppe, in singular hope to at-
taine thereunto, had now his wish in effect: which he
the more easilie compassed, for that he had his nets
alwaies readie cast, as assuring himselfe to take a
trout: following therein a prophane mans cautelous
counsell, and putting the same in practice; who saith:

*Cassus ubi j. vult semper tibi pendere hamus,
Quo minime credis gurgite piscis erit.*

The sicknesse which held the king daile more and
more increasing, he well perceived that his end drew
nere, and therefore meaning to do some high plea-
sure to his people, granted of his free motion a gene-
rall pardon to all men, for all offences done & com-
mitted against anie his lawes or statutes; theues,
murderers, & certeine other were excepted. He paid
also the fines of all prisoners in the gaoles in and a-
bout London, abiding there onelie for that dutie.
He paid also the debts of all such persons as laie in
the counters of Ludgate for fourtie shillings, & ban-
der; and some he releued that were condemned in
ten pounds. Whereupon were processions generallie be-
sed euerie daie in euerie cite and parish, to praise to
almightie God for his restoring to health and long
continuance of the same. Nevertheless, he was so
afflicted with his long maladie, that nature could no
longer susteine his life, and so he departed out of this
world the two and twentieth of Aprill, in his palace of
Bridgwater, in the yere of our Lord 1509. His corpse
was conducted with all funerall pompe to West-
minster, and there buried by the good quene his wife
in a deuout chapell, which he not long before had
caused to be builded.

He reigned thre and twentie yeares, and more
than seven moneths, and liued two and fiftie yeares.
He had by his quene Elizabeth foure sonnes, and
four daughters, of the which thre remained alieue be-
hind him. Henrie his second son prince of Wales,
which after him was king, & Margaret quene of
Scots, and the ladie Marie promised to Charles king
of Castile. He was a man of bodie but leane and
spare, albeit mightie and strong therewith, of perso-
nage and stature somewhat higher than the meane
sort of men, of a wonderfull beautie and faire com-
plexion, of countenance merie and smiling, especial-
lie in his communication, his eyes graie, his teeth
single, and haire thin, of wit in all things quicke and
prompt, of a princelie stomack and haucie courage. In
great perils, doubtfull affaires, and matters of im-
portance, supernaturall and in manner diuine; for he
ordered all his doings aduisedlie and with great de-
liberation.

Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, cour-
teous, bountifull, and so much abhorring pride and
arrogancie, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to
them that were noted with that fault. He was also
an indifferent and byright iusticer, by the which one
thing he allured to him the hearts of manie people,
and yet to this seueritie of his he ioined a certeine
mercifull pitie, which he did extend to those that had
offended the penall lawes, and were put to their
fines by his iustices. He did vse his rigour onelie (as
he said himselfe) to danc, being low, and abate the
blash minds and stout stomacks of the wealthie and
bold people, nourished by in sedition factions and
ciuill rebellions, rather than for the greedie desire of
monie; although such as were scourged with amer-
cements cried out, and said it was rather for the re-

spect of gaine, than for anie politike prouision. In-
deed he left his coffers well stuffed, for he was no
waistfall consumer of his riches by anie inordinat
meanes.

To conclude, he had asmuch in him of gifts both
of bodie, mind and fortune, as was possible for anie
potentate or king to haue. His politike wisdom
in gouernance was singular, his wit alwaie quicke
and readie, his reason pitie and substantiall, his me-
morie fresh and holding, his experience notable, his
counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation,
his speech gracious in diuerse languages, his person
(as before ye haue heard) right comelie, his naturall
complexion of the purest mixture, leagues and con-
federations he had with all christian princes. His
mightie power was dead euerie where, not onelie
within his realme but without. Also his people were
to him in as humble subiection as euer they were to
king; his land manie a daie in peace and tranquilli-
tie, his prosperitie in battell against his enemies
was maruellous, his dealing in time of perils and
dangers was cold and sober, with great hardinesse.
If anie treason were conspired against him, it came
out wonderfullie. His buildings most goodlie, and af-
ter the newest cast, all of pleasure.

And so this king liuing all his time in fortunes
faueur, in high honour, wealth and glozie, for his no-
ble acts and prudent policies is worthie to be regi-
stered in the booke of fame, least time (the consumer of
all worthie things) should blot out the memorie of his
name here in earth, whose soule we trust liueth in
heauen, enioying the fruition of the godhead, & those
pleasures prepared for the faithfull. [In memorie of
whome, his manifold vertues, with the fortunat suc-
cesse of his affaires, and the gracious descent of his
loines, as they procured a famous report in nations
farre and nere; so haue some at the contemplation
of his princeliesse, and euerie waie crowned with
felicitie, made memorials of his magnificence; to the
immortalitie of his high praise and vnblesshable
renowme: among whome (for the truth of the report
indefinable by the contents of this historie) one com-
meth to mind, which may well serue for an epitaph:

*Septimus Henricus factus est nomen adeptus
Præclarum claris ventura in seculis fama:
Cuius ille fuit fuerat charissimus hostes
Omnes iure ipsum metuebant: numinis almi
Religiosus erat cultor, pietatis & aequi,
Persusos hominesque malos vehementius odit.
Viginti totos charus trique amplius annos
Regibus externis in summo vixit honore:
Magnanimus, iustus rex, prudens atque modestus,
Henrico heredi moriens sua regna reliquit,
Diuitis que immensum argenti pondus & auri.*

The altar and sepulture of the same king Henrie
the seuenth, wherein he now resteth, in his new chap-
pell at Westminster, was made and finished in the
yeare of our Lord 1519, by one Peter T. a painter
of the cite of Florence, for the which he receiued one
thousand pounds sterling for the whole stiffe and
workmanship, at the hands of the kings executors,
Richard bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitz James
bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Duresme,
John bishop of Rochester, Thomas duke of Nor-
folke treasurer of England, Edward earle of Wor-
cester the king chamberleine, John F. knight, chiefe
iustice of the kings Bench, Robert K. knight, chiefe
iustice of the common pless, &c.]

Of learned men that liued in this kings daies (as
maister Bale noteth them) these are recorded. First
George Ripeleie a Carmelite frier at Boston, scene
in the mathematikes, he wrote diuerse treatises,
and after his decease was accounted a nebraman-
cer; John Erghom bozne in Poike, a blacke frier,
h h h i.

Out of the
bishop of
Rochesters
funerall ser-
mon preached
in Pauls
church at
London.

Ab. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 892.
Sepulture of
Henrie the se-
uenth.

Executors to
Henrie the se-
uenth.

a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, studious of propheties, as by the title of the works which he wrote it may appeare; John Persuall a Chartreux monke; Thomas Guallozie a Welchman borne, he wrote (I wrote not what) of king Arthur, and of the round table; John Kouffe borne in Warwicksheire, a diligent searcher of antiquities, wherupon few libraries were any where to be seene in England and Wales, where he made not search for the same, and wrote sundrie treatises of historicall arguments. He deceased at Warwike the fourteenth of Januarie in the yeare 1491, and was buried in our ladie church there.

Thomas Scrope, otherwise surnamed Bzableie, descended of the noble familie of the Scropps, professed sundrie kinds of religions, as that of the order of saint Benet, and saint Dominike, and likewise he became a Carmelite, and last of all he fell to and preached the gospell in haire and sackcloth, till he understood himselfe to be in the displeasure of Walden and other, that could not alwaie with such singularity in him or other, founding (as they toke it) to the danger of bringing the doctrine of the Romish church in misliking with the people; for then he withdrew himselfe to his house againe, and there remained twentie yeares, leading an anchors life, but yet after that time he came abroad, and was advanced to be a bishop in Ireland, and went to the Roades in ambassage, from whence being returned, he went barefooted by and downe in Norfolke, teaching in townes and in the countrie abroad the ten commandments, he liued till he came to be at the point of an hundred yeares old, & departed this life the fiftenth day of Januarie in the yeare of our Lord 1491, and was buried at Lestolfe in Suffolke.

John Donneis a diuine and an Augustine frier in Norwich, wrote certeine rules of grammar, and other things printed by Richard Pynson; Gesserie surnamed the Grammarian; John Alcocke bishop of Elie, changed a nuntie at Cambridge into a college named Iesus college about the yere of Christ 1496. The chiefe cause of suppressing the nuntie is noted to be, for that the abbesse and other of the conuent liued dissolute liues; Stephen Hawes a learned gentleman, and of such reputation, as he was admitted to be one of the priue chamber to king Henrie the seventh; William Buntre, so called of a towne in

Norfolke where he was borne, by profession a Carmelite frier in Burnham, a great diuine; William Gallion an Augustine frier in Lin, and at length became prouinciall of his order.

Robert Fabian a citizen and merchant of London, an historiographer, he was in his time in good estimation for his wisdom and wealth in the citie, so that he bare office and was shiriffe in the yeare 1493; William Celling, borne beside Feuerham in Kent, a monke of Canturburie; Thomas Bourcher descended of the noble linage of the earles of Essex, was first bishop of Elie, and after removed from thence to Canturburie, succeeding John Kemp in that archbishops see, at length created by pope Paule the second a cardinall; Philip Bomierd a Dominicke frier, a diuine; John Wyles a doctor of both the lawes, ciuill and canon, he studied in Oxford in the college of Walsen nose, nowlie founded in the daies of this king Henrie the seventh by William Smith bishop of Lincolne; Richard Shirborne bishop of Chichester, and employed in ambassage to diuerse princes, as a man most meet thereto for his singular knowledge in learning and eloquence.

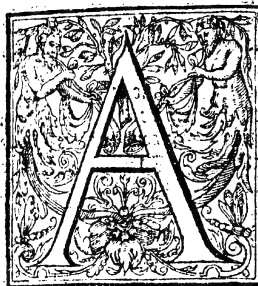
Robert Widius vicar of Shakesbed in Essex, and a prebendarie canon of Welles, an excellent poet; Peter Benighall a Carmelit frier, but borne of worshipfull linage in France, hauing an Englishman to his father, was student in Oxford, and became a notable preacher; John Pozton first bishop of Elie, and after archbishop of Canturburie the sixtie and fourth in number that ruled that see, he was advanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and by king Henrie the seventh made lord chancellor, a worthy counsellor and a modest, he was borne of worshipfull parents in Cheshire, & departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1500; Henrie Medwall chapleine to the said Pozton; Edmund Dupleie borne of noble parentage, studied the lawes of this land, and profited highlie in knowledge of the same, he wrote a booke intituled *Arbor rei publice*, the tree of the common wealth: of this man ye haue heard before in the life of this king, and more (God willing) shall be said in the beginning of the next king, as the occasion of the historie leadeth; John Bokingham an excellent scholman; William Blackeneie a Carmelit frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and a romancer.

Thus farre Henrie the seuenth, sonne to Edmund earle of Richmond.





Henrie the eight, sonne and successor to Henrie the seuenth.

1509
An. Reg. 1.Henrie the
emperor
reigning.

Hylde.

Counsellors
being de-
moted.

Hylde.

Hylde.

After the death of the noble prince Henrie the seuenth, his sonne Henrie the eight began his reigning the two and twentieth daie of April in the yeare of the world 5475, after the birth of our saviour 1509, and in the eighteenth yeare of his age, in the sixteenth yeare of Maximilian then being emperor, in the eleuenth yeare of Lewis the twelfth that then reigned in France, and in the twentieth yeare of king James the fourth as then ruling ouer the Scots. Whose stile was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet in the citie of London, the thre and twentieth daie of the said moneth, with much gladnesse and reioysing of the people. And the same daie he departed from his manour of Richmond, to the Towre of London, where he remained close and secret with his counsell, till the funerals of his father were finished.

Although this king now comming to the crowne, was but young (as before is said) yet hauing bene in his first yeares trained by in learning, did for respect of his owne suertie and good gouernement of his people, prudentlie (by the aduise of his grandmother the countesse of Richmond and Derby) elect & choise forth of the most wise and graue personages to be of his priuie counsell, namelie such as he knew to be of his fathers right deere and familiar friends, whose names were as followeth. William Warham archbishop of Canturburie and chancelor of England, Richard For bishop of Winchester, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie, and tresuroz of England, George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, and lord steward of the kings household, Charles Summerset lord chamberleine, sir Thomas Louell, sir Henrie What, doctor Thomas Routhall, and sir Edward Poynings.

These graue and wise counsellors, fearing least such abundance of riches and welth as the king was now possessed of, might moue his young yeares vnto riotous forgetting of himselfe (for vnto no king at any time before, was less greater or the like riches, as well in readie coine, as in iewels and other mouables, as was left to him by his father) they therefore his said counsellors travelled in such prudent sort with him, that they got him to be present with them when they sat in counsell; so to acquaint him with matters pertaining to the politike gouernment of the realme, that by little and little he might applie himselfe to take vpon him the rule and administration of publike affaires, with the which at the first he could not well indure to be much troubled, be-

ing rather inclined to followe such pleasant pastimes as his youthfull young yeares did more delite in, and therefore could be verie well contented, that other graue personages should take paines therein.

The same daie also that the king came to the Towre, the lord Henrie Stafford brother to the duke of Buckingham was arrested, and committed to the Towre; and the same daie also doctor Routhall was named bishop of Ducham. The five and twentieth daie of April was proclaimed, that the kings grace satisfied all the pardons granted by his father, and also pardoned all such persons as were then in lute for any offence whatsoeuer it was; treason, murder, and felonie onlie excepted. And now, whereas the performance of the deceased kings will was thought right expedient with all speed to be performed, a proclamation was also set forth and published thorough the realme, that if any man could proue himselfe to be hurt, and depprived of his goods wrongfullie by the commissioners of the forfeitures, he should come and present his plaint to the king, being readie to satisfie euery one of all iniuries so incured.

A proclama-
tion.

After this proclamation was notified abroad, all such as had bene constrained either by right or by wrong (as Polydor saith) to paie any thing for any forfeitures of lawes and customes by them transgressed, came flocking to the court, & there declared their griefs, in that sort they had wrongfullie bene compelled (as they furnished) to paie this or that summe. The counsell heard euery mans complaint, and such as were found to haue paid any thing with out plaine proue of iust cause, they toke such order for them, that they had their monie againe. Which being once knowne, it was a strange thing to see how thicke other came in; yea euen those that had bene wrongfullie fined & punished for their disorderlie transgressions, making earnest sute for restitution, feyning and forging manie things to make their cause seeme good, and to stand with equitie.

Qualitties
of luters what
suits they
made to be
heard.

And the better to be heard in their sute, they made friends as well with bribes and large gifts as otherwise, leauing no waies vnausted to compasse their desires. Which greedines in such multitude of luters, brought the commissioners, and others that had beth in the forfeitures into danger, and did themselves no good: for the counsell perceiving that it was not possible to satisfie them all, refused to heare any further complaints or lutes for restitution: but thought it best to commit those to prison, by whom the complainants pretended themselves to haue bene wronged. And here vpon was sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmund Dobleie esquier, great counsellors to the late king attached, and brought to the Towre, thereby to quiet mens minds, that made such importunate sute to haue their monie againe restored, which in the late kings daies they had bene compelled to

Empson and
Dobleie com-
mitted to the
Towre.

H b h y.

disturb,

disburse, thorough the rigorous proceedings, as they alleged, of the said two counsellors, and others.

Trulie great exclamation was made against them, as often happeneth; that where any thing is done contrarie to the liking of the people, those that be dealers vnder the prince, and by his commandement proceed in the execution thereof, run in hatred of the multitude. But how so ever it was, their apprehension and committing to prison was thought by the wise to be procured by the malice of them that in the late kings daies were offended with their authority. Shortly after (as Edward Hall saith) were apprehended diuerse other persons, that were called promoters, as Canbie, Page, Sifith, Derbie, Wright, Simson, and Stedon; of which the more part were papists, and stood on the pillorie. [And (as another saith, who termeth them ringleaders of false quecks in London) they rode about the citie with their faces to the howles faces, and papers on their heads, and after they had bene set on the pillorie in Cornhill, they were brought againe to Newgate, where they died all within feauen daies after for verie shame.]

Promoters
punished.

I.S. pag. 893.

The funerall
pompe and so-
lemnitie of
Henrie the
seuenth.

When all things were prepared ready for the fun-
nerall of the late king, his corps with all sumptuous
pompe and solemne ceremonies, was conueyed from
Richmond to saint Georges field; where the clergy
of the citie met it: and at the bridge the maiors
and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in
blacke likewise met it, and gaue their attendance on
the same thorough the citie, to the cathedrall church of
saint Paule, where was song a solemne dirige and
masse, and a sermon made by the bishop of Rochester
John Fisher. The next daie the corps was had to
Westminster, and there the date following, put into
the earth with all due solemnities as apperteined.
[Notwithstanding this base remembrance of king
Henries solemne funerall, might seeme sufficient
in the iudgement of some, without further amplifi-
cation; yet because it is good in others opinion (and
those not of meanest wit) to set downe things of
state at large, if conuenient helps thereto maie be
had: therefore you shall haue the whole solemnitie of
the said roiall funerall, as it is found recorded by
Edward Hall.

Edw. Hall, in
Hen. 8. folj.

The corps
put into a
charriot
sumptuously
garnished.

The order of
the pompe and
mourning.

After that all things (saith he) necessarie for the
interment and funerall pompe of the late king,
were sumptuously prepared and done: the corps of
the said deceased king was brought out of his pri-
uie chamber into the great chamber, where he rested
these daies, and euerie daie had there dirige and masse
song by a prelat mitred. From thence he was con-
ueied into the hall, where he was also these daies, and
had like seruice there; and so these daies in the chap-
pell. And in euerie of these these places, was a hearse
of war garnished with baners, and nine mourners
giuing their attendance all the seruice time: and eu-
erie daie they offered, and euerie place hanged with
blacke cloth. Upon Wednesday the ninth daie of
Maie, the corps was put into a charriot, couered
with blacke cloth of gold, bratone with five great
coatsers all couered with blacke velvet, garnished
with cushions of fine gold: and ouer the corps was an
image of representation of the late king, laied on
cushions of gold, and the said image was apparelled
in the kings rich robes of estate, with a crowne on
the head with ball and scepter in the hands: the char-
riot was garnished with baners and pencels of the
armes of his dominions, titles and genealogies.

When the charriot was thus ordered, the kings
chappell, and a great number of prelates set forward
praieng. Then followed all the kings seruants in
blacke, then followed the charriot: and after the char-
riot nine mourners, and on euerie side were caried

long torches & short, to the number of six hundred, &
in this order they came to saint Georges field, from
Richmond. There met with them all the prelates and
clerks and religious men within the citie & without,
which went foremost before the chariot. The maiors
and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed
in blacke, met with the corps at London bridge, and
so gaue their attendance on the same through the citie.
And in good order the companies passed thorough
the citie, whereof the streets on euerie side were set
with long torches, and on the stals stood young children
holding tapers; so with great reverence the chariot
was brought to the cathedrall church of saint Paule,
where the bodie was taken out and caried into the
quire, and set vnder a goodlie hearse of war garnished
with baners, pencels, and cushions, where was song
a solemne dirige and a masse with a sermon made by
the bishop of Rochester. During which time, the
kings household and the mourners reposed them in
the bishops palace.

The next daie the corps in like order was reman-
ed towards Westminster: sir Edward Howard
bearing the kings baner on a couerle trapped in the
armes of the deceased king. In Westminster was
a curious hearse, made of nine principals, all full
of lights, which were lighted at the coming of the
corps, which was taken out of the chariot by six lords
and set vnder the hearse: the image of the representa-
tion lieng vpon the cushion on a large pall of gold.
The hearse was double railed; within the first railles
sat the mourners, and within the second railles stood
knights bearing baners of saints, and without the
same stood officers of armes. When the mourners
were set, Cartier king at armes, cried: for the soules
of the noble prince king Henrie the seauenth late
king of this realme: then the quire began *Placem*, and
so song dirige: which being finished, the mourners
departed into the palace, where they had a bold, and
so reposed for that night. The next daie were there
masses solemnelie song by bishops, and at the last
masse was offered the kings baner and couerle, his
coat of armes, his sword, his target, and his helme:
and at the end of masse the mourners offered by
rich palles of cloath of gold and handeklin: and when
the quire sang, *Libera me*; the bodie was put into the
earth.

Then the lord treasurer, lord steward, lord cham-
berleine, the treasurer and comptroller of the kings
household, brake their staves and cast them into the
grauel. Then Cartier cried with a loud voice; Vive
le roy Henrie le huitiesme, roy d'Angleterre, & de
France, sire d'Irlande. Then all the mourners, and all
other that had giuen their attendance on this fune-
rall obsequie, departed to the palace, where they had
a great and a sumptuous feast. Wonder it were to
write of the lamentation that was made for this
prince amongst his seruants, and other of the wisest
foit; and the soie that was made for his death by such
as were troubled by rigour of his law: yet the to-
ward hope which in all points appeared in the young
king did both repaire and comfort the beaute hearts
of them, which had lost so wise and sage a prince: and
also did put out of the minds of such as were rela-
ted by the said kings death, all their old grudge and
rancor, and confirmed their new soie by the new
grant of his pardon.

After that the funerals of the said late king were
once ended, great preparation was made for the co-
ronation of the new king; which was appointed on
Whitsunmouthe daie next ensuing. During the time of
which preparation, the king was aduised by some of
his counsell to take to wife the ladie Katherine, late
wife to his brother prince Arthur, least the having so
great a dowrie as was appointed to hir, might mar-
rie

The chariot
brought into
saints church.

Description
of the curious
hearse at
Westminster.

The hearse
of the dead king
interred.

Reg. 1.

ric out of the realme, which should be to his hinderance. The king being hereto perswaded, espoused the said ladie Katharine the third daie of June, the which marriage was dispensed with by pope Iulie, at the sute of hir father king Ferdinando. On the eleventh daie of this month of June, the king came from Grenewich to the Tower ouer London brdge and so by Grace church, with whome came manie a gentleman richlie appareled, but speciallie the duke of Buckingham, which had a gowne all of goldsmiths worke, verie coslie.

On fridaie the two and twentieth day of June, the king with the quene being in the Tower of London, made foure and twentieth knights of the Bath. And the morow following, being saturdaye the foure and twentieth of June, his grace with the quene departed from the Tower through London, the streets being hanged with tapestrie and cloth of arras, verie richlie; and a great part of the south side of Cheape with cloth of gold, & so was some part of Cornhill. The streets were raised & barred on the one side, from ouer against Grace church to Breadstreet in Cheape side, where euerie occupation stood in their lineries in order, beginning with base and meane occupations, and so ascending to the worshipfull crafts. Highest and lastlie stood the maio: with the aldermen. The goldsmiths stals vnto the end of the Old change, being replenished with virgins in white, with branches of white war: the priests and clarkes in rich copes, with crosses and censers of siluer, with censling his grace and the quene also, as they passed. The features of his bodie, his goodlie personage, his amiable visage, princelike countenance, with the noble qualities of his roiall estate, to euerie man knowen, needeth no reherfall, considering that (for lacke of cunning) I cannot expresse the gifts of grace and of nature that God indued him with all.

Yet partlie to describe his apparell, it is to be noted, his grace ware in his vppermost apparell, a robe of crimsin veluet, furred with ermins, his iacket or coat of raised gold, the placard imbrodered with diamonds, rubies, emerauds, great pearles, and other rich stones, a great bauderike about his necke of great balasses. The trapper of his horse damaske gold, with a deepe purple of ermins. His knights and esquiers for his bodie in crimsin veluet; and all the gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his officers and household seruants were appareled in scarlet. The barons of the five portes bare the canopy or cloth of estate. For to recite vnto you the great estates by name, the order of their going, the number of the lords spirituall & temporall, knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, and their coslie and rich apparell of severall deuises and fashions, who toke by his horse best, or who was richest besene; it would aske long time, and yet I should omit manie things, and faile of the number, for they were verie manie: wherefore I passe ouer. But this I dare well saie, there was no lacke or scaritie of cloth of tisse, cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, broderie, or of goldsmiths worke: but in more plentie and aboundance than hath bene seene or read of at anie time before, and thereto manie and great numbers of chaines of gold, & bauderikes both massie and great.

Also before the kings highnesse rode two gentlemen richlie appareled, and about their bodies ouerthwart, they bare two robes, the one of the duchie of Guien, and the other for the duchie of Normandie, with hats on their heads powdered with ermins, for the estate of the same. Next followed two persons of god estate, the one bearing his cloke, the other his hat, appareled both in goldsmiths worke and broderie, their horses trapped in burned siluer, drawn on with copes of greene silke and gold, the edges

and borders of their apparell being fretted with gold of damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon master of the kings horse, clothed in tisse, brodered with roses of fine gold, and ouerthwart his bodie a great bauderike of gold, great and massie; his horse trapped in gold, leading by a raine of silke; the kings spare horse trapped bard wise, with harnesse brodered with bullion gold, curiously wrought by goldsmiths. Then next followed the nine children of honor: vpon great courcers, appareled on their bodies in blue beluet, powdered with floure belices of gold, & chaines of goldsmiths worke, euerie one of their horses trapped with a trapper of the kings title, as of England and France, Gascoigne, Guien, Normandie, Anglou, Cornewall, Wales, Ireland, &c: wrought vpon beluets, with imbroderie, and goldsmiths worke.

Then next following in order, came the quenes retinue, as lords, knights, esquiers, and gentlemen in their degrees, well mounted, and richlie appareled in tisse, cloth of gold, of siluer, tinsels, and beluets imbrodered, fresh and goodlie to behold. The quene then by name Katharine, sitting in hir litter borne by two white palfries, the litter covered and richlie appareled, and the palfries trapped in white cloth of gold; hir person appareled in white satin imbrodered, hir haire hanging downe to hir backe of very great length, beautifull and goodlie to behold, & on hir head a coronall set with manie rich orient stones. Next after, sir honorable personages on white palfries all appareled in cloth of gold, and then a chariot covered, and the ladies therein all appareled in cloth of gold. And another sort of ladies, and then another chariot, then the ladies next the chariot, and so in order, euerie one after their degrees in cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, tinsels, and beluet, with imbroderies. Euerie complement of the said chariots, and the draught harnesses were powdered with ermins mixt with cloth of gold: & so with much ioy & honour they came to Westminster, where was high preparation made, aswell for the said coronation, as also for the solemne feasts and iusts therevpon to be had and done.

The morow following being sundaie, and also Whitsunsummer daie, this noble prince with his quene at time conuenient, vnder their canopies borne by the barons of the five portes, went from the said palace to Westminster abbaye vpon cloth, called bulgarlie cloth of raie; the which cloth was cut and spoiled by the rude and common people, immediatlie after their repaire into the abbaye; where, according to the sacred obseruance & ancient custome, his grace with the quene were annointed and crowned by the archbishop of Canturburie, with other prelates of the realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a great multitude of commons of the same. It was demanded of the people, whether they would receiue, obeye, and take the same most noble prince for their king: Who with great reuerence, loue, and desire, said and cried; Yea yea. After the which solemnitie and coronation finished, the lords spirituall and temporall did to him homage, and returned to Westminster hall with the quenes grace, euerie one vnder their canopies; where, by the lord Sparshall & his tipped staves was made roome, and euerie lord, and other noble men, according to their tenures, before claimed and viewed, seene and allowed by the lords, and other of his graces counsell, entred into such roome and office that daie, to execute their seruices accordinglie.

The kings estate on the right hand, & the quenes on the left hand, the cupbord of nine stages, their noble personages being set: first, at the bringing of the first course, the trumpets sounded. And in came the duke of Buckingham, mounted vpon a great courser, richlie trapped and imbrodered, and the lord Stewart in likewise on an horse trapped in cloth of gold, riding

The quenes traine and the sumptuousnesse of the same.

The coronation of king Henrie and quene Katharine.

Hommage done to the king at his coronation both of the lords spirituall & temporal rail.

riding before the seruice, which was sumptuous, with manie subtilties, strange deuises, with severall pos- ses, and manie deintie dishes. At the kings feet vnder the table were certeine gentlemen; and in like wise with the quene, who there continued, during that long and roiall feast. What should I speake of wythe of the sumptuous, fine, and delicate meats pre- pared for this high and honorable coronation, prou- ded for aswell in the parties beyond the seas, as in manie and sundrie places within this realme, where God so aboundantlie hath sent such plentie and for- son? Of the honorable order of the seruices, the cleane handeling and breaking of meats, the orde- ring of the dishes, with the plentifull abundance: So that none of anie estate being there did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull person went vnfeasted.

Sir Robert
Dimmoche
the kings
champion.

The second course being serued: in at the hall dome entered a knight, armed at all points, his baces rich tissue embroidered, a great plume and a sumptu- ous of ostrich feathers on his helmet, sitting on a great courser, trapped in tissue, and embroidered with the armes of England, and of France, and an herald of armes before him. And passing through the hall, he presented himselfe with humble reuerence before the kings maiestie, to whom Cartier king of heralds cried and said with a loud voice; Sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretense? This knights name was sir Robert Dimmoche, champi- on to the king by tenure of his inheritance, who an- swered the said king of armes in effect after this man- ner: Sir, the place that I come from is not materi- all, nor the cause of my repaire hither is not concer- ning anie matter of anie place or countrie, but one- lie this: and therewithall commanded his herald to make an Oyes. Then said the knight to the king of armes; How shall ye heare the cause of my coming and pretense. Then he commanded his owne herald, by proclamation to saie; If there be anie person, of what estate or degree soeuer he be, that will saie or moue, that king Henrie the eight is not the rightfull inheritor and king of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmoche here his champion, offer my gloue, to fight in his quarrell with any person to the utterance. Which proclamation was made in sundrie places of the hall: and at euerie time his gantlet cast downe, in the maintenance thereof.

The manner
of the same
knights te-
nure.

After these severall proclamations done, and of- fers made, the said knight or champion offshones re- paired to the kings presence, demanding drinke; to whom the kings grace sent a cup of gold with wine, whereof after this knight had drinke, he demanded the corner of the said cup, which to him also was deli- uered: that done he departed out of the hall, with the said cup and couer as his owne. The manner of his tenure is this, that at the coronation of the king, he shall go to the armorie, and there take the kings best harnesse same one, the best and rich baces sauing one, then of the plumes or other things for the garnish- ing of his creast or helme; and so to the stable, there taking the next courser or horse to the best, with like trappers, & so furnished, to enter (as afore) and his of- fice done, to haue all these things with the cup of gold and couer to his owne vse. After the departure of the said champion, the king of armes with all the heralds and other officers of armes, made procla- mations in severall places of the hall, crieng lar- gesse. Brieflie I passe ouer this high and long solem- nitie of this honorable coronation and feast, more ho- norable than of the great Cesar, to whom manie hi- storographers so highlie set out and magnifie.

Sir Stepha
Gennings ma-
ior of London.

Now when the tables were voided, the wafers were brought. Then sir Stepha Gennings that time maior of London, to whom the king before he sat downe to dinner had dubbed knight, which began the

carles table that daie, arose from the place where he sat, to serue the king with ipocras in a cup of gold: which cup, after his grace had dronken thereof, was with the couer giuen vnto the said sir Stepha, like as other his predecessors, maiors of the said citie, were wont to haue at the coronation of the king. Then after the turnap laied, and that the kings grace and the quene had washed, euerie of them vnder their cloths of estate, the tables being voided, went vnto their chambers. For the more honour and in- nobling of this triumphant coronation, there were prepared both iusts and turneis to be done in the pa- lace of Westminster, where, for the kings grace and the quene, was framed a faire house, couered with tapestrie, and hanged with rich clothes of arras, and in the said palace was made a curious founteine and ouer it a castell, on the top thereof a great crowne imperiall, all the imbatelling with roses and pome- granats gilded.

Under and about the said castell, a curious vine, the leaues and grapes thereof gilded with fine gold, the walles of the same castell coloured white & greene losengis, and in euerie lofing either a rose or a pome- granat, and a sheafe of arrowes, or else y. and b. gil- ded with fine gold, with certeine arches and turrets gilded, to support the same castell. And the targets of the armes of the defendants, appointed for the said iusts, thereupon sumptuouslie set. And out at seue- rall places of the same castell, aswell on the daie of the coronation, as on the said daies of the iusts & tur- neies, out of the mouthes of certeine beastes or gar- gels did run red, white, and claret wine. The enter- priuers of these iusts, was Thomas lord Howard, heire apparant to the earle of Surrie, sir Edward Howard admerall his brother, the lord Richard bo- ther to the Marques Dowset, sir Edmund Howard, sir Thomas Kaneuet, and Charles Brandon esquier. The trumpets blew to the field, the fresh yong ga- lants and noble men gorgeously apparelled, with curious deuises of cuts and of embroideries, as well in their coates as in trappers for their horses, some in gold, some in silver, some in tinfels, and diuerse o- ther in goldsmithes worke, goodlie to behold.

These first entred the field, in taking vp & turning their horses, netlie and freshlie. Then followed a de- uise (caried by strength of men and other prouision) framed like a castell, or a turret, wrought with fine cloth of gold: the top whereof was spred with roses and pomegranats, hanging downe on euerie side of the said deuise; wherein was a ladie, bearing a shield of chistall named Pallas. After whom the said lord Howard with his companions followed, armed at all points, their baces and bars, or trappers, were of greene veluet, beaten with roses and pomegra- nats of gold, broded with fringes of damaske gold. The said deuise or turret, being brought before the king, the ladie Pallas presented the said persons, whom she named hir scholers, to the kings highnes, beseeching the same to accept them as hir scholers, who were desirous to serue him, to the increase of their honours; which said scholers had about them on foot to the number of an hundred persons, freshlie ap- paralled, in beluets of sundrie colours, with hols & bonets according to the same. And further, the said ladie desired the king, that it might please his grace, that hir said scholers might be defendants to all commers, which request was granted.

Then came in an other band of hoisemen, fresh- lie and well apparelled in cloth of gold, in silver, in goldsmithes worke, & broderie, to the number of thre score, with trappers according to their garments, with great bawderikes, collars, and chaines of gold about their necks and tranerse their bodies, euerie man with a coife of gold on his head, and a great plume

Table 23
monuments

The entrance
of the
iusts.

Godlike
& delightful.

Pallas
knights
defendants.

Another
band
of hoisemen
multiple arms

plume of feathers therebpon, some of one colour and some of an other, entering before into the field with drums and fises a great number, euerie man taking up his horse in his best maner, as well for their ladies, as also for laud or praise to be giuen them. After whome followed a good number of footmen, in beluets and other filkes, cut and embrodered, with hose to the same accordingle, and bonets and other furniture, after a fresh and lustie fashion. Next to them came on horsebacke eight persons, whose names were, sir John Pechie, sir Edward Peuell, sir Edward Guildford, sir John Carre, sir William Parre, sir Giles Capell, sir Orsith Dun, and sir Aoulant, armed also at all points, with shields of their owne armes, with rich plumes, and other deuises on their head peeces, their bases and trappers of russe, cloth of gold, silver and veluet; and next before them, a gentleman on horsebacke, in a coat of blue veluet, embrodered with gold, and his horse trapped in the same lute, with a speare of gold on his thigh, and the same presented to the quene: saieing, that it was informed those knights of his companie, how that dame Pallas had presented six of hir scholars to the king, but whether they came to learne, or to teach feats of armes they knew not.

He further declared, that his knights were come to do feats of armes, for the loue of ladies. Wherefore he besought hir grace, to licence those knights to pome themselves against dame Pallas scholars: and that in case hir scholars brake more speares on the said knights, by the view of the iudges, and the report of the heralds, than the same knights should do on them; then the said scholars of Pallas knights to haue the speare of gold for their prise. And if the knights brake more speares than dame Pallas scholars, the said knights to haue the chaffall shield. The which request to them granted, the iusts began, where euerie man did acquite himselfe well and valiantlie; but who had the prise of other, I know not. The night coming on, the iusts ended. The next daie approached the foresaid defenders, scholars to Pallas on horsebacke, armed with cape a pie, the one side of their bases and bards of their horses white veluet, embrodered with roses of gold and other embroderies; the other side greene veluet embrodered with pomegranats of gold, euerie one of them on his head pece had an heare of flat gold of damaske, and so presented themselves before the king readie to tourneie.

Then immediatlie on the other part came in the forenamed eight knights, readie armed, their bases and bards of their horses greene satin, embrodered with fresh deuises of biamble branches, of fine gold curiously wrought, powdered all over. And after them a great number of horses blowne, by men apparelled in greene cloth, with caps and hosen of like lute, as foresters or keepers; a pagent made like a parke, paled with pales of white and greene, wherein were certeine fallow deare, and in the same parke curious trees made by craft, with bushes, fernes, and other things in likewise wrought, goodlie to behold. The which parke or deuise, being brought before the quene, had certeine gates thereof opened, the deare ran out thereof into the palace, the gretehounds were let slip and killed the deare: the which deare so killed, were presented to the quene and the ladies by the foresaid knights.

Crochman, which the daie before brought in the speare of gold, there declared, that the same knights were seruants to Diana, and being in their pastime of hunting, newes were brought unto them, that dame Pallas knights were come into those parts, to do deeds of armes: wherefore they had left their hunting and chase, and repaired also thither, to en-

counter with the knights of Pallas, and so to fight with them for the loue of ladies, to the utterance: saieing, that if Pallas knights vanquished the other, or made them to leaue the field, then they to haue the deare killed, and the gretehounds that slue them. And in case Dianas knights ouercame the other, they to haue their swords, and none other thing more. Wherebpon the quene and ladies sent to the king to haue his aduise and pleasure in this behalfe. His grace conceiuing that there was some grudge and displeasure betwene them, thinking if such request were to them granted some inconuenience might insue, would not therevnto agree: so that for the appraising thereof it was awarded, that both parties should tourneie together, giuing but some certeine strokes, which done they departed: and so these iusts brake vp, and the prizes giuen to euerie man after his deserts.]

The king pardoned the lord Henrie brother to the duke of Buckingham, committed to the Tower (as ye haue heard) vpon suspicion of treason: but when nothing could be proued against him, he was set at libertie, and at the parlement after created earle of Wiltshire. Also this yeare the king ordeined fiftie gentlemen to be speares, euerie of them to haue an archer, a demilance, and a costrell, and euerie speare to haue three great horses to be attendant on his person, of the which band the earle of Essex was lieutenant, and sir John Pechie capteine. This ordinance continued but a while, the charges was so great; for there were none of them, but they and their horses were apparelled and trapped in cloth of gold, silver & goldsmithes worke. This yeare also was a great pestilence in the towne of Calis, so that the king sent one sir John Pechie with three hundred men to tarrie there vpon the defense of that towne till the sickness was ceased. Furthermore, this yeare the king summoned his parlement in the moneth of Nouember, to begin in the moneth of Januarie next ensuing: whereof sir Thomas Inglesfield was chosen speaker.

At this parlement sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmund Dudley esquier late counsellors vnto king Henrie the seauenth, were atteinted of high treason. They were charged with manie offenses committed in the late kings daies, as partlie before ye haue heard; who being brought before the counsell, as they were graue and wise personages, and both of them learned and skillfull in the lawes of the realme: so had they bitterance verie readie thereby to deliuer the conceits of their minds with singular dexterity, speciallie in a case of importance; in so much that when the said parties were conuenced before the assemble of the lords, they alleget for themselves right constantlie (in their owne defenses) much good and sufficient matter, of whome Empson (being the elder in yeares) had these words.

A speech vttered by Empson to the lords of the councell to find fauour.

I know (right honorable) that it is not vnknowne to you, how profitable and necessarie lawes are for the good preseruatiō of mans life: without the which neither house, towne, nor citie can long continue or stand in safetie. Which lawes here in England, thorough negligence of magistrates, were partlie decayed, and partlie quite forgotten and woyme out of vse; the

The kings wisdom in preventing an inconuenience

Henrie & duke of Buckingham, committed to the Tower (as ye haue heard)

A great plague in Calis.

A parliament.

Empson and Dudley atteinted of treason.

Pelydon.

mischaunce wherof daile increasing, Henrie the seauenth a most graue and prudent prince wished to suppress, and therefore appointed vs to see, that such lawes as were yet in use might continue in their full force, and such as were out of use might againe be reuiued and restored to their former state; & that also those persons which transgressed the same, might be punished according to their demerits. Wherein we discharged our duties in most faithfull wise, and best maner we could, to the great advantage & commoditie (no doubt) of the whole commonwealth. Wherefore we most humbly beseech you in respect of your honours, courtelie, goodnesse, humanitie, and iustice, not to decre any greuous sentence against vs, as though we were worthe of punishment, but rather to appoint how with thankfull recompense our paines & trauell may be worthe considered.

Manie of the counsell thought that he had spoken well, and so as stood with great reason: but yet the greater number (supposing that the reuiuing of those lawes had proceeded rather of a couetous meaning in the king and them, than of a true zeale of iustice, and hauing also themselves felt the smart latelie before for their owne offenses and transgressions) had conceived such malice towards the men, that they thought it reason, that such as had bene dealers therein, were worthe to lose their heads, in like sort as they had caused others to lose their monie. Hereupon, their accusors were mainteined, and manie od matters narrowlie sought out against them, as by two seuerall indictments framed against sir Richard Empson (the copies wherof I haue sene) it may well appeare.

In the one he is charged, that to win the fauour and credit of the late king, not weighing his honor nor the prosperitie of him, or wealth of his realme, hee had (in subuersion of the lawes of the land) procured diuerse persons to be indicted of diuerse crimes and offenses furnished against them, and thereupon to be committed to prison, without due proces of law; who not suffered to come to their answers, were kept in durance, till they had compounded for their fines, to their great importable losses, and utter impouerishment. Also diuerse untrue offices of intrusions and alienations, made by sundrie the late kings liege people, into manors, lands, and tenements were found; it being untruelie alleged, that they held the same of the king *in capite*. And when such persons as were thus vered, offered to trauesse those offices, they could not be admitted thereto, in such due and lawfull forme as in such cases the law prouideth, till they had compounded to paie great fines and ransomes.

Moreover the kings wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to sue their lueries, till they had paid excellent fines and ransomes, unto their great annoiance, losse, and disquieting, and to no lesse contempt of the said king. And further, whereas diuerse persons had bene outlawed, as well at the sute of their aduersaries, as of the said late king; they could not be allowed to purchase their charters of pardon out of the chancerie, according to the law of the realme, till they were duien to answer halfe the fines and profits of all their lands and tenements by the space of two yeares, which the king recetued to his use, by the said Richard Empsons procurement, who informed him that hee

might lawfullie take the same, although he knew that it was contrarie to the lawes and customes of the realme. Whereupon the people, vered and molested by such hard dealings, soe grudged against the said late king, to the great perill and danger of his person and realme, and subuersion of the lawes and ancient customes thereof.

Also it was alleged against the said Empson, that he had sent forth precepts directed unto diuerse persons, commanding them, upon great penalties, to appeare before him, and other his associates, at certaine daies and times within his house in St. Brides parish, in a ward of London, called ffarringdon without: where they making their appearances, according to the same precepts, were impleaded afore him and other his said associates, of diuerse murders, felonies, outlawries, and of the articles in the statute of prouisois contained; also of willfull escapes of felonies, and such like matters and articles appertaining to the ples of the crowne, and common lawes of the realme. And that done, the said persons were committed to diuerse prisons, as the Fleet, the Tower, and other places, where they were detained, till they had fined at his pleasure, as well for the comoditie of the said late king, as for the singular aduantage of the said sir Richard Empson.

Moreover, whereas the said Empson, being recorder of Countreie, and there sate with the maiors and other iustices of the peace, upon a speciall gaole deliuerie within that citie, on the monday before the feast of saint Thomas the apostle, in the sixteenth yeare of the late kings reigne; a prisoner that had bene indicted of felonie, for taking out of an house in that citie, certaine goods to the value of twentie shillings, was arraigned before them. And because the iurie would not find the said prisoner guiltie, for want of sufficient euidence (as they after alleged) the said sir Richard Empson, supposing the same euidence to be sufficient, caused them to be committed to ward, wherein they remained foure daies togither, till they were contented to enter bond in forty pounds a pece, to appeare before the king and his counsell, the second returne of the terme then next ensuing, being *Quindena Hilary*. Whereupon they keeping their daie, and appearing before the said sir Richard Empson, and other of the kings counsell, according to their bonds, were adiudged to paie vuerie of them eight pounds for a fine, and accordingly made paiement thereof, as they were then thought well worthe so to do. But now this matter so long past, was still kept in memorie, and so earnestly were to inforce it to the bittermost against the said Empson, that in a sessions holden at Countreie now in this first yeare of this kings reigne, an indictment was framed against him for this matter, and thereof he was found guiltie, as if therein he had committed some great and heinous offense against the kings peace, his crowne and dignitie.

Thus haue I thought good to shew what I find hereof, to the end ye may perceiue how glad men were to find some colour of sufficient matter, to bring the said sir Richard Empson, and master Edmund Dubleie, within danger of the lawes; whereby at length they were not onlie condemned by act of parliament, through malice of such as might seme to seeke their destruction for priuat grudges; but in the end also, they were arraigned: as first the said Edmund Dubleie in the Guildhall of London, the seventeenth of Iulie; and sir Richard Empson at Portsmouth in October next ensuing: and being there condemned, was from thence brought backe againe to the Tower of London, where he remained till the time of his execution: as after ye shall heare.

Appt of the
lawes of the
countreie
against Emp-
son.

Charters ob-
tained against
Empson.

Wrong main-
tained against
the kings
liege people.

Enuie done
to the kings
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I charge
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An. Reg. 1.

heare.

diverſe parts of this realme.

The king kept his

Chriſtmas at Richmond.

The twelſe of Januarie,

diverſe gentlemen prepared to iuſt, and the king and

one of his privie chamber called William Compton,

ſecretlie armed themſelves in the little parke

of Richmond, & ſo came into the luſtes, unknowne

to all perſons. The king never ran openlie beſore,

and did exceeding well. Maſter Compton chanced

to be ſore hurt by Edward Penill eſquier, brother to

the lord of Aburgauennie, ſo that he was like to have

died. One perſon there was that knew the king, and

cried; God ſave the king: and with that, all the people

were aſtoniſhed, and then the king diſcovered

himſelfe, to the great comfort of the people. The king

ſome after came to Weſtminſter, and there kept his

ſhrouetide with great banquettings, danſings, and

other ſollie paſtimes.

And on a time the king in perſon, accompanied

with the earles of Eſſer, Wilſhire and other noble

men, to the number of twelve, came ſuddenlie in a

morning into the queenes chamber, all apparelled

in ſhort coates of ſcintill Kendall, with hodes on

their heads & hosen of the ſame, euerie one of them

his bow and arrowes, and a ſword and a buckler,

like outlawes, or Robin Hoods men. Whereat the

queene, the ladies, and all other there were aſtoniſhed,

as well for the ſtrange ſight, as alſo for their ſudden

comming, and after certeine danſes and paſtime

made, they departed. On Shrouetidaie the ſame

yeare, the king prepared a goodlie banquet in the par-

lement chamber at Weſtminſter, for all the ambaf-

sadors, which then were here out of diuerſe realmes

and countries. The banquet being readie, the king

leading the queene, entered into the chamber, then

the ladies, ambafſadours, and other noble men follo-

wed in order.

The king cauſed the queene to keepe the eſſate, and

then ſate the ambafſadours and ladies, as they were

marſhalled by the k. who would not ſit, but walked

from place to place, making cheare to the queene and

the ſtrangers: ſuddenlie the king was gone. And

ſhorte after, his grace, with the earle of Eſſer, came

in apparelled after the Turkie faſhion, in long robes

of bandekin, powdered with gold, hats on their heads

of crimſin velvet, with great rolles of gold, girded

with two ſwords called cimiteries, hanging by

great bauberiks of gold. Then next came the lord

Henrie earle of Wilſhire, and the lord Fitzwater,

in two long gownes of yellow ſattin, traueſered with

white ſattin, and in euerie band of white was a band

of crimſin ſattin after the faſhion of Ruſſia or Kul-

land, with furred hats of graie on their heads, either

of them hauing an hatchet in their hands, and boots

with pikes turned by.

And after them came ſir Edward Howard then

admerall, and with him ſir Thomas Parre, in dub-

lets of crimſin velvet, voided low on the backe,

and beſore to the chanell bone, laced on the breatts

with chaines of ſiluer, and ouer that ſhort cloakes of

crimſin ſattin, and on their heads hats after dan-

ſers faſhion, with feaſants feathers in them: they

were apeareled after the faſhion of Pruſſia or Spuice.

The torchbearers were apeareled in crimſin ſattin

and greene, like ſporeſhoes, their faces blacke: and

the king brought in a mummerie. After that the

queene, the lords, & ladies (ſuch as would) had played,

the ſaid mummers departed, and put off the ſame ap-

parell, and ſome after entered into the chamber in

their vſuall apparell. And ſo the king made great

cheere to the queene, ladies and ambafſadours. The

ſupper or banquet ended, and the tables voided, the

king in communication with the ambafſadours,

the queene with the ladies toke their places in their

degreys.

Then began the danſing, and euerie man toke

much heed to them that danſed. The king perceiuing

that, withdrew himſelfe ſuddenlie out of the place,

with certeine other perſons appointed for that pur-

poſe. And within a little while after there came in a

duinn and a ſiſe apparelled in white damaſke & greene

bonnets, and hosen of the ſame ſute. Then certeine

gentlemen followed with torches, apparelled in blue

damaſke, purſelled with amis greie, faſhioned like

an albe, and hods on their heads, with robes and

long tipets to the ſame of blue damaſke, in viſards.

Then after them came a certeine number of gentle-

men, whereof the king was one, apparelled all in one

ſute of ſhort garments, little beneath the points, of

blue velvet and crimſin, with long ſleues, all cut

and lined with cloth of gold. And the better part of the

garments were powdered with caſſels and ſheafes

of arrowes of fine duckett gold; the upper parts of

their hosen of like ſute and faſhion, the nether parts

were of ſcarlet, powdered with timbrels of fine gold,

on their heads bonnets of damaſke, with ſiluer flat

twoven in the ſtole, & thereupon wrought with gold,

and rich fetters in them, all with viſards.

After them entered ſix ladies, whereof two were

appareled in crimſin ſattin and purple, embrodered

with gold, and by viſnets ran ſoure delices of gold,

with marvellous rich & ſtrange tiers on their heads.

Then two ladies in crimſin and purple, made like

long ſlops embrodered and ſet with gold after an-

tike faſhion: and ouer that garment was a ſhort

garment of cloth of gold ſcant to the knee, faſhioned

like a tabard all ouer, with ſmall double rolles, all of

flat gold of damaſke, ſet with frized gold, and on

their heads ſcarfs and wappers of damaſke gold,

with flat pipes, that ſtrange it was to behold. The

other two ladies were in kirtels of crimſin & purple

ſattin, embrodered with a viſnet of pomegranats of

gold, all the garments cut compaſſe wiſe, hauing

but demie ſleues, naked downe from the elbowes,

and ouer their garments were bochets of pleaſants,

rolled with crimſin velvet, and ſet with letters of

gold like characts, their heads rolled in pleaſants and

tipets like the Egyptians, embrodered with gold.

Their faces, necks, armes, and hands, covered in

fine pleaſants blacke: ſome call it Lumbardines,

which is marvellous thin; ſo that the ſame ladies ſe-

med to be ſpigers or blacke ſpores. Of theſe ſoſeſaid

ſix ladies, the ladie Marie, ſiſter vnto the king was

one, the other I name not. After that the kings grace

and the ladies had danſed a certeine time, they depar-

ted euerie one to his lodging.

In this yeare alſo came ambafſadours, not onelie

from the king of Arragon and Caſtile, but alſo from

the kings of France, Denmarke, Scotland, and o-

ther places, which were highlie welcomed, and noble

interteined. It happened on a daie, that there were

certeine noble men made a wager to run at the ring

and parties were taken, and which partie attained or

toke awaie the ring offineſt with certeine courſes,

ſhould win the wager. Whereof the kings grace

hearing, offered to be on the one partie with ſix com-

pansions. The ambafſadours hearing thereof, were

much deſirous to ſee this wager tried, and ſpeciallie

the ambafſadours of Spaine, who had neuer ſene

the king in harniſſe. At the daie appointed, the king

was mounted on a goodlie courſer, trapped in purple

velvet cut, the inner ſide whereof was wrought with

flat gold of damaſke in the ſtole, and the velvet on

the other ſide cut in letters: ſo that the gold appeared

as though it had bene embrodered with certeine rea-

ſons or poſſies. And on the velvet betwene the let-

ters were faſſened caſſels and ſheafs of arrowes of

duckett

A maſke
wherein the
king was an
actor.

Certaine la-
dies richlie
attired and
after a ſtrange
faſhion.

The ladie
Marie ſiſter
to the king.

Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. vij.
Running at
the ring.

The king be-
rie rotalie ar-
rated runneth
at the ring in
the ſight of the
ambafſadours
& beareth the
puiſe awaie.

bucket gold, with a garment, the sieues compassed ouer his harness, and his bases of the same wooke, with a great plume of feathers on his head piece, that came downe to the arlon of his saddle, and a great companie of fresh gentlemen came in with his grace richlie armed and decked, with manie other right gorgeoussie appareled, the trumpets before them goodlie to behold, whereof manie strangers (but speciallie the Spaniards) much reioised; for they had neuer seene the king before that time armed.

On the other side came in another band of gentlemen freshlie appareled, and pleasant to behold, all appareled in cloth of gold, checkered with flat gold of damaske, & powdered with roses; and so euerie man ran: but to conclude, the pise was giuen unto the king. Euerie man did run twelue courses, the king did beare away the ring fise times, and attened it thre. And these courses thus finished, the Spanish ambassadours desired to haue some of the badges of hemises, which were on the kings trapper. His grace therof knowing, commanded euerie of them to take thereof what it pleased them, who in effect took all or the more part; for in the beginning they thought they had bene counterfeit, and not of gold; as they were. On that day then next following in the second yeare of his reigne, his grace being pong, and willing not to be idle, rose in the morning verie earlie to fetch maie of grene boughs, himselfe fresh & richlie appareled; and clothed all his knights, squiers and gentlemen in white sattin, and all his gard and pomen of the crowne in white sarcenet: and so went euerie man with his bow and arrowes thoting to the wood, and so repaired againe to the court, euerie man with a grene bough in his cap.

Now at his returning, manie hearing of his going on maiching, were desirous to see him shot, for at that time his grace shot as strong and as great a length as anie of his gard. There came to his grace a certeine man with bow and arrowes, and desired his grace to take the muser of him, and to see him shot; for at that time his grace was contented. The man put the one fot in his bosome, and so did shot, and shot a verie good shot, and well towards his mark: whereof, not onelie his grace, but all other greatlie marvelled. So the king gaue him a reward for his so doing; which person afterwards of the people, and of them in the court, was called, fot in bosome. The same yeare in the feast of Pentecost, holden at Greenwich, that is to say, the thurdaie in the same wooke, his grace with two other with him, chalenged all commers, to fight with them at the barriers with target, and casting the speare of eight fot long; and that done, his grace with the said two aides to fight euerie of them twelue strokes with two handed swordes, with and against all commers, none excepted being a gentleman; where the king behaued himselfe so well, and deliuered himselfe so ballantlie by his hardie proweesse and great strength, that the praise and laud was giuen to his grace, and his aides: notwithstanding that diuerse and strong persons had assailed him and his aides.

From thence the whole court removed to Windsor, then beginning his progresse, & exercising himselfe daile in shating, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plaing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songs, and making of ballads; he did set two full masses, euerie of them fise parts, which were song oftentimes in his chappell, and afterwards in diuerse other places. And when he came to Orling, there were kept both lutes and turnies: the rest of his progresse was spent in hunting, hawking, and shooting. & Doctor Colet drane of Poules erected a free schole in Poules church yard in London, and committed the ouersight thereof to the ma-

sters and wardens of the mercers, because himselfe was borne in London, & was sonne to Henrie Collet mercer, sometime lord maior of the citie of London. On the summer night, the king came private into Cheape, in one of the cotes of his gard; and on saint Peters night, the king and quene came riding roiallie to the kings bed in Cheape, there to behold the watch of the citie.

Now when the said progresse was finished, his grace, the quene, with all their whole traine, in the moneth of October following, removed to Greenwich. The king not minded to see pong gentlemen dnerpert in martiall seates, caused a place to be prepared within the park of Greenwich, for the quene and the ladies to stand & see the fight with battle arcs that should be done there, where the king himselfe armed, fought with one Giot a gentleman of Almaine, a tall man, and a good man of armes. And then after they had done, they marched alwaies two and two together, and so did their seats and enterprises euerie man verie well. Albeit, it happened the said Giot to fight with sir Edward Howard, which Giot was by him stricken to the ground. The morow after this enterprise done, the king with the quene came to the Tower of London. And to the intent that there should no displeasure nor malice be borne by anie of those gentlemen, which fought with the or against other; the king gaue unto them a certeine summe of gold, valued at two hundred markes, to make a banket among themselves withall. The which banket was made at fishmongers hall in Thames street, where they all met to the number of foure and twentie, all appareled in one sute of luerie, after Almaine fashion; that is to say, their otter garments all of yellow sattin, yellow hose, yellow shoes, girdles, scabberds, and bonnets with yellow feathers, their garments and hose all cut & lined with white sattin, and their scabberds bound about with sattin. After their banket ended, they went by torchlight to the Tower, & presented themselves before the king, who took pleasure to behold them.

From thence the eight day of November, his grace removed to Richmond, and willed to be declared to all noble men and gentlemen, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit, maister Charles Brandon, and maister Compton, during two daies would answer all commers; with speare at the first one daie, and at turnie with swordes the other. And to accomplish this enterprise, on the thirtieth day of November, his grace armed at all places with his two aides entered the field, their bases and trappers were of cloth of gold, set with red roses, wrought with gold of broderie. The counterpart came in freshlie appareled, euerie man after his deuise. At these lutes the king brake more fraues than anie other, & therefore had the pise. At the turnie in likewise, the honour was his. The second night were diuerse strangers of Sparmitan the emperours court and ambassadours of Spaine with the king at supper. When they had supped, the king willed them to go into the quenes chamber, who so did.

In the meane season, the king with diuerse other, appareled in Almaine jackets of crimson and purple sattin, with long quartered sleeves, and hose of the same lute, their bonnets of white velvet, wrapped in flat gold of damaske, with visards and white plumes, came in with a munnerie; and after a certeine time that they had plaied with the quene and the strangers, they departed. Then suddenlie entered sir mihstrels richlie appareled, plaing on their instruments; and then followed fourtene persons, gentlemen, all appareled in yellow sattin, cut like Almaine, bracing to ches. After them came sir disguised in white sattin and grene, embroidered and set

King Henrie
goeth a maich-
ing with o-
ther of his
courtiers.

The king a
good archer.

The king cha-
lengeth all
commers at
the barriers
of ac-
tuitie

Abt. Fl. ex
I. S. pag. 894.
Poules schole.

The king
fights with
a gentleman
against a
Spaniard.

The king
with his
aides, who
lengthy
commers at
the

The king
fights with
a gentleman
against a
Spaniard.

with letters and castels of fine gold in bullion, the garments were of strange fashion, with also strange cuts, euerie cut knit with points of fine gold, and tassels of the same, their hosen cut and tied in likelike, their bonnets of cloth of siluer wond with gold. The first of these sir was the king, the earle of Essex, Charles Brandon, sir Edward Howard, sir Thomas Lancet, and sir Henrie Guilford.

Then part of the gentlemen bearing torches departed, and hostlie returned, after whom came in sir ladies, apparelled in garments of crimsin sattin embroidered and traucrsed with cloth of gold, cut in pomegranats and pokes, fringed after the fashion of Spaine. When the said sir men danced with these sir ladies: and after that they had danced a season, the ladies take off the mens visors, whereby they were known: whereof the quene and the strangers much passed the king, and ended the pastime. It is to be noted, that at this time the quene was great with child, & hostlie after this pastime, she took hir chamber at Richmond, for the which cause the king kept his Christmase there. And on Newyears daie the first daie of Ianuarie the quene was deliuered of a prince to the great gladnesse of the realme, for the honour of whome fiers were made, and diuerse vessels with wine set for such as would take thereof in certein streets in London, and generall processions thereupon to laud God. As touching the preparation of the princes christening, & ouerpass, which was honorable done, whose godfathers at the font were the archbishop of Canturburie, and the earle of Surreie, & godmother the ladie Katharine countesse of Devonshire, daughter to king Edward the fourth: his name was Henrie.

Against the twelue daie of the date of the Epiphanie at night, before the banquet in the hall at Richmond, was a pageant deuised like a mounteine, glittering by night as though it had bene all of gold and set with stones, on the top of which mounteine was a tree of gold, the branches and bonghes filled with gold, spreading on euerie side ouer the mounteine with roses and pomegranats, the which mounteine was with vices brought vp towards the king, and out of the same came a ladie apparelled in cloth of gold, and the children of honour called the hendmen, which were richlie disguised, and danced a morrice before the king; and that done, reentred the mounteine, which then was drawen backe, and then was the wastail of banket brought in, and so brake vp Christmase. Shortly after and before the quenes churching, the k. rode to Walsingham. The quene being churched or purified, the king and she remoued from Richmond to Westminster, where was preparation for solemne iusts in the hono: of the quene; the king being one, and with him thre aides: his grace being called Care loial, the lord William erle of Devonshire called Bon voloire, sir Thomas Lancet named Bon espoir, sir Edward Hewill called Valiant desire, whose names were set vpon a goodlie table, & the table hangd in a tree cartousie wrought, and they were called Les quater cheualiers de la forest saligne, these foure to run at the tilt against all comers, with other certein articles compizised in the said table.

A place in the palace was prepared for the king and quene, richlie hangd, the inner part with cloth of gold, & the outer with rich cloth of arras. These iusts began the thirtieth daie of Februarie. Now after that the quene with hir traine of ladies had taken their places, into the palace was conueied a pageant of a great quantitie, made like a forest with rockes, hills, and dales, with diuerse sundrie trees, floures, ha- thornes, serine, and grasse, with sir foresters standing within the same forest, garnished in cotes and hoods

of greene beluet, by whome laie a great number of speares; all the trees, hearbs, and floures of the same forest were made of greene beluet, greene damaske, & silke of diuerse colours, as sattin & sarcenet. In the midst of this forest was a castell standing made of gold, and before the castell gate sat a gentleman freshlie apparelled, making a garland of roses for the prise. This forest was drawen as it were by strength of two great beasts, a lion and an antelope; the lion flozished all ouer with damaske gold, the antelope was wrought all ouer with siluer of damaske, his beames or hories and tuskes of gold.

These beasts were led with certein men apparelled like wild men, or woodhouers, their bodies, heads, faces, hands, and legs couered with greene silke flozished: on either of the said antelope and lion sat a ladie richlie apparelled, the beasts were tied to the pageant with great chaines of gold, as hories be in the cart. When the pageant rested before the quene, the forenamed foresters blew their hories, then the deuise or pageant opened on all sides, and out issued the foresaid foure knights armed at all peeces, euerie of them a speare in his hand on horsebacke with great plumes on their heads, their bases and trappers of cloth of gold, euerie of them his name embroidered on his base and trapper. On the other part with great noise as well of trumpets as of drums entered into the field, the erle of Essex, the lord Thomas Howard with manie other cleane armed, their trappers and bases all of crimsin satin embroidered with branches of pomegranats of gold and posies; with manie a fresh gentleman riding before them, their footmen well apparelled: and so the iusts began and endured all that daie.

The morrow, being the thirtieth of Februarie after dinner, at time conuenient, the quene with the ladies repaired to see the iusts, the trumpets sounded, and in came manie a noble man and gentleman richlie apparelled, taking vp their horses; after whom followed certein lords apparelled, they and their horses in cloth of gold and russet tinsel: knights in cloth of gold and russet beluet; and a great number of gentlemen on foot in russet sattin and yelloze, and yeomen in russet damaske and yelloze, all the nether part of euerie mans hosen scarlet and yelloze caps. Then came the king vnder a pavilion of cloth of gold and purple beluet embroidered, and powdered with y. and b. of fine gold, the compasse of the pavilion a bone embroidered richlie, and balansed with flat gold, beaten in wire, with an imperiall crowne in the top of fine gold, his bases and trappers of cloth of gold, fretted with damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the taile. A crane and chafon of Steele, in the front of the chafon was a goodlie plume set full of mulers or trembling spangles of gold. After followed his thre aides, euerie of them vnder a pavilion of crimsin damaske and purple, powdered with y. and b. of fine gold, balansed and fringed with gold of damaske: on the top of euerie pavilion a great b. of goldsmiths worke.

The number of the gentlemen and yeomen attending on foot, apparelled in russet and yelloze, was an hundred thre score and eight. Then next these pavilions came twelue children of honour, sitting euerie of them on a great courser richlie trapped and embroidered in severall deuises and fashions, where lacked neither borderie nor goldsmiths worke, so that euerie child and horse in deuise and fashion was contrarie to other, which was goodlie to behold. Then on the contrarie part entered sir Charles Brandon, first on horsebacke in a long robe of russet sattin, like a recluse or religious person, and his horse trapped in the same sute, without drum or noise of windrelicke, putting a bill of petition to the quene, the effect whereof

The foure knights issued out of the pageant all armed.

Georges shows in apparel.

The king vnder a pavilion of cloth of gold and purple beluet, &c.

Sir Charles Brandon on horsebacke in a long robe of russet sattin like a religious person.

of was, that if it would please hie to licence him to run in hie p[re]sence, he would doe it gladielie; and if not, then he would depart as he came. After that his request was granted, then he put off his said habit, and was armed at all peeces with rich bases and h[or]se also richlie trapped, and so did run his h[or]se to the tilt end, where diuerse men on foot app[ar]elled in russet sattin waited on him.

Henrie Guilford esquier in russet cloth of gold, with his deuise.

The marquisse Dorset and sir Thomas Bullen like pilgrims.

Next after came in alone yong Henrie Guilford esquier, himselfe and his h[or]se in russet cloth of gold and cloth of siluer, closed in a deuise, or a pageant made like a castell or a turret, wrought of russet saycenet florence, wrought and set out in gold with his word or posie, and all his men in russet sattin & white, with hosen to the same, and their bonets of like colours, demanding also licence of the queene to run; which to him granted, he took place at the tilts end. Then came next the marquisse Dorset and sir Thomas Bullen like two pilgrims from saint James, in taberds of blacke veluet, with palmers hats on their helmets, with long Jacobs staves in their hands, their h[or]se trappers of blacke veluet, their taberds, hats, and trappers set with scalop shels of fine gold, and strips of blacke veluet, euerie strip set with a scalop shell, their seruants all in blacke sattin with scalop shels of gold in their breast. Some after came in the lord Henrie of Buckingham earle of Arundel, himselfe and his h[or]se app[ar]elled in cloth of siluer, embroidered with his posie or word, and arrows of gold in a posie, called La maison du refuge, made of crimson damaske bordered with roses & arrows of gold, on the top a greihound of siluer, bearing a tree of pomegranats of gold, the branches whereof were so large that it ouersp[er]ed the pageant in all parts.

Then entered sir Giles Capell, sir Rowland with manie other knights richlie armed and app[ar]elled. And thus began the iusts, which was valiantlie achieved by the king and his aids, among whom his grace attained the prize. These iusts finished, euerie man withdrew, the king was disarmed, and at time convenient he and the queene heard euensong, and that night all the ambassado[rs] supped with the king and had a great banquet. After supper, his grace with the queene, lords & ladies came into the White hall with in the said palace, which was hanged richlie, the hall was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an enterlude of the gentlemen of his chapel before his grace, and diuerse fresh songs: that done, his grace called to him a great man, or a lord of Ireland called Donnell, whom in the p[re]sence of the said ambassado[rs] he made knight: then the minstrels began to play, the lords & ladies began to dance. Now in the midst of this pastime, when all persons were most attentue to behold the dancing, the king was suddenlie gone, unknowne to the most part of the people there, unlesse it were of the queene and certeine other. Within a little while after his departing, the trumpets at the end of the hall began to sound.

The great Donnell made knight.

A pageant deuised to run upon wheeles.

Then was there a deuise or a pageant upon wheeles brought in, out of the which pageant issued out a gentleman richlie app[ar]elled, that shewed how in a garden of pleasure there was an arbor of gold, where in were lords and ladies, much desirous to shew pastime to the queene & ladies, if they might be licensed so to doe: who was answered by the queene, how the & all other there were verie desirous to see them and their pastime. Then a great cloth of arras that did hang before the same pageant was taken away, and the pageant brought more nere. It was curiously made and pleasant to behold, it was solemne and rich; for euerie post or pillar thereof was couered with frised gold, therein were trees of bathorne, cglantine, roslers, vines, and other pleasant flowers of diuerse

colours, with gilliflowers, and other hearbs all made of sattin, damaske, siluer and gold, accordinglie as the naturall trees, hearbs, or flowers ought to be.

In this arbor were sir ladies, all app[ar]elled in white satin and greene, set and embroidered full of gold, and gold, knit together with laces of gold of damaske, and all their garments were replenished with glittering spangles gilt ouer, on their heads were bonets all opened at the foure quarters, overfrised with flat gold of damaske, the orrellets were of rolles, w[re]thed on lampas deuche holow, so that the gold shewed through the lampas doucker; the faces of their head set full of new deuised fashions. In this garden also was the king and fine with him app[ar]elled in garments of purple sattin, all of cuts with gold, and euerie edge garnished with frised gold, and euerie garment full of posies, made of letters of fine gold in bullion as thicke as they might be, and euerie person had his name in like letters of malle gold. The first Cure loial, the second Bon volaire, the third Bon espoir, the fourth Valiant desire, the fifth Bon foy, the sixth Amour loial, their hosen, cape, and coats were full of posies, with gold, & gold of fine gold in bullion, so that the ground could scarce appeare, & yet was in euerie void place spangles of gold. When time was come, the said pageant was brought forth into p[re]sence, and then descended a lord and a lady by couples, and then the minstrels which were disguised also danced, and the lords and ladies danced, that it was a pleasure to behold.

In the meane season the pageant was conueied to the end of the palace, there to staid till the dances were finished, & so to haue receiued the lords & ladies againe; but suddenlie the rude people ran to the pageant, and rent, tare, and spoiled the pageant, so that the lord steward nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, except they should haue foughten and dzaluen bloud, and so was this pageant broken. When the king with the queene and the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banquet, and so this triumph ended with much gladnes. At this solemnitie a shipman of London caught certeine letters, which he sold to a goldsmith for three pounds fourtene shillings & eight pence; by reason whereof it appeared that the garments were of a great value. After this great toy came a sorrowfull chance, for the yong prince which was borne upon felwpeares day last past, upon the two and twentieth daie of february, being then the euen of saint Spathe, departed this world at Richmond, and from thence was caried to Westminster and buried. The king like a wise prince took this dolorous chance wonderous wiselie; and the more to comfort the queene he dissembled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardlie: but the queene, like a naturall woman, made much lamentation; howbeit, by the kings good perswasion and behauiour, his sorrow was mitigated, but not thortlie.

In the moneth of february this yeare came ambassado[rs] from the king of Arragon and Castile, to require an aid of fiftene hundred archers to be sent to the same king, hauing at that time war against the Moors, enemies of the christian faith. The king hearing their message gentlie granted their request. And because the lord Thomas Marcie a knight of the garter, made humble sute to the king to be generall of the crue that should be thus sent into Spaine, the king upon trust of his approued ballancie granted his desire. There were appointed to go with him the lord Anthony Creie brother to the marquisse Dorset, Henrie Guilford, Weston Browne, and William Sidneie esquiers of the kings house, sir Robert Constable, sir Roger Hastings, and sir Rafe Elderton, with other gentlemen to be capitains.

A goodlie cut of the king's fine cloth worth four.

The manner of the people assembled to see the pageant.

The description of the kings yong prince borne out of this life.

Ambassadors from the king of Arragon and Castile.

The lord Marcie knight of the garter.

An. Reg. 2.3.

In this second yeare, the king being forth on his progresse, heard euerie daie moze & moze complaints of Empton and Dindlete, set forth and aduanced no doubt by the dyft of their deable enemies. Wherefore, he sent writs to the shiriffes of London, to put them to execution, and so the founteenth daie of August, they were both beheaded at the Tower hill, and both their bodies and heads buried, the one at the White friers, and the other at the Blacke friers. The king about this season was much giuen to plaie at tennis, and at the dise, which appetite certeine craftie persons about him perceiuing, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, & so lost much monie; but when he perceiued their craft, he eschued their companie and let them go.

On the first daie of Maie the king accompanied with manie lustie batchelers, on great and well doing horses rode to the wood to fetch Maie, where a man might haue sene manie a horse raised on high with carrier, gallop, turne, and stop, meruellous to behold: where he & three other, as sir Edward Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Reuill, which were challengers with the king, shifted themselves into coats of greene sattin garded with crimson beluet. On the other part the earles of Essex, of Devonshire, the marquisse Dorset, & the lord Howard were all in crimson sattin, garded with a pounced gard of greene beluet. And as they were returning on the hill, a ship met with them vnder saile: the maister hailed the king and that noble companie, and said that he was a mariner, and was come from many a strange port, and came thither to see if anie deeds of armes were to be done in the countrie, of the which he might make true report in other countries. An herald demanded the name of his ship; he answered she is called Fame, & is laden with good Renoume: then said the herald, If you will bring your ship into the baie of Hardinesse, you must double the point of Gentlenesse, and there you shall see a companie that will meddle with your merchandize. When said the king, Whens Renoume is? their merchandize, let vs buie it if we can. When the ship shot a peale of guns, and sailed forth before the kings companie, full of flags and banners, till it came to the tit yard.

At after none, the king and his three fellows entered into the field, their hards and bases of crimson and blue beluet, cut in quadzant cuts, embordered full of pomegranats, and all the walters in lilke of the same colour. The other partie were in crimson sattin and greene beluet. Then began the trumpets to sound, and the horses to run, that manie a speare was burst, and manie a great stripe giuen: and for a truth the king exceeded in number of slaues all other euerie daie of the three daies. Wherefore on the third daie, the queene made a great banquet to the king and all them that had iusted: and after the banquet done, she gaue the chiefe prize to the king, the second to the earle of Essex, the third to the earle of Devonshire, and the fourth to the lord marquisse Dorset. Then the heralds cried; Aye lords, for your noble feats in armes, God send you the loue of your ladies that you most desire. The king euer desirous to serue Mars, began another iusts the fiftenth daie of the said moneth. The king & his band were all in greene lilke, and the earle of Essex and his band in blue, garded with gold, and all the speares were painted of the same colours. There was good running and manie a speare burst; but for all the sport euerie man feared least some ill chance might happen to the king, and saue would haue had him a looker on rather than a doer, and spake thereof as much as they durst: but his courage was so noble that he would euer be at the one end.

In this meane time, the lord Darcie and other ap-

pointed to the viage against the Spoyes, made such diligence, that they and all their people were ready at Plimouth by the middes of Maie, and there mustered their souldiers before the lord Howke, and other the kings commissioners. The lord Darcie as capteine generall, ordeined for his prouost marshall Henrie Guilford esquier, a lustie yong man, & wel beloued of the king, for his manifold good seruite. On the mondaie in the Rogation weeke, they departed out of Plimouth haueu with foure ships roiall, and the wind was so fauourable to them, that the first daie of June, being the euen of the feast of Pentecost, he arrived at the port of Calis in south Spaine; and immediatlie by the aduise of his counsell, he dispatched messengers to the king, whom they found beside the citie of Ciuill where he then laie, and declared to him, how the lord Darcie by the king their maisters appointment, was come thither with sixteen hundred archers, and laie still at Calis to know his pleasure. The king of Castile answered them gentle, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from his louing sonne were welcome, and hartilie thanked them of their paines, requiring the messengers to returne to their capteine, and tell him that in all hast he would send certeine of his counsell to him.

Hereupon they departed from the king, and made report to the lord Darcie, which kept his ship in great estate, and would not land, but onelie suffered such as were sicke and feeble, and few other to go a land. The Englishmen which went a land, fell to drinking of hot wines, & were scarce maisters of themselves, some ran to the selues, some brake hedges and spoiled orchards and vineyards, and oranges before they were ripe, and did manie outrageous deeds: wherefore the chiefe of the towne of Calis came to complaine to the lord Darcie in his ship, which sent forth his prouost marshall, who scarfelle with paine restrained the yeoman archers, they were so hot and wilfull, yet by commandement & policie they were all brought on board to their ships.

When vpon saturdaye, the eight of June, a bishop and other of the kings counsell came to Calis, and there abode till wednesdaye, being the euen of Corpus Christi; at which daie, the lord capteine took land, and was honorable receiued of the king of Aragon's counsell, and on the morrow was highlie feasted at dinner and supper. And at after supper, the bishop declared the king his maisters pleasure, giuing to the lord capteine as heartie thanks for his pains and trauell, as if he had gone forward with his enterprise against the Spoyes. But whereas by the aduise of his counsell, circumspectlie considering the suertie of his owne realme, vpon perfect knowledge had that the Frenchmen meant to invade his dominions in his absence, he had altered his former determination, and taken an abstinence of war with the Spoyes, till an other time.

He therefore required the lord Darcie to be contented to returne home againe, promising him wages for all his souldiers; and if it should please him to come to the court, he should receiue high thanks of the king, and such chere as there could be made him. The lord Darcie was nothing pleased with this declaration, but sith he saw there was no remedie, he said, that whatsoener the king had concluded, he could not be against it, considering he was sent to him: but suerlie it was against his mind to depart home, without doing anie thing against Gods enemies, with whome he had euer a desire to fight. And as for his comming to court, he said, he could not leaue his men whome he had brought out of their countrie, without an head; and as for the kings banquet, it was not the thing that he desired.

Darcie and his companie ready at Plimouth.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xij.

The vnruly behaviour of the Englishmen.

The lord Darcie honorable receiued of the King of Aragon's counsell.

The lord Darcie discontented at the bishops declaration.

An. Reg. 23.

In this second yeare, the king being forth on his
progresse, heard euerie daie moze & moze complaints
of Simpson and Doble, set forth and advanced no
doubt by the drift of their deadlie enemies. Where-
fore, he sent writs to the Sherriffes of London, to put
them to execution, and so the seventeenth daie of Au-
gust, they were both beheaded at the Tower hill, and
both their bodies and heads buried, the one at the
White friers, and the other at the Blacke friers. The
king about this season was much giuen to plaie at
tennis, and at the disce, which appetite certeine craftie
persons about him perceiuing, brought in French-
men and Lombards to make wagers with him, & so
lost much monie; but when he perceiued their craft,
he eschued their companie and let them go.

On the first daie of Maie the king accompanied
with manie lustie batcliers, on great and well do-
ing horses rode to the wood to fetch Maie, where a
man might haue scene manie a horse raised on high
with carrier, gallop, turne, and stop, meruellous to
behold: where he & thre other, as sir Edward How-
ard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Peuell, which
were challengers with the king, shifted themselves
into coats of greene sattin garded with crimsin vel-
uet. On the other part the earles of Essex, of Deuon-
shire, the marquesse Dorset, & the lord Howard were
all in crimsin satin, garded with a pounced gard of
greene beluet. And as they were returning on the
hill, a ship met with them vnder saile: the maister
hailed the king and that noble companie, and said
that he was a mariner, and was come from many a
strange port, and came thither to see if anie deeds of
armes were to be done in the countrie, of the which
he might make true report in other countries. An
herald demanded the name of his ship; he answered
she is called Fame, & is laden with good Renowme:
then said the herald, If you will bring your ship into
the baie of Harbinesse, you must double the point of
Gentlenesse, and there you shall see a companie that
will meddle with your merchandize. Then said the
king, Withens Renowme is their merchandize, let
vs buie it if we can. Then the ship shot a peale of
guns, and sailed forth befoze the kings companie,
full of flags and banners, till it came to the tilt yard.

At after noone, the king and his thre fellows en-
tered into the field, their bards and bales of crimsin
and blue beluet, cut in quadrant cuts, embzodered
full of pomegranats, and all the watters in like of
the same colour. The other partie were in crimsin
sattin and greene beluet. Then began the trumpets
to sound, and the horses to run, that manie a speare
was burst, and manie a great stripe giuen: and for a
truth the king excelled in number of stauces all other
euerie daie of the thre daies. Wherefore on the third
daie, the queene made a great banquet to the king and
all them that had iusted: and after the banquet done,
she gaue the chiefe pisse to the king, the second to the
earle of Essex, the thirde to the earle of Deuonshire,
and the fourth to the lord marquesse Dorset. Then the
heralds cried; My lords, for your noble feats in
armes, God send you the loue of your ladies that
you most desire. The king euer desirous to serue
Mars, began another iusts the fiftenth daie of the
said moneth. The king & his hand were all in greene
silke, and the earle of Essex and his hand in blue, gar-
ded with gold, and all the speares were painted of the
same colours. There was good running and manie a
speare burst: but for all the sport euerie man feared
least some ill chance might happen to the king, and
saine would haue had him a looker on rather than a
doer, and spake thereof as much as they durst: but
his courage was so noble that he would euer be at
the one end.

In this meane time, the lord Darcie and other ap-

pointed to the biage against the Mozes, made such
diligence, that they and all their people were readie
at plimouth by the middes of Maie, and there mu-
stered their souldiers before the lord Wsake, and other
the kings commissioners. The lord Darcie as cap-
taine generall, ordeined for his prouost marshall
Henrie Guilford esquier, a lustie yong man, & wel-
beloued of the king, for his manifold good seruice.
On the mondate in the Rogation weeke, they de-
parted out of plimmouth haueu with foure ships
roiall, and the wind was so fauourable to them, that
the first daie of June, being the euen of the feast of
Pentecost, he arriued at the port of Calis in south
Spaine; and immediatlie by the aduise of his coun-
cell, he dispatched messengers to the king, whom they
found beside the citie of Cusill where he then laie, and
declared to him, how the lord Darcie by the king their
maisters appointment, was come thither with six-
tene hundred archers, and laie still at Calis to know
his pleasure. The king of Castile answered them
gentlie, that the lord Darcie and all other that were
come from his louing sonne were welcome, and har-
tilie thanked them of their paines, requiring the mes-
sengers to returne to their capteine, and tell him that
in all hast he would send certeine of his counsell to
him.

Whereupon they departed from the king, and
made report to the lord Darcie, which kept his ship in
great estate, and would not land, but onelie suffered
such as were sicke and feeble, and few other to go a-
land. The Englishmen which went a land, fell to drin-
king of hot wines, & were scarce maisters of them-
selues, some ran to the stewes, some brake hedges
and spoiled orchards and vineyards, and oranges be-
foze they were ripe, and did manie outrageous deeds:
wherefoze the chiefe of the towne of Calis came to
complainte to the lord Darcie in his ship, which sent
forth his prouost marshall, who scarcelie with paine
restrained the peoman archers, they were so hot and
wilfull, yet by commandement & policie they were
all brought on bozd to their ships.

Then vpon saturdaye, the eight of June, a bishop
and other of the kings counsell came to Calis, and
there abode till wednesdaye, being the euen of Co-
pus Christi; at which date, the lord capteine took land,
and was honorable receiued of the king of Ara-
gons counsell, and on the morrow was highlie fea-
sted at dinner and supper. And at after supper, the bi-
shop declared the king his maisters pleasure, giuing
to the lord capteine as heartie thanks for his pains
and trauell, as if he had gone forward with his enter-
prise against the Mozes. But whereas by the aduise
of his counsell, circumspectlie considering the fuer-
tie of his owne realme, vpon perfect knowledge had
that the Frenchmen meant to invade his domini-
ons in his absence, he had altered his former deter-
mination, and taken an abstinence of war with the
Mozes, till an other time.

He therefore required the lord Darcie to be con-
tented to returne home againe, promising him wa-
ges for all his souldiers; and if it should please him to
come to the court, he should receiue high thanks of
the king, and such there as there could be made him,
The lord Darcie was nothing pleased with this de-
claration, but sith he saw there was no remedie, he
said, that whatsoeuer the king had concluded, he could
not be against it, considering he was sent to him: but
suerlie it was against his mind to depart home,
without doing anie thing against Goos enemies,
with whome he had euer a desire to fight. And as for
his comming to court, he said, he could not leaue his
men whome he had brought out of their countrie,
without an head; and as for the kings banquet, it was
not the thing that he desired.

Darcie and
his compa-
nie readie at
plimmouth.

Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. xij.

The burleske
behaviour of
the English-
men.

The lord
Darcie hono-
rable recei-
ued of the K.
of Aragon's
counsell.

The lord
Darcie dis-
contented at
the bishops
declaration.

A shewd
fraie begun
upon a small
occasion.

Edw. Hall.

The English
men desire to
see the Spa-
nish court.

The lord
Darcie retur-
ned out of
Spaine.

The duchesse
of Saouie se-
deth to king
Henrie for aid
against the
duke of Gel-
ders.

On the next daie in the morning, monie was sent to paie the souldiers their wages for their conduct on againe into England, with diuerse gifts giuen to the lord Darcie, and other gentlemen; yet notwithstanding, he was highlie displeased: for he, like a wiseman he dissembled the matter. The same daie, being the fourteenth daie of June, and fridaie, there chanced a fraie to be begun in the towne of Calis, betwixt the Englishmen, and them of the towne; by reason that an Englishman would haue had for his monie a loafe of bread from a maid that had bene at the bakers to buie bread, not to sell, but to spend in hir mistresse house. Wherupon the Englishman followed hir, as making proffer not to be denied, in so much that the maid perceiuing what he went about, cried out; A force, a force. Then was the common bell rung, and all the towne went to harnesse, and those few Englishmen that were a land, went to their bowes. The Spaniards cast darts, and the Englishmen shot. But the captaine of England, and the lords of the counsell for their part, toke such paine, that the fraie was ceased; and but one Englishman slaine, though diuerse were hurt: and of the Spaniards diuerse were slaine. Thus of a sparke was kindled a flame to the spoiling of manie; which is no rare thing to see, according to the scriptum est:

Concitat ingentes flammæ scintilla minuta.

After this, upon request made by the lords of Spaine, the lord Darcie and all his men the same night went aboard their ships, but Henrie Guilford, Weston Broton, and William Sidneie, young and lustie esquires, desired licence to see the court of Spaine: which being granted, they went thither, where they were of the king highlie intertained. Henrie Guilford and Weston Broton were made knights by the king, who also gaue to sir Henrie Guilford a canton of Granada, and to sir William Broton an egle of Sicill on a chefe, to the augmentation of their armes. William Sidneie so excused himselfe, that he was not made knight. When they had sojourned there a while, they toke their leaue of the king and queene, and returned through France into England.

During which season, the lord Darcie made saile toward England, and arriuing at Plimmouth, came to the king at Windsoe, and so this iourneie ended. During the time that the lord Darcie was in Spaine, the ladie Margaret duchesse of Saouie, and daughter vnto Maximilian the emperor, and gouernour of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zeland, & other the low countries appertaining to Charles the young prince of Castile, sent in the end of Maie to the king of England, to haue sixtene hundred archers, to aid hir against the duke of Gelders, which soze troubled the countries aforesaid. The king tenderlie regarding the request of so noble a ladie, most gentlie granted hir request, and appointed sir Edward Poinings, knight of the garter, and comptroller of his house, a valiant capteine and a noble warrior, to be lieutenant and leader of the said sixtene hundred archers.

This gentleman accompanied with his sonne in law the lord Clinton, sir Matthew Broton, sir John Digbie, John Merton, Richard Wethyill, & Shelleie esquires, with other gentlemen and yeomen, to the foresaid number of sixtene hundred, toke their ships a mile beside Sandwich, the eighteenth daie of Iulie, and landed at Armelew the nineteenth daie, not without some trouble, by reason of a little storme. From thence they were conducted to Warowe, whither the ladie Regent came to welcome them. On the sundae, being the fouen & twentieth of Iulie, they departed to Kollindale, and on thursdaie the last of Iulie they came to Bulduke. And the next daie the

whole armie of the Almans, Flemings, and other appertaining to the said ladie, met with the Englishmen without Bulduke, where they set forth in order; the ladie Regent being there present, which toke hir leaue of all the captaine, and departed to Bulduke.

The armie, to the number of ten thousand, beside the sixtene hundred English archers, passed forward; and the tenth daie of August, being saint Laurence daie, came before a little castle, standing on the higher side of the Raze, called Wyminot, belonging to the bastard of Gelderland. The same night, Thomas Hert, cheefe gouernour of the ordinance of the English part, made his approach; and in the morning, made batterie so, that the assault thereupon being giuen, the fortreffe was wonne, and the capteine with eightie and odd men were slaine, and ninetene taken; of the which, eleuen were hanged. John Spouton, capteine of one hundred Englishmen, and one Chiot an esquier of Burgognie, crying saint George, were the first that entered; at which assault, there was but one Englishman slaine. On thursdaie, the fourteenth of August, the armie feried ouer the riuer of Raze into Gelderland. The next daie, they came to a little towne called Aiske.

The people were fled, but there was a little castle raised, and cast downe, which was newlie built up on the side of the said riuer. Upon the twentieth daie of August, they burnt the foresaid towne of Aiske, and all the countrie about it, and came at the last to a towne called Straulle, being verie strong, double diked and walled. Within it were three hundred & firtie good men of war, beside the inhabitants. At the first, they shewed good countenance of defense but when they saw their enemies approach nere vnto them with rampiers and trenches, they yielded by composition, so that the souldiers might depart with a little sicke in their hands. But the towne men refused prisoners, at the will of the prince of Castile. And so on s. Bartholomewes day the admerall of Flanders, and sir Edward Poinings entred the towne with great triumph.

On the six and twentieth daie, the armie came before Armelew, and sent an herald called Arthois, to summon the towne; but they within would not heare but shot guns at him. On the eight and twentieth daie, the armie remoued vnto the north side of Armelew, and part went ouer the water, and made trenches to the water, & so besieged the towne as straitlie as their number would giue them leaue; but yet for all that they could doe without, they within kept one gate euer open. At length, the English captaine perceiuing that they laie there in vaine, considering the strength of the towne, and also how the armie was not of number sufficient to enuiron the same on each side, wrote to the king, who willed them with all speed to returne, and so they did. Sir Edward Poinings went to the court of Burgognie, where he was receiued right honozable of the young prince of Castile and of his aunt the ladie Margaret.

John Spouton, John Fog, John Scot, and Thomas Linde, were made knights by the prince. And the ladie Margaret perceiuing the souldiers coates to be woyme and foule with lieng on the ground (for euerie man laie not in a tent) gaue to euerie yeoman a coate of wollen cloth of pealowe, red, white, and greene colours, not to hir little land & praise among the Englishmen. After that sir Edward Poinings had bene highlie feasted and more praised of all men for his valiantnesse and good order of his people, he returned with his crue into England, and had lost by war and sicknesse not fallie an hundred persons. When the Englishmen were departed, the Gelders issued out of the gates of Armelew, daily skirmished with

Thom. Hert
gouernour
of the English
ordinance.
The fortreffe
was wonne.

The towne of
Aiske burnt.

Armelew be-
sieged by the
English.

The duchesse
of Saouie
showeth how
conquered
the English
soldiers.

in Reg.

with the Burgognions, and asked for their archers, and herewith winter began sharplie to approach, and the river of Spaze by abundance of raine rose so high, that it drowned by the trenches: so that all things considered, the capitaine without determined to raise their siege, and so they did, and after they had wasted all the countie about Aculow, they returned euerie man to his home.

In June the king being at Leicester, heard tidings, that one Andrew Barton a Scottishman and pirat of the sea, saying that the king of Scots had warre with the Portugals, robbed euerie nation, and stopped the kings freames, that no merchant almost could passe. And when he took Englishmens goods, he bare them in hand that they were Portugals goods, and thus he haunted and robbed at euerie hauens mouth. The king displeased herewith, sent sir Edward Holward lord admerall of England, and lord Thomas Howard, some and heire to the earle of Surrie in all hast to the sea, which hastilie made ready two ships, and taking sea, by chance of weather were seuered. The lord Holward lieng in the bolones, perceived where Andrew was making toward Scotland, and so fast the said lord chased him, that he ouertoke him; and there was a foze battell betwixt them. Andrew euer blew his whistle to encourage his men, but at length the lord Holward and the Englishmen did so ballantlie, that by cleane strength they entered the maine decke. The Scots fought foze on the hatches: but in conclusion Andrew was taken, and so foze wounded, that he died there. When all the remnant of the Scots were taken with their ship called the Lion.

All this while was the lord admerall in chase of the barke of Scotland, called Jennie Piruine, which was wont to saile with the Lion in companie, & so much did he wish other, that he laid him aboard: and though the Scots manfully defended themselves, yet the Englishmen entered the barke, slue manie, and took all the residue. Thus were these two ships taken, and brought to Blacketwall the second of August (and all the Scots were sent vnto the bishop of Forthes place, where they remained at the kings charge, till other direction was taken for them. After this, the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and certaine of his counsell, to the archbishop of Forthes place, where the Scots were prisoners: and there the bishop rehearsed to them, whereas peace was yet betwixt England and Scotland, that they contrarie to that, as thieues & pirats, had robbed the kings subsidies within his freames. Wherefore they had deserved to die by the law, and to be hanged at the low water marke. Then said the Scots; We acknowledge our offense, and aske mercie and not the law. When a preest which was also a prisoner, said; My lords we appeale from the kings iustice to his mercie.

When the bishop asked him if he were authorized by them to saie so, and they cried all; Yea, yea. Then (said he) you shall find the kings mercie about his iustice. For where you were dead by the law, yet by his mercie he will reuue you; wherefore you shall depart out of this realme within twentie daies, by appointment of death, if you be found after the twentieth daie; and praise for the king: and so they passed into their countie. Thus was their captiuitie converted into libertie, and their liues saued by the kings mercie. The king of Scots hearing of the death of Andrew Barton, and the taking of the two ships, was wonderfull wroth, and sent letters to the king requiring restitution, according to the league and amitie. The king wrote to the king of Scots againe with brotherlie salutation, of the robberies done by the said Andrew, and that it became not a prince to

laie breach of peare to his confederat, for doing iustice vpon a pirat and these: and that all the Scots that were taken, had deserved to die by iustice, if he had not extended his mercie. And with this answer the Scottish herald departed.

About this season, the French king made sharpe warre against pope Iulie: wherefore the king of England wrote to the French king, that he should leaue off to ver the pope in such wise, being his friend and confederat. But when the French king seemed little to regard that request, the king sent him word to deliuer him his lawfull inheritance both of the duchie of Normandie and Guen, and the countie of Anjou & Paine, and also of his crowne of France; or else he would come with such a power, that by fine force he would obtaine his purpose: but notwithstanding those writings, the French king still pursued his warres in Italie. Whereupon the king of England, joining in league with Maximilian the emperor, and Ferdinando king of Spaine, with diuerse other princes, was resolved by aduise of his counsell to make warre on the French king and his countie, and made preparation both by sea and land, setting forth ships to the sea for safeguard of his merchants.

The foresaid pope Iulie, the kings confederat, was (before his aduancement to the popedomme) cardinal of saint Petri ad Vincula, a man mightie in friends, reputation, and riches, who had done to him the voices of so manie cardinals, that entering the conclaue, he was with an example all new and without shutting the conclaue, elected pope the verie same night following the deceasse of his predecessor pope Pius (those that were of the contrarie opinion not daring to oppose against him.) He, either hauing regard to his first name Iulie, or (as coniectures were made) to signifie the greatnesse of his conceptions, or lastlie because he would not giue place to Alexander, no not in the excellencie of name, took vpon him the name of Iulie, the second of that name. Amongest all the popes that had passed, it was wondered that by so great consent, they had created for pope, a cardinal who was knowne to be of a disposition rigorous and terrible, and in whome was no expectation of rest and tranquillitie, hauing continued his youth in continuall trauels, offended manie by necessitie, and exercised hatreds against manie great personages; a man to whose wit nothing was more moze familiar, than the inuention of trouble, faction, and conspiracie.

But on the other side, the causes of his election to that degre appeared charitable, and surmounted all other difficulties: for he had bene of long time a cardinal of great power and might, & with his magnificence, wherein he had alwaies excelled the residue, and with the greatnesse of his spirit, by the which he did great things, he had not onlie made himselfe mightie in opinion and friends; but by times and degrees had erected high his authoritie in the court of Rome, bearing the name, title, and dignitie of the principall defender of the ecclesiastike libertie. But that which serued most to his aduancement, was the promises immoderate and infinite which he made to the cardinals, princes, and barons, and to all others whome he might make profitable to him in that action. Besides, he had the meane to distribute monie, benefices, and spirituall dignities, as well such as were his owne, as those that were the rights of others; for that such was the haste & renowne of his liberalitie, that manie made willing offers to him to dispose as he best liked of their treasures, their names, their offices, and benefices.

They considered not that his promises were farre too great, than that being pope he was either able or

King Henrie the eight taketh the popes part against the French king.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 314. Cardinal St. Petri ad Vincula made pope.

Pope Iulie a factious fellow and an enemy to peace.

Indirect means to attaine the popedomme.

ought to obserue, for that he had of so long continuance inioined the name of iust and vpright, that pope Alexander himselte (his greatest enemy) speaking ill of him, in all other things could not but confesse him to be true of his word. A praise which he made no care to defile and staine, to the end to become pope; knowing that no man more easilie beguileth an other, than he that hath the custome and name neuer to deceiue anie. Which practise of dissimulation was much frequented of those that aspired & possessed the popedom; inso much that the same was in Alexander the first so notable, that it was a proverbe ordinarie in Rome, that the pope did neuer the thing which he said, and his sonne the duke of Valentinois seldome spake that which he ment. Which kind of people (pretend they what they will) are excluded from the rest of Mankind, as the psalmist saith:

*Quem fraudis experti simplicitas inuast,
Proque rectum propositum tenax,
Nec mente sanus grata blandum
Edocuit simulare linguam,
Perpetua requie fructur.*

A proverbe
vpon the
popes dissim-
ling, Guicce,
305.

Buch in Psal.
15.

1532
Abr. Fl. ex
Ed. Hall in
Hen. 8 fol. xv.
Chrismasse
pastimes or
delights at
Greenwich.

In this yeare the king kept his Chrismasse at Greenwich, where was such abundance of viands serued to all comers of ante honest behaviour, as hath bene few times sene. And against Petwoeres night was made in the hall a castell, gates, towers, and dungeon, garnished with artillerie and weapon after the most warlike fashion: and on the front of the castell, was written *Le fortresse dangereux*, and within the castell were six ladies, cloathed in russet sattin, laid all ouer with leanes of gold, and euerie one knit with laces of blew silke and gold. On their heads, coifs, and caps all of gold. After this castell had bene caried about the hall, and the quene had beheld it, in came the king with fine other, apparelled in coats, the one halfe of russet sattin, spangled with spangles of fine gold, the other halfe of rich cloth of gold, on their heads caps of russet sattin, embroidered with workes of fine gold bullion.

The king &
fine other al-
saile the ca-
stell.

Masters dis-
guised after
the Italian
fashion.

These six assaulted the castell. The ladies seeing them so lustie and couragious, were content to salace with them, & vpon further communication, to yeld the castell and so they came downe & danced a long space. And after the ladies led the knights into the castell, and then the castell suddenly vanished out of their sight. On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the king with cleuen other were disguised, after the manner of Italie, called a maske, a thing not sene before in England: they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold. And after the banquet done, these maskers came in, with six gentlemen disguised in silke, bearing staffe tozches, and desired the ladies to dance; some were content, and some refused. And after they had danced, and communed together, as the fashion of the maske is, they took their leave and departed, and so did the quene, and all the ladies.]

A parliament.
The somme
of the bishop
of Canturbur-
ies oration in
the parlie-
ment.

The five and twentieth daie of Januarie began the parlement, where the bishop of Canturburie began his oration with this verse *Iustitia & pax osculate sunt*. Vpon which words he declared how iustice should be ministered, and peace should be nourished, and by what meanes iustice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And thereupon he shewed how the French king would do no iustice in reloxing to the king his right inheritance: wherefore for lacke of iustice, peace of necessitie must be turned into warre. In this parlement was granted two fifteens of the temporaltie, and of the clergie two tenths. After that it was concluded by the whole bodie of the realme in the high court of parlement assembled, that warre should be made on the French king and his dominions. Wherevpon was wonderfull speed made in preparing all

things necessarie both for sea and land.

In this parlement was sir Robert Schereld knight, sometime recorder of London, speaker for the commons. During this parlement, in the moneth of March, a yeoman of the crowne, one of the kings gard, named Petwolt, stue within the palace of Westminster a seruant of maister Willoughbies, for the which offense the king commanded to be set by a new paire of gallowes in the same place where the said seruant lost his life; and vpon the same the said Petwolt was hanged, and there remained on the gallowes by the space of two daies. A notable example of iustice, whereby the king bereft the report that was commonlie noised abroad of him; namely that he could not abide the shedding of mans blood, much lesse wilfull murder. Wherein he shewed how tender he was ouer his subiects, and also how severe against malefactors, speciallie mankillers; whom he thought unworthy of life, that had bene the instruments of others death; according to the law:

*oculos oculis & dentibus esse
Pensandos dentes: sic par erit vltio culpa.*

In this season one Jerome Bonille, which was bozne in Luke, and was factor in London for merchants of that nation, and had plaid bankrupt, and was conueied out of the realme for debt, was now in such fauour with pope Iulie, that he made him his collector and proctor in England: & so he kept a great post, and resorted to the king and his counsell for the popes affaires (which then was sore troubled by the French king) so that he knew both the popes counsell and the kings, and false and true. He resorted by night to the French ambassadours lying in London, and to them discovered what the king and the pope intended, which was not so close done, but the king knew it: and so he was laid for, & was taken communing with one of the said ambassadours vpon London wall at midnight, and brought to the Tower, where he remained untill by the sute of his friends he was deliuered, and shortly for shame voided the realme.]

The king of Aragon also, hating at that time warre with the French king, wrote to his sonne in law king Henrie, that if he would send ouer an armie into Wilsaie, and so to invade France on that side, for the recouerie first of his duchie of Guien: he would aid them with ordinance, horsemen, boats, and cariages, with other necessities appertaining to the same. The king and his counsell putting their affiance in this promise of king Ferdinand, prepared a noble armie all of footmen, and small artillerie, appointing the noble lord Thomas Grele marquisse Dorset to be chiefe conductor of the same. The king dailie studieng to set forth his warre which he had begun against the French king, caused sir Edward Howard his admerall with diligence to make readie diuerse goodlie tall ships, as the soueraigne and others to the number of eightene, beside other smaller vessels.

Therewith hauing in his companie sir Weston Botune, Griffith Dohne, Edward Cobham, Thomas Windham, Thomas Lucie, William Barton, Henrie Shroborne, Stephan Bull, George Wittwange, John Hopton, William Gifford, Thomas Draper, Edmund Coke, John Burdet, and diuerse others, he took the sea, and scowling the same, about the middle of Maie he came before Portsmouth. About the verie selfe time the lord marquisse Dorset, and other noblemen appointed for the iourne of Wilsaie, as the lord Howard sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, the lord Brooke, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Ferrers; the lord John, the lord Arthonie, and the lord Leonard Grete, all these brethren to the marquisse; sir Griffith ap Iwe, sir

Shirburn
romance
gard p. 20

Gr. Hall in
Hen. 8 fol. xv.

Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8 fol. xv.
Jerome Bonille
the pope
collector and
proctor in
England a
false knave.

The French
king both in
hand and in
treachery.

Anno Reg. 4
Shirburn
Howard
admerall.

Shirburn
appointed
the bridge
of Wilsaie.

An. Reg. 4.

Horris Berkeleie, Sir William Sands, the baron of Warford, Sir Richard Cornetwall brother to the said baron, William Husleie, John Pelton, William Kingston esquires, Sir Henrie Willoughbie, and diuerse others, with souldiers to the number of ten thousand.

Amongst these were five hundred Almans clad all in white, vnder the leading of one Cutot a gentleman of Flanders, all which (with the residue abouenamed) came to Southampton, and there mustered their bands which were appointed and trimmed in the best manner. On the firste tenth daie of Maie they were all bestowed aboard in Spanissh ships furnished with vittells, and other necessaries for that iournie. The wind serued so well for their purpose, that they came all in safetie on the coast of Biskiaie at the port of Passaghe south-west of Ffonterabie; and so the third daie of Iune they landed, and toke the field, imbatelling themselves for their safegard right strongly. Within three daies after that the armie was thus aland, there came to the marquisse an earle and an other noble man, to welcome him and his companie.

Then the lord capteine remoued his field, & toke an other place nearer to Ffonterabie, where he laie a long time, looking euerie daie to haue aid of horsemen and artillerie of the king of Aragon, but none came. Sir John Stille caused to be bought two hundred mules and asses of such price as the Spaniards gained greatlie, and when they were put to carie and draw, they would not serue the turne, for they were not exercised thereto before that time; and so for want of beasts to draw such ordinance as the Englishmen had there with them, they lost the doing of some great exploit against the Frenchmen on the frontiers of Gascoigne, for they might haue run a great waie into that countrie, being as then destitute and unpurueied of men and munitions.

On a daie the Frenchmen made a skrie toward the English campe, but the Englishmen perceiuing them, passed the river that was betwixt them, and with arrowes chased the Frenchmen; so that for hast manie of their horses foundered, and fell, yet they came to Baion: if there had bene anie horsemen amongst the Englishmen, they had fore indamaged their enimies. The king of Nauarre doubting least the Englishmen were come into those parties for no good meaning towards him, sent to the lord marquisse a bishop, and diuerse other, offering to minister vittells vnto the Englishmen for their monie, if it should stand so with his pleasure. The lord marquisse thanked him for the offer, and promised that if they of Nauarre would vittell his people, they should paie them well and trulie for the same.

He said also that he would warrant their passing and repassing in safetie, and that by the Englishmen no preiudice should be done to his realme. Whereupon were the Englishmen vittelled out of Nauarre, to their great comfort. After that the armie had laine thirte daies in the second campe, there came from the king of Aragon a bishop and other nobles of his counsell. This bishop was the same that made the answer to the lord Darcie at Calis the last yeare. The effect of his message was, to desire the lord capteine and his people to take patience for a while, and they should see that such preparation should be made for the furnishing of their enterpryse, as should stand with the honour of his maister and their aduancements.

The Englishmen fore discontented with their idling still in the field, misliked with his excuses, supposing the same (as they proued in deed) to be nothing but delays. In the meane time that the Englishmen thus lingered without attempting any

exploit, their vittells were much part garike, & they eating thereof with all their meats, and drinking hot wines, & feeding also on hot fruits, procured the ir blood to boile within their bellies, that there fell sicke thre thousand of the sir: & thereof died an eightene hundred persons. The lord marquisse perceiuing this mischance, sent to the king of Spaine certeine of his captiues to know his pleasure. The king told them that thoztie the duke of Alua should ioine with them, bringing with him a mightie power; so that they might the more assuredlie proceed in their enterpryse. With this answer they returned to the lord marquisse, who liked it neuer a deale; because he iudged that the king meant but to dylue time with him, as after it proued.

In the meane time there began a mutinie in the English campe thozough a false report, contriued by some malicious person; which was, that the captiues should be allowed eight pence for euerie common souldier; where the truth was, that they had allowed to them but onelie six pence. The lord generall aduertised that the souldiers began to gather in companies, found meanes to apprehend the chafe beginner, and deliuered him vnto William Kingston esquier, then prouost marshall; and so was he put to death to the terrour of all other. Whilste the Englishmen laie thus in campe on the borders of Biskiaie towards Cusen, the archers went oftentimes a foraging into the French confines almost to Baion, and burnt manie pretie villages. The king of Spaine raised an armie, and sent forth the same vnder the leading of the duke of Alua, which came forward as though he meant to haue come to the Englishmen; who being aduertised of his approach, were maruellouslie glad thereof, in hope that then they should be imploted about the enterpryse for the which they were come.

But the duke intending an other thing, when he was aduanced forth within a daies iournie of them, suddenly remoued his armie toward the realme of Nauarre, and entering the same, chased out of his realme the king of that land, and conquered the same to the king of Spains use, as in the hystorie of Spaine more plainelie it doth appeare. After that the king of Spaine was thus possessed of the kingdom of Nauarre, he sent vnto the lord marquisse, promising to ioine with him thoztie, and so to inuade the borders of France; but he came not. Wherefore the Englishmen thought themselves not well vied: for it grewed them much, that they should lie so longidle, altho there was so great hope conceiued at their setting forth, that there should be some great exploit atchieued by them, thozough the aid that was promised by the king of Spaine.

Thus whilste the armie lingered without remouing, there chanced an affraie to rise betwixt the Englishmen and the townes-men of Santa Maria, a village so called, whereinto such Englishmen as fell sicke, had their resort; and thereupon the alarms brought into the campe, the Englishmen and Almans ran in great furie to the succour of their fellowes: and notwithstanding all that the captiues could do to staie them, they slue and robbed the people without mercie. The Biskiaines that could get awaie, fled ouer that water into Cusen. The captiues yet so ordered the matter, that all the pillage was restored, and one and twentieth souldiers were condemned, which were apprehended as they were fleeing awaie with a boatie of ten thousand duckats into Gascoigne; seauen of them were executed, and the residue pardoned of life, at the sute of certeine lords of Spaine, which were as then present.

The Frenchmen hearing of this riot came forth with.

Great death
of the sir by
vntoward
dict.

The lord
marquisse
sendeth to the
king of Spaine
to performe
promise.

The king of
Spaine
armie under the
conduct of the
duke of Alua.

The kingdom
of Nauarre
gotten to the
king of Spaine.

A fraie be-
tweene the
Englishmen
and the townes-
men of Santa
Maria.

The Eng-
lishmen ar-
rived on the
coast of Bisk-
iaie.

The English
captiues
were
brought
to the
king of
Spain.

Some offer
by the king
of Nauarre
to the
Englishmen.

The effect
of the
message
sent
from the
king of
Aragon to
the lord mar-
quisse.

S. Jehans
burnt by the
English.

of Wafon, to see and understand the manner thereof; but perceiving that the Englishmen had desiered them, suddenly they returned. The Englishmen followed, & coming to the towne of S. Jehan de Lucie, they burnt and robbed it, & slue the inhabitants. Divers other villages they spoiled on the borders of Guen; but because they wanted both horses of service, and horses to draw forth their ordnance, they could not do anie such damage as they might and would have done, if they had bene furnished according to their desires in that point. Thus continued the English armie in such wearisome sort till the moneth of October, and then fell the lord marquisse sick, and the lord Howard had the chiefe governance of the armie.

Then were sent from the king of Spaine diverse lords of his privie councill unto the said lord Howard, to excuse the matter for that he came not according to his promise, requiring them, that sith the time of the peare to make warre was past, it might please them to breake up their campe, and to divide themselves abroad into the townes and villages of his realme till the spring time of the peare, that they might then go forward with their first pretended enterprise. The lord Howard shewed well in words that the Englishmen could not thinke well of the king of Spaines faulced excuses, and unprofitable delays, to his small honor & their great hinderance & losse, having spent the king their master so much treasure, and done so little hurt to his adversaries. The Spaniards gave faire words; and so in courteous manner departed.

Then about the end of October it was agreed amongst all the lords of the English host that they should breake up their campe, and so they did. The lord marquisse and his people went to saint Sebastian, the lord Howard and his retinue to Kendal, the lord Willoughbie to Carlisburgh, and sir William Sands with manie other capitaines repaired to Fotherbie, and so euerie capitaine with his retinue was placed in one towne or other. The king of England advertised of the king of Spaine his incaring, sent an herald called Windsor with letters unto his armie, willing his men there to tarry, & promising to send over to them right shortly a new supplie, under the guiding of the lord Herbert his chamberlaine.

When this letter was read, and the contents thereof notified, the soldiers began to be so highlie displeased; and spake such outrageous words, as it was marvell to heare: & not contented with words, they were bent to have done outrageous deeds; insomuch that in their furie they had slaine the lord Howard and diverse others, if they had not followed their intents: and hereupon they were glad to hire ships, and so embarked themselves in the moneth of November. When the lord marquisse was brought aboard, he was so weake and feeble of remembrance thorough sickness, that he asked where he was. In the beginning of December they landed here in England, and were glad to be at home, and got out of such a countrie, where they had little health, lesse pleasure, and much losse of time. The king of Spaine seemed to be sore discontented with their departure, openly affirming, that if they had tarried untill the next spring, he would in their companie have invaded France.

The lord admiral
in Britaine.

About the same time that the marquisse went into Spaine, that is to wit, about the middell of Maie, sir Edward Howard lord admiral of England, being on the sea afoze Portsmouth, made forth againe to the sea, and directing his course towards Britaine on Trinitie sundate arrived at Bertham baie with twenty great ships, and suddenly set his men on land, and there was a bulwark, which the Britains

kept and defended a while; but being overcome, fled out of their hold, & left it to the Englishmen. Then the lord admiral passed seaward miles into the countrie, burning and wasting townes and villages, and in returning, skirmished with diverse men of armes, and slue some of them: and notwithstanding that the Britains fought valiantlie in defense of their countrie; yet they were put to the worse, and so the lord admiral returned to his ships.

On the thre & twentieth daie of Maie being mondaie, he landed in the morning, and commanded to burne the house of the lord Piers Hoguns, with the towne of Conquest, & diverse other places, and chased the Britains into the castell of West: and notwithstanding all the assemblies and shewes that the Britains made, yet they suffered the English peace, able to returne with their priees and booties. The first of June the Englishmen took land in Croiton baie, and then the lords of Britaine sent word to the lord admiral, that if he would abide, they would give him battell. The admiral rewarded the messenger, and willed him to say to them that sent, that all that day they should find him in that place tarrying their coming.

Then to encourage diverse gentlemen the more earnestlie to shew their valiance, he dubbed them knights; as sir Edward Brooke, brother to the lord Cobham, sir Griffith Dohne, sir Thomas Windham, sir Thomas Lucie, sir John Burdet, sir William Pirston, sir Henrie Shirborne, and sir Stephan Bull. When the lord admiral saw the Frenchmen come, he comforted his men with pleasant words, thereby the more to encourage them. The whole number of the Englishmen was not much above 25 hundred, where the Frenchmen were at the least ten thousand; and yet when they saw the order of the Englishmen, they were suddenly astonished.

Then a gentleman of good experience and credit amongst them, advised the other capitaines not to fight; but to retire a little and take a strong ground, there to remaine till the Englishmen returned to ward their ships: and then to take the advantage. And so the capitaines began to retire, which when the commons saw, they all ran awaie as fast as they might, supposing that the capitaines had some or knowe some great perill at hand, because they were not privie to the purpose of their capitaines. The lord admiral seeing what happened, when the night came departed to his ships. After this the gentlemen of Britaine sent to the admiral for a safer conduct for diverse persons, which they ment to send to him about a treatie. The lord admiral was of his gentleness content to grant their request. Then certaine lords of Britaine took a bote, and came to the ship of the lord admiral, where he was set with all his councill of the armie about him.

The request of the Britains was, that it might please him to surcease his cruell kind of warre, in burning of townes and villages: but the admiral plainlie told them, that he was sent to make warre and not peace. Then they required a truce for six daies, which would not be granted; and to their request, the admiral told them, that gentlemen ought to defend their countrie by force, rather than to sue for peace. And thus (making them a banquet) he sent them awaie. And after hearing that there was ships of warre on the seas, he coasted from thence along the countrie of Normandie, still scorming the sea, so that no enimie durst appeare. And at length he came and laie by the Ile of Wight, to see if anie enimies would appeare. During which time, diverse ships were kept in the north seas, under the conduct of sir Edward Ichingham, John Lewes, John Louedale, and others.

This

Conquest and
diverse other
places burnt
by sir Edward
Howard lord
admirall of
England.

Diverse gentlemen
knights
by the lord
admirall.

The English
campe in
Britaine
breakech
up.

The armie
disperced into
severall
villages.

An appea-
ceable rage
amongst the
English
soldiers.

The English
armie return-
eth out of
Britaine.

The request
of the lords
of Britaine
to the lord
admirall.

A truce
requested
and by the
daies.

In Reg. 4.

This yeare also in June, the king kept a solemne
 iustes at Greenwich, the king & sir Charles Brandon
 taking upon them to abide all commers. & first
 came the ladies all in white and red silke, set upon
 courfers trapped in the same lute, freated ouer with
 gold; after whom followed a founteine curiouse
 made of russet sattin, with eight gargils spouting
 water: within the founteine sat a knight armed at
 all pices. After this founteine followed a ladie all
 in blacke silke dopped with fine siluer, on a courfer
 trapped in the same. Then followed a knight in a
 houselitter, the courfers & litter apparelled in blacke
 with siluer drops. When the fountein came to the tilt,
 the ladies rode round about, and so did the foun-
 teine, and the knight within the litter. And after
 them were brought two goodlie courfers apparelled
 for the iusts: and when they came to the tilts end, the
 two knights mounted on the two courfers abiding
 all commers. The king was in the founteine, and
 sir Charles Brandon was in the litter. Then sudden-
 ly with great noise of trumpets entered sir Thomas
 Kneuet in a cassell of cole blacke, and ouer the cas-
 sell was written, The dolorous castell, and so he and
 the earle of Essex, the lord Howard, and other ran
 their courses with the king and sir Charles Bran-
 don, and ouer the king brake most speares, and like-
 wise was so to doo per he began, as in former time, the
 pisse fell to his lot: so luckie was he and fortunat in
 the pisse of his pices in martiall activitie, where to
 from his young yeers he was giuen, as the poet saith:

Hinc erat a teneris annis ars bellica cordi.

After this, the king having prepared men and
 ships ready to go to the sea vnder the gouernance of
 sir Anthoine Doughtred, sir Edward Ichingham,
 William Sionet, and diuerse other gentlemen, ap-
 pointed them to take the sea, and to come before the
 Ile of Wight, there to ioine with the lord admerall,
 which they did, but in their passage a gallee was lost
 by negligence of the maister. The king hauing a de-
 sire to see his nauie together, rode to Portsmouth,
 and there appointed captains for one of his chiefest
 ships called the Regent, sir Thomas Kneuet ma-
 ster of his horses, & sir John Carew of Devonshire;
 and to the Soueraigne he appointed for captains, sir
 Charles Brandon, and sir Henrie Gilsford; and with
 them in the Soueraigne were put thre score of the
 tallest yeman of the kings gard. Manie other gen-
 tlemen were ordeined captains in other vessels. And
 the king made them a banquet before their setting for-
 ward, and so committed them to God. They were in
 number five and twentie faire ships of great bur-
 den, well furnished of all things necessarie.

The French king in this meane while had prepa-
 red a nauie of thirtie nine saile in the haven of Brest;
 and for chiefe he ordeined a great Carrike of Brest,
 appertaining to the quene his wife, called Cordelier
 a verie strong ship, and verie well appointed. This
 nauie set forward out of Brest the tenth of August,
 and came to Britaine baie, in the which the same day
 was the English fleet arrived. When the Englishmen
 perceived the Frenchmen to be issued forth of the
 haven of Brest, they prepared themselves to battell,
 and made forth towards their enemie, which came
 fiercely forward; and coming in sight ech of other,
 they shot off their ordinance so terrible together,
 that all the sea coast sounded of it. The lord admerall
 made with the great ship of Dæpe, and chased hir;
 sir Henrie Gilsford and also sir Charles Brandon
 made with the great Carrike of Brest, being in the
 Soueraigne, and laid them to stem to the Carrike;
 but by negligence of the maister, or else by smoke of
 the ordinance, or otherwise, the Soueraigne was
 cast at the sterne of the Carrike, with which aduan-
 tage the Frenchmen shuted for ioy.

But when sir Thomas Kneuet, who was ready to
 haue boarded the great ship of Dæpe, saw that the
 Soueraigne missed the Carrike, suddenlie he cau-
 sed the Regent (in the which he was aboard) to make
 to the Carrike, and to grapple with hir a long boord
 And when they of the Carrike perceived they could
 not depart, they let slip an anchor, and so with the
 streame the ships turned, and the Carrike was on
 the weather side, and the Regent on the lee side. The
 fight was cruell betwixt these two ships, the archers
 on the English side, & the crossebowes on the French
 part doing their vttermost to annoie each other: but
 finally the Englishmen entered the Carrike, which
 being perceived by a gunner, he desperatlie set fire
 in the gunpowder, as some say; though there were
 that affirmed, how sir Anthoine Doughtred following
 the Regent at the sterne, botwaged hir in diuerse pla-
 ces, and set hir powder on fire.

But howsoever it chanced, the whole ship by rea-
 son of the powder was set on fire, & so both the Car-
 rike and the Regent being grappled together, so as
 they could not fall off, were both consumed by fire at
 that instant. The French nauie perceiving this, fled
 in all hast, some to West, and some to the Isles ad-
 joining. The Englishmen made out boats to helpe
 them in the Regent: but the fire was so terrible, that
 in manner no man durst approach; saving that by the
 James of Hull certeine Frenchmen that could
 swim were saued. Capteine of this Carrike was sir
 Piers Morgan, and with him he had in the same
 nine hundred men: and with sir Thomas Kneuet
 and sir John Carew were seven hundred; but all
 drowned and burnt. The Englishmen that night laie
 in Bertham baie, for the French fleet was disperst
 (as ye haue heard.) The lord admerall after this mis-
 chance thus happened to these two worthie ships,
 made againe to the sea, and scowged all alongest the
 coasts of Britaine, Normandie, and Picardie, tak-
 ing manie French ships, and burning such as they
 could not well bring away with them.

The king of England hearing of the losse of the
 Regent, caused a great ship to be made, such a one as
 the like had neuer bene scene in England, and na-
 med it Henrie grace de Dieu. The French king about
 the same time sent to a knight of the Rhodes called
 Phour Jehan, a Frenchman borne, of the countrie
 of Guien, requiring him to come by the streits of
 Harrocke into Britaine: the which he did, bringing
 with him thre galleies of force, with diuerse foists and
 roto-gallies, so well ordinaed and trimmed, as the
 like had not bene scene in these parties before his
 coming. He had laine on the coasts of Barbarie to
 defend certeine of the religion, as they came from
 Tripolie. This yeare in the moneth of Nouember
 the king called his high court of parlement, in the
 which it was concluded, that the king himselte in per-
 son with an armie roiall shuld invade France; wher-
 upon notice being giuen to such as shuld attend, they
 made their purueiance with all diligence that might
 be. In this parlement was granted to the king two
 fifteens, and foure denies; and head monie, of euerie
 duke ten markes, an earle five pounds, a lord foure
 pounds, a knight four markes, & euerie man rated at
 eight hundred pounds in goods, to paie foure markes,
 and so after that rate, till him that was valued at
 foure shillings, paid twelue pence, and euerie man
 that toke foure shillings wages twelue pence, and
 euerie man and woman of fifteene yeares or vp-
 ward foure pence. The steeple and lanterne of Wol-
 church in Cheape was this yeare finished. By fire
 this yeare a great part of the kings palace of West-
 minster, and the chappell in the Towre of London,
 and manie other places in England were burned.
 In April, the king sent a great nauie of twelue
 thousand

A cruell fight
 betwixt the
 two nauies.

The English
 Regent, and
 the French
 Carrik burnt
 together.

The French
 nauie dieth.

The kings
 ship roiall cal-
 led Henrie
 grace de Dieu

A parlement
 wherein it
 was conclu-
 ded that king
 Henrie in per-
 son should invade
 France.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S.
 pag. 897.
 Great sub-
 sidie.

How temples
 builded.

Kings palace
 at westmin-
 ster burned.

Char and de
la Pole was
beheaded.

1541

Full hall in
Hen. 8. fol. xxij.
The descrip-
tion of a rich
mount being
a Chiffmasse
tree.

Sir Charles
Brandon cre-
ates vicount
Lille.

The nauie set
out againe.

The English
naue purpo-
sing to set vp-
on the French
in the haven,
are defeated
by a mischance.

The lord ad-
merall should
haue the king
present in per-
son at the en-
counter, and
to be backed.

thousand men to the sea. On Maie euen, Edmund de la Pole was beheaded on the Tower hill, his brother Richard was after slaine in France.]

After this parlement was ended, the king kept a solemne Chiffmasse at Greenwich, with dances and mummeries in most princelie maner. And on the Twelue daie at night came into the hall a mount, called the rich mount. The mount was set full of rich flowers of silke, and especiallie full of bosome slips full of cods, the branches were greene sattin, and the flowers flat gold of damaske, which signified Plantagenet. On the top stood a goodlie beacon giuing light, round about the beacon sat the king and five other, all in cotes and caps of right crimsin velvet, embroidered with flat gold of damaske, their cotes set full of spangles of gold. And foure woodhouses drez to the mount till it came before the queene, and then the king and his companie descended and danced. Then suddenlie the mount opened, and out came six ladies all in crimsin sattin and plunket, embroidered with gold and pearle, with French hoods on their heads, and they danced alone. Then the lords of the mount toke the ladies and danced together: and the ladies reentered, and the mount closed, and so was conueied out of the hall. Then the king shifed him, and came to the queene, and sat at the banquet which was verie sumptuous.

After Candlemasse, the king created sir Charles Brandon vicount Lille. In March following was the kings nauie of ships roiall & other set forth to the number of fortye and two, beside other balangers vnder the conduct of the lord admerall, accompanied with sir Walter Deuereux, lord Ferrers, sir Wolstan Browne, sir Edward Juchingham, sir Anthony Pointz, sir John Mallop, sir Thomas Windham, sir Stephan Bull, William Fitz Williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sdneie squiers, and diuerse other noble and balliant capteins. They sailed to Portsmouth, and there laie abiding wind, and when the same serued their turne, they weighed anchor, & making saile into Britaine, came into Berthram baie, and there laie at anchor in sight of the French nauie, which kept it selfe close within the haven of Berth, without proffering to come aboad.

The English perceiuing the maner of the French men, determined to set on them in the haven, and making forward in good order of battell, at their first enterie one of their ships, whereof Arthur Plantagenet, was capteine, fell on a blind rocke, and burst in sunder, by reason whereof, all the other staid: and the English capteins perceiuing that the haven was dangerous to enter without an expert lodestman, they cast about, and returned to their harborough at Berthram baie againe. The Frenchmen perceiuing that the Englishmen meant to assaile them, moored their ships so nere to the castell of West as they could, and placed bulwokes on the land on euerie side, to shot at the Englishmen. Also they trapped together foure and twentie great hulkes that came to the baie for salt, and set them on a row, to the intent that if the Englishmen had come to assault them, they would haue set those hulkes on fire, and haue let them drue with the streame amongst the English ships.

Prior Jehan also laie still in Blanke sable baie, and plucked his gallies to the shore, setting his bassilikes and other ordinance in the mouth of the baie, which baie was bulwoked on euerie side, that by water it was not possible to be wone. The lord admerall perceiuing the French nauie thus to lie in feare, wrote to the king to come thither in person, and to haue the honour of so high an enterprife: which writing the kings counsell nothing allowed, for putting the king in leoparde upon the chance of the sea.

Wherefore the king wrote to him Charlie againe, commanding him to accomplish that which appertained to his duetie: which caused him to adventure things further than wisdome would he should (as after ye shall heare) to his utter vndoying and casting awaie, God hauing ordeined the means by his prouidence, which the pagans implied (though wanting the light of grace) in the name of destinie, of them counted inenitable. [A destinie lamentable, considering the qualitie of the person, with the maner of his dieng. Wherein although manie vainlie dispute, that fortune led him to so miserable an accident: yet if we will lift by our considerations to God, we shall find that he hath reserved such a prerogative ouer all things which he hath created, that to him onclie belongeth the authoritie to dispose all things by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing.] And yet the foolish world (doting in blind ignorance, but pretending a singular insight in matters of secrecie) blinseth not to talke of rather to asseure, casualtie, chancemellie, misfortune, and such like foolish imaginations: whereas (indeed) the prouidence of God compasseth all things whatsoever, for nothing can be privileged from the ampleste of the same.

Prior Jehan keeping him still within his hold, as a prisoner in a dungeon, did yet sometime send out his small foists to make a shew before the English nauie, which chased them to the baie. But because the English ships were mightie vessels, they could not enter the baie: and therefore the lord admerall caused certeine boats to be manned forth, which toke one of the best foists that Prior Jehan had, and that with great danger: for the gallies and bulwokes shot so freshlie all at one instant, that it was maruell how the Englishmen escaped. The lord admerall perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not come aboad, called a counsell, wherein it was determined, that first they would assaile Prior Jehan and his gallies lying in Blanke sable baie, and after to set on the residue of the French fleet in the haven of West. When first it was appointed, that the lord Ferrers, sir Stephan Bull, and other, should go along with a conuenient number to assault the bulwokes, while the admerall entered with row barges and little gallies into the baie, and so should the Frenchmen be assailed both by water and land.

The lord admerall by the counsell of a Spanis knight called sir Alfonso Charant, affirming that he might enter the baie with little leoparde, called to him William Fitz Williams, William Cobe, John Colleie, and sir Wolstan Browne, as his cheefe and most trustie friends, making them piete to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterprife, with their assistance. And so on S. Sparkes daie, which is the five and twentieth of Aprill, the said admerall put himselfe in a small row barge, appointing three other small rowing ships, and his olde ship bote to attend him; and therewith upon a sudden rowed into the baie, where Prior Jehan had moored up his gallies iust to the ground: which gallies with the bulwokes on the land, shot so terrible, that they that followed were affraid. But the admerall passed forward, & as soone as he came to the gallies, he entered & drove out the Frenchmen. William Fitz Williams within his ship was sore hurt with a quarell. The baie was shallow, and the other ships could not enter, for the tide was spent.

Which thing the Frenchmen perceiuing, they entered the gallies againe with moze pikes, and fought with the English in the gallies. The admerall perceiuing their approach, thought to haue entered againe into his row barge, which by violence of the tide was driven downe the streame, and with a pike he was throwne

Guic. pag. 154

Anno Reg. 1541

A continu-
ation of the
faultering of
Prior Jehan

The admer-
all rowed
into the baie
where the
Prior lay.

in Reg. 5.

Edward
the
fifth
king
of
England
and
France
departed
from
Calis
the
fifteenth
day
of
June
the
year
of
our
lord
1547.
The
English
armie
mar-
ched
into
France.
The
baron
of
Crew
slaine.
The
lord
Pontremie
captaine
of
Crewine.
Crewine
besieged.

Edward
the
fifth
king
of
England
and
France
departed
from
Calis
the
fifteenth
day
of
June
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of
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The
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into
France.
The
baron
of
Crew
slaine.
The
lord
Pontremie
captaine
of
Crewine.
Crewine
besieged.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the English
flēt departed from the coasts of Britaine and drel
towards England, did come forth of their hauens,
and prior Jehan set forth his gallies and foists, and
drawing alongst the coasts of Normandie and Bri-
taine, coasted ouer to the borders of Souther with all
his companie, and there landed, and set fire on cer-
teine poze cotages. The gentlemen that dwelt nere,
vassed the countrie, and came to the coast, and droue
prior Jehan to his gallies. The king was right soze
for the death of his admerall; but sorrow prcuaileth
not when the chance is past. Therefore the king hear-
ing that the French nanie was abroad, called to
him the lord Thomas Howard eldest brother to the
late admerall, and sonne and heire apparant to the
earle of Surrie, whome he made admerall, willing
him to reuenge his brothers death. The lord Ho-
ward humbly thanked his grace of the trust that he
put in him, and so immediatly went to the sea, and
scowred the same, that no Frenchman durst shew
himselfe on the coast of England, so; he fought with
them at their owne ports.

The king hauing all his prouisions readie for the
warre, and meaning to passe the sea in his owne per-
son, for the better taining of the losse Frenchmen,
appointed that woethie counsellor and right redoub-
ted chiefeine, the noble George Talbot earle of
Shrewesburie, high steward of his household, to be
captaine generall of his fore-ward; and in his com-
panie were appointed to go, the lord Thomas Stan-
lie earle of Derby, lord Decolreie prior of saint
Johns, sir Robert Kitchiffe lord Fitzwater, the lord
Hassings, the lord Cobham, sir Rice ap Thomas, sir
Thomas Blunt, sir Richard Sacheuerell, sir John
Digbie, sir John Ashew, sir Lewis Bagot, sir Tho-
mas Cornwell, and manie other knights, esqui-
ers, and souldiers; to the number of eight thousand
men. These passed the sea, and came all to Calis a-
bout the middle of Maie.

The lord Herbert called sir Charles Summer-
set, lord chamberleine to the king, in the end of the
same moneth followed the said earle of Shrewesbur-
ie, with sir thousand men: in whose companie were
the erls of Northumberland Percie, of Kent Greie,
of Wilshire Stafford, the lord Dubleie, the lord De-
lauiare, and his sonne sir Thomas West, sir Ed-
ward Husleie, sir Edward Dimmoche, sir David
Olwen, with manie other knights, esquiers, and
gentlemen. After they had sojourned certeine daies
in Calis, and that all their necessities were readie,
they issued forth of the towne, to to begin their
campe. And first the earle of Shrewesburie and his
companie toke the field, and after him the lord Her-
bert with his retinues in manner of a re-re-ward.
Then followed that valiant knight sir Rice ap Tho-
mas, with fure hundred light horsemen and archers
on horsebacke, who ioined himselfe to the fore-ward,
a gentleman of such spirit and hardinesse, that he is
named the floure of the Welshmen, as the poet saith;

— Ricus Thomas flos Cambrobritannium.

These two lords thus imbattelled did remoue the
seuententh of June to Sandfield, & on the eightenth
they came to Parguisson, on the further side of the
water, as though they would haue passed straight

waies to Bullongne. But they meaning an other
thing, the next daie toke an other waie, and so coasted
the countrie with such diligence, that the two and
twentieth of June they came before the strong citie of
Terrouan, and pight their tents a mile from the
towne. The same night (as certeine captaine were in
councell within the lord Herberts tent) the baron
Crew was slaine with a bullet shot out of the
towne; which sudden aduenture much dismaied the
assemblie, but the lord Herbert comforted them with
manlie words, and so his death was passed ouer. All
the countrie of Artois and Picardie fortified their
holds, and made shewes as the English armie pas-
sed, but they durst not once assaile them.

The citie of Terrouan was stronglie fortified
with walles, rampiers, bulwarks, and large ditches.
The lord Pontremie was gouernour within it, ha-
uing with him sir hundred horsemen, and 2500 Al-
mans, besides the inhabitants. The walles & towers
were full of ordnance, which oftentimes did much dis-
pleasure to the Englishmen. The earle of Shrewes-
burie planted his siege on the north-west side of the
towne, and the lord Herbert on the east side, causing
great trenches to be made to couer his people with-
all: for on that side there was no hill to succour or
defend him. The Frenchmen and Almans would di-
uerse times issue out, but the archers were cuer rea-
die to beat them into the citie againe. The earle of
Shrewesburie got into an hollow ground or ballie
nere to the citie, and likewise the lord Herbert (by
reason of his trenches) approached likewise verie nere
to the ditches.

The seven and twentieth daie of June being mon-
daie, sir Nicholas Maur and sir Edward Belknap,
hauing with them foure hundred and thre score men
set from Guisnes to conduct foure and twentie carts
laden with vittels towards the siege at Terrouan;
but the duke of Wandosme lieutenant of Picardie
with eight hundred horsemen set on them as they
passed through Ard, and found them so out of order,
that notwithstanding all that the English captaine
could do to bring men into arraie, it would not be:
for the Frenchmen set on so readie, that they kept
the Englishmen in sunder. Yet the horsemen of
Guisnes, being not past foure and twentie in all,
toke their speares and ioined with the Frenchmen
right manfullie, and likewise thre score archers shot
freshlie at their enemies; but the Frenchmen were so
manie in number, that they obtained the place, slue
eight gentlemen, and diuerse archers. Sir Nicholas
Maur and sir Edward Belknap fled toward Guis-
nes.

Thus were the vittels lost, and yet the French-
men went not awaie with clere hands: for those few
archers that closed together, shot so egerlie, that they
slue and hurt diuerse Frenchmen; and on the field
laie foure score and seuen great horses, which died
there in the place, and neuer went further. On the
fiftenth day of June the B. departed from Crene-
wich, taking his iourneie towards Douer, whither
he came by easie iournies, and the quene in his com-
panie. After he had rested a season in the castell of
Douer, and taken order for the rule of the realme in
his absence, he toke leaue of the quene, and entring
his ship the last daie of June, being the daie of saint
Iuanle: he sailed ouer to Calis, where he was recei-
ued with great joy by the deputie sir Gilbert Talbot
and all other there. At his entring into Calis, all the
banished men entred with him, and were restored to
the libertie of the towne. The king laie in Calis a
certeine time, till all his prouisions were readie, but
the armie laie in campe at Jelnham bidge.

On the one and twentieth of Iulie, the kings ma-
iestie passed forth of Calis, and toke the field, di-
uiding

The king in
person passeth
ouer into
France.

The order of
the kings ar-
mie.

ding the armie which he had there with him into three battells. The lord Little marshall of the host was cap- teine of the fore-ward, and under him three thousand men: sir Richard Carew with three hundred kept on the right side of the same fore-ward as a wing there- to: and the lord Darcie with other three hundred men was a wing on the left hand. The fore-riders of this battell were the Northumberland men on light geldings. The earle of Essex was lieutenant gene- rall of the speares, and sir John Dechie was vicego- uernour of all the horsemen, and sir John Burdet stander-bearer to the kings speares. An eight hun- dred Almans went on a plunke by themselves be- fore the kings battell, and the duke of Buckingham with six hundred men was on the kings left hand, e- quall with the Almans, in like manner as sir Edward Poynings was on the right hand, with other six hun- dred men equall with the Almans.

* This man
was after-
ward card-
mall.

In the kings battell, where was the standard of the armes of England borne by sir Henrie Guilford, there were three thousand: and the lord of Aburgauenie with eight hundred men was wing on the right hand, and sir William Compton with the retinue of the bishop of Winchester, and of master * Wolfeie the kings almoner, being in number eight hundred was in manner of a reere-gard. Sir Anthoine Dugh- tred and sir John Penill with the kings speares that followed were four hundred, and so the whole armie contained eleuen thousand and three hundred men. The number of the cariages were thirtene hundred, and the number of them that attended the same were nineteene hundred men, and all these were re- housed in the battell: but of good fighting men & sen- diers appointed for the purpose, there were not full nine thousand. In this order the king with his armie marched forward through the confines of his eni- mies to the siege of Terronan, entering into the French ground the five and twentieth of Julie being mondaie. On the morrow after as the armie mar- ched forward, by negligence of the carsters that mi- stroke the waie, a great curtall (called the John C- uangelist) was overthrowne in a deepe pond of wa- ter and could not quicklie be recovered.

The French
armie appro-
cheth, & their
number.

The king being aduertised that the Frenchmen approached to fight with him, left the gun (because the mailster carpenter undertooke to wic it shortlie out of the water) & set forward, passing on by Cornohan, whith he left on his right hand, and a little beyond pit- ched downe his field abiding for his enemies, the which (as he was informed) were not far off. On the morrow after being wednesdaie, the Reliefe of the speares brought word that they had ascried the French armie comming forward in order of battell, to the number of eleuen thousand footmen, and foure thousand horsemen. Capteins of this armie were the lord de la Palice, the lord de Pienmes, the duke of Longuile, the earle of S. Paule, the lord of Flo- ringes, the lord of Cleremont, & Richard de la Poole a banished man, son to John duke of Suffolke. They came within two miles of the kings armie, and there the footmen scaled, and came no further.

The northern
pickers place
the men.

But certeine of the horsemen to the number of three thousand came forward, and at the end of a wood helved themselves in open sight of the English ar- mie. And thus they stood countenancing the Eng- lishmen. Some of the northerne pickers made to them, and in skirmishing with them, took some of them prisoners. About none the same daie, that va- liant Welch knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his re- tinue of horsemen being departed from the siege of Terronan came to the king, and straightwaies was sent to the earle of Essex, which with two hundred speares was laid in a state, if the Frenchmen had come nether. When they were joined together, they

drew about the hill, having with them sir Thomas Guilford, with two hundred archers on horsebacke, meaning to set on the Frenchmen: which percei- uing that, and doubting least more companie had fol- lowed, they suddenlie drew backe, and joined them with their great battell.

Then the earle of Essex and the English horse- men followed them, till they came nere to the armie of France, and then scaled and sent forth light horse- men to biele the demcanos of the Frenchmen. When the Frenchmen of armes were returned to their battell, then both the horsemen and footmen with- drew in order of battell, and still the English carres followed them for the space of three leagues, and then returned to the earle, making report to him of that they had done, who then brake up his state, and came to the king, declaring to him how the Frenchmen were gone backe. This was called the dyce wednes- daie, for the daie was wonderfull hot, and the king with his armie stood in order of battell, from six of the clocke in the morning till three of the clocke in the af- ter none. And some died for lacke of moisture, and generallie euerie man was burned about the mouth with heat of the stomack; for drinke lacked, and wa- ter was not nere.

After this the king remoued toward Terronan, and as he was setting forward, the lord Malon of Flanders came to him with his horsemen, which were already in the kings wages. As the armie pas- sed, by negligence the same daie in a lane was o- uerthrowne one of the kings bombardes of iron, cal- led the red gun, and there left. The king lodged that night two miles from saint Omers on the north side of the towne. On the thursdaie, being the eight and twentieth of Julie, the mailster carpenter with an hun- dred carpenters and labourers, without knowledge of the marshall, went to wic by the great gun that was in the pond (as ye haue heard) and by force of engins drew it up, and carted it ready to bying a- waie: but suddenlie there came an eight hundred Frenchmen with speares, crossbowes, and hand- guns, which set on the labourers so fiercelie, that not withstanding their manfull defense, the most part of them were slaine and the residue taken, and both they and the peece of ordinance conueied to Wallongne.

The Frenchmen glad of this chance, assembled a great number to fetch the other gun, which lay yet in the lane. But the lord Werners being captaine of the pionsers, and hearing all these things, prepared to re- couer that gun, and so in the morrow went to fetch it. There were appointed to go backe to see him safe con- duced, the earle of Essex with his companie of speares, sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue, and sir John Penill with the Northumberland men. The Almans also were commanded to retire backe to the succours of them that were gone for the gun. The Al- mans went forth, till they came within two miles of the place where the gun lay, and further they would not go. The Frenchmen to the number of nine or ten thousand men (as some esteemed) were abroad, and came toward the place where the Englishmen were carting the peece of ordinance.

The Northumberland horsemen having espied them, gaue knowledge to the residue of the English- men, who prepared themselves to defend their ground against the enemies: and the earle of Essex sent to the lord Malon, willing him with his compa- nie to come to his aid: but the lord Malon sent word againe, that he was come to see the king of Eng- land more than for one daie, and therefore he wished that all the Englishmen should returne, sith that with the great power of France they were not able to match. This answer was much discontent to the earle of Essex and the other captains. In this manner

The day
wednesdaie.

The band
called the
gun car-
thouane.

The great
gun gotten
by the
hand
of the
carpenter.

The lord
Malon
sent word
that he
was come
to see the
king of
England.

time the foreriders of the French part were come to the hands of the Englishmen, and so they fell in fair-
mily very hottie: but at length all things considered,
and specialie the small number of the Englishmen,
being not above seven hundred ho:semen, it was
thought best that they should returne and follow
the gun, which they had sent forward.

Whereupon they retreated in order, and not in anie
stern manner, still following the gun. The French-
men perceiuing that, pitched forward to the number
of two thousand ho:semen, & came iust to the backs
of the Englishmen, who therewith cast about, and
made returne to the Frenchmen. Sir William Tel-
ler and sir John Sharpe were the first that charged,
and after all the other Englishmen. The Frenchmen
fled immediatlie so fast backe, that happie was he
that might be foremost. The whole host seeing their
ho:semen thus had in chase, suddenlie returned. The
earle of Essex withdrew to an hill, and there caused
his trumpet to blow to the standard for feare of sub-
tile dealing; and when his men were come in, and ga-
thered together, he returned. On the same daie be-
ing fridaie, the nine and twentieth of Iulie, the king
came to Arkes, & there incamped; whither the earle
of Essex came to him, and declared what had bene
done that daie, the king thanking him and other the
captains for their paines and diligence.

The king late here at Arkes till mondaie the first
of August, and then remoued to a village midwaie
betwixt Terwine and saint Omers, where he lay till
thursdaie the fourth of August, and came that daie
in good order of battell before the citie of Terwine, &
there plight vp his tents and paullions in most rotall
manner, sending his campe right stronglie with ordi-
nance and other warlike deuises. [The king for him-
selfe had a house of timber with a chimnie of iron,
and for his other lodgings he had great and goodlie
tents of blew water worke garnished with yelloe
and white, diuerse comes within the same for all offi-
cers necessarie. On the top of the paullions stood the
kings beastes holding fances, as the lion, the dragon,
the greihound, the antelope, the dun cow: all within
the lodging was pointed full of the sunnes rising, the
lodging was one hundred and foue and twentie fote
in length.]

The king lieng before Terwine, his great ordi-
nance did foze beat the towne walles, & they within
likewise shot ordinance out of the towne, and shue di-
uerse Englishmen in the trenches, among which
shots they had one gun that euerie daie and night
was ordinarilie shot at certaine houres without
faile: this gun was of the Englishmen called the
whistling gun, but it neuer did harine in the kings
held. The siege thus lieng before the citie of Terwine,
sir Alexander Bannam a capteine of the miners,
caused a mine to be enterpised to enter into the
towne: but the Frenchmen perceiuing that, made a
countermine, and so destroyed the other mine, and di-
uerse miners slaine within the same. The French ar-
mie hourred euer a farre to take the Englishmen at
advantage, as they went a foraging; and manie a
skirmish was done, and manie good seates of armes
achiued on both sides, and diuerse prisoners taken.
Among the Frenchmen were certaine light ho:se-
men called Stradiots, with short stirrups, better
hats, small speares, and swords like cimeteries of
Turkie: diuerse times the northerne light ho:semen
under the conduct of sir John Penill skirmished with
these Stradiots and toke diuerse of them prisoners,
and brought them to the king.

While the king laie thus before Terwine, the
capteine of Bullongne knowing by his espials, that
manie of the garrison of Calis were with the king
at the siege, and also that bittels were daillie brought

out of England to Calis to succour the campe, ima-
gined a great enterprise, and sent for all the men of
warre under his dominion and rule, and declared to
them what honour they should obtaine if they hurted
or spoiled the out parts of Calis, the king of England
on that side of the sea. The men of warre perceiuing
the good courage of the capteine, assented to his pur-
pose, and so with all diligence they, to the number of
a thousand men, in the euening set forward, & came
to Betonam bidge by three of the clocke in the mo-
ning, and found the watchmen that kept the bidge
asleepe, & so entered the bulwourke and shue the watch-
men, and toke the ordinance of the bidge, and then
let the bidge fall, so that all entered that would.

The capteine of Bullongne kept six hundred men
for a scale at the bidge, & sent the other into the ma-
rishes and medows to fetch awaite the beastes and cat-
tell which they should find there. This was done, and
some of them came so nere the walles of Calis, that
they were ecried. And about a six score coupers, ba-
kers, shipmen & other which laie without the towne,
hearing the alarme, got together, & setting on those
Frenchmen which were advanced so nere the
towne, shue them downe that abode, chased them
that fled euen into Betonam bidge, and recovered
the same, and put backe their enemies. About five of
the clocke in the morning, the gate of Calis called
Bullongne gate was opened, and then by permission
of the deputie, one Culpeper the under-marshall
with two hundred archers under a banner of saint
George issued forth.

All these in great hast came to Betonam bidge,
where they found the other Englishmen that had
wone the bidge of the Frenchmen, and so al tog-
ther set forward to assaile the Frenchmen that kept
the scale, and taried till the residue of their companie
which were gone a foraging vnto Calis walles
were come: for the other that had spoiled the mari-
shes were returned with a great hottie. At the first,
when the Frenchmen saw the Englishmen approach,
they thought they had bene their owne fellows. But
when they saw the banner of saint George, they per-
ceiued how the matter went, & so determined to de-
fend themselves against their enemies; but the Eng-
lishmen set so fiercelie on, that finally the French-
men were discomfited, and foure and twentie of them
slaine, beside twelue score that were taken prisoners,
and all the ordinance and hottie againe recovered.

These prisoners were brought to Calis, & there sold
in open market. [Among all other, a couper of the
towne of Calis bought a prisoner of this hottie that
dwelt in Bullongne, and had of the prisoner an hun-
dred crowns for his ranfome. When the monie was
paied, the Frenchman praised the couper to see him
safe deliuered, and to conduct him out of danger. The
couper gentlie granted, and without anie know-
ledge of his friends, all alone went with the French-
man till he came beyond the causeie, & there would
haue departed: but the Frenchman perceiuing that
the couper was aged, and that no rescue was nie,
by force toke the couper prisoner, and caried him to
Bullongne, & made him paie two hundred crowns
for his ranfome: thus thorough follie was the poze cou-
per deceiued. Wherefore it is wisdome for a man to
hold fast his possession, and to supplie his want of
strength by subtiltie, imitating therein the fox, which
although in force he be inferior to the lion, as not able
to beare the perking of his taile, or a pelt of his paw;
yet in craft he goeth beyond that boisterous beaist,
and so escapeth danger, which otherwise he might
suffeine.]

On the eleuenth day of August, being thursday, the
king lieng at the siege of Terwine, had knowledge
that Maximilian the emperour was in the towne of
Airc.

watchmen
found sleeping
serued iustlie.

Culpeper un-
der-marshall
of Calis.

Abr. Fl. ex
Ed. Hall in
H. 8. fol. xxviii;

The follie of
a couper.

The emperor
Maximilian
and the king
of England
met.

Atre. The king prepared all things necessarie to meet with the emperor in triumph. The noble men of the kings campe were gorgeously apparelled, their courseters barded with cloth of gold, of damaske and byoderie, their apparell all tissue, cloth of gold and silver, and goldsmiths worke, great chains of bauderikes of gold, and belles of bullion: but in especiall the duke of Buckingham, he was in purple sattin, his apparell and his bard full of antelops and swans of fine gold bullion, and full of spangles, a little bels of gold marvellous costlie and pleasant to behold. The king was in a garment of great riches in jewels and stone, he was armed in a light armour. The master of his horse followed him with a spare horse, the henchmen followed bearing the kings peeces of harnesse, euerie one mounted on a great courser.

The kings
harnesse and
furniture.

The one bare his helmet, the second his grangard, the third his speare, the fourth his are, and so euerie one had something belonging to a man of armes. The apparell of the nine henchmen were white cloth of gold, and crimson cloth of gold, richlie embroidered with goldsmiths worke, the trappers of the courseters were mantell harnesse coulpned, and in euerie bent a long bell of fine gold, and on euerie pendent a deepe tassell of fine gold in bullion, which trappers were verie rich. The king and the emperor met betwene Atre and the campe, in the foulest weather that lightlie hath bene seene. The emperor gentlie intertelled the king, and the king likewise him, and after a little communication had betwene them, because the weather was foule, they parted for that time. The emperor & all his men were at that daie all in blacke cloth, for the emperesse his wife was latelie deceased.

A letter of de-
sistance sent by
the Scottish
king to king
Henric.

Within a day or two after this intertelle, and that the king was returned to his campe, thither came a king at armes of Scotland called Lion, with his cote of armes on his backe, who within short time was by Cartier king of armes brought to the kings presence, where he being almost dismayd to see the king so noble accompanied, with few words & mostlie good countenance, deliuered a letter to the king, which his grace receiued and read it himselfe; and therewith hauing conceiued the whole contents thereof, made this answer immediatly to the herald.

The king of
Englands
speech to the
Scottish
kings herald
differed with-
out premedita-
tion.

Now we perceiue the king of Scots our brother in law, and your master to be the same person whom we euer take him to be, for we neuer esteemed him to be of anie truth: and so now we haue found it. For notwithstanding his oth, his promise in the word of a king, and his owne hand and seale; yet now he hath broken his faith & promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and intendeth to inuade our realme in our absence, which he durst not once attempt, our owne person being present. But he sheweth himselfe not to be degenerat from the conditions of his fathers, whose faiths (for the most part) haue euer bene violated, and their promises neuer obserued, further than they list. Therefore tell thy master, first, that he shall neuer be comprised in anie league wherein I am a confederat; and also that I suspecting his truth (as now the deed proueth) haue left an earle in my realme at home, which shall be able to defend him and all his poluer. For we haue prouided so, that he shall not find our land destitute of people as he thinketh to do: but this saie to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotland, & that he holdeth it of me by homage. And inasmuch as now, contrarie to his bounden dutie, he being my vassall, doth rebell against me, with Gods helpe I shall at my returne crypell him his realme, and so tell him.

Sir said the king of armes, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and that he commandeth me to say, I may boldlie say with fauour, but the commandements of other I may not, nor dare say

to my soueraigne: but your letters, with your hono-
sent, may declare your pleasure, for I may not say
such words of reproch to him, to whom I owe onlie
mine allegiance and faith. Then said the king, Where-
fore came you hither? Will you receiue no answer?
Yes said Lion, but your answer requireth doing and
no writing, that is, that immediatly you should re-
turne home. Well said the king; I will returne to
your damage, and not at thy masters summoning.
Then the king commanded Cartier to take him to
his tent, and to make him good cheare, which he did,
and cherished him well: for he was fore abashed.

After he was departed, the king sent for all the
capteins, and before them and his counsell caused the
letter to be read, the contents whereof were, that king
Henric had not dealt with him uprightlie in sundrie
points, as in mainteining of those which had laine
his people of Scotland by sea, and also in succouring
bassard Iheron with his complices, which had (under
trust of daies of meeting for iustice) laine his war-
den. Also his twices legacie was by him withheld:
& moreover, where first he had desired him in fauour
of his dere cousin the duke of Gelder, not to attempt
anie thing against him; yet had he sent his people to
inuaide the said dukes countrie, which did what in
them lay to deströie and disherit the said duke,
that had nothing offended against him.

And now againe, where he had made the like re-
quest for his brother & cousin the most christen king
of France: yet notwithstanding, had the king of
England caused him to lose his duchie of Millaine,
and at this present inuaded his realme with all his
puissance, to deströie him and his subiects, whereas
yet the said king of France had bene ever friend to
him, & neuer giuen him occasion thus to do. In con-
sideration of which iniuries receiued in his owne per-
son, and in his friends, he must needs seeke redress,
and take part with his brother and cousin the said
king of France. Wherefore he required him to desist
from further inuasion and destruction of the french
dominions, which to do if he refused, he plainlie de-
clared by the same letters, that he would do what he
could to cause him to desist from further perforce in
that his enterprise, & also giue letters of marque to
his subiects for the deniall of iustice made to them by
the king of England.

The letters thus sent to the king of England,
were dated at Edinburgh the six and twentieth daie
of Iulie, and giuen vnder the signet of the said Sco-
tish king. When the king had thus caused these let-
ters to be read, and thoughtlie considered of them as
appertained, he sent them straight to the earle of
Surrie, which then late at Pomfret, and caused other
letters to be deuised to the king of Scots, the effect
whereof was; that although he well perceiued by the
kings letters, which he had receiued from him, in
what sort, vnder colour of contriued occasions and
feined quarrelles, he meant to breake the peace, he did
not much maruell thereat, considering the ancient
accustomed manners of some his progenitors.

Howbeit, if loue and dread of God, mightnesse of
blood, honour of the world, law and reason had bound
him, it might be supposed, that he would neuer so
farre haue proceeded; wherein the pope and all prin-
ces christned might well note in him dishonorable be-
meanor, which had dissembled the matter, whilst he
was at home in his realme; and now in his absence
thus went about vpon forged causes to bitter his old
rancor, which in couert manner he had long kept se-
cret. Neuer thelesse, vpon mistrust of such vnfideli-
nesse, he had put his realme in a readinesse to resist
his enterprises, as he doubted not through Gods fa-
uour, and the assistance of his confederats, he should
be able to resist the malice of all schismatices, and
their

The effect
of the
Scottish
kings letter
to King
Henric
is written
in the
Hall, in the
fol. xxxv.

King Henric
his answer
to the
Scottish
kings letter
is written
in the
Hall, in the
fol. xxxvi.

An
entire
to the
league of
peace.

An. Reg. 5.

The king of
France
in
the
year
1547.

The king of
England
in
the
year
1547.

The king of
France
in
the
year
1547.

The king of
France
in
the
year
1547.

The king of
France
in
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1547.

The king of
France
in
the
year
1547.

The king of
France
in
the
year
1547.

their adherents, being by generall counsell expellie
excommunicated & interdicted, trusting in time con-
venient to remember his friends, & requite his foes.

Forcouer, he willed him to set before his eyes the
example of the king of Nauarre, who for assistance
giuen to the French king was now a king without
a realme. And as touching answers to be made to
the manifold griefs in the Scottish kings letters sur-
mised, if law or reason could haue remoued him from
his sensuall opinions, he had bene manie times al-
readie answered sufficientlie to the same; vntil he
pretended griefs therein amongst other compri-
sed, for denieng of a safe conduct to the Scottish am-
bassadour to haue bene lastly sent vnto him. Where-
vnto thus he answered; that the same safe conduct
had bene granted, if the Scottish herald would haue
taken it with him.

And finally, as touching the Scottish kings re-
quest, to desist from further attempting against the
French king, he signified to him, that he knew him for
no competent iudge of so high authoritie, as to re-
quire him in that behalfe, and therefore God willing
he ment with the aid and assistance of his confede-
rats & allies to prosecute his begun attempt. And as
the Scottish king should doe to him, & to his realme,
so it should be hereafter remembered and acquitted.
These letters were written in the campe before
Teruine the twelue of August, and giuen vnder the
kings signet, and therewith deliuered to Lion king
of armes, who had of the king 1000 angels in reward.

Then departed he with his letters into Flan-
ders, there to take ship to saile into Scotland, but yet
he could haue a vessel and wind for his purpose, his
maister was laine, as after ye shall heare. In this
meane while the Frenchmen being assembled and
lodged in campe at Blangie on this side Amiens,
the French king appointed that all the hoisemen to the
number of eight thousand (as Paulus Iouius reco-
rdeth) should go with bittels vnto Teruine, and
put the same into the towne, if by anie meanes they
might, for that those within stood as then in great
necessitie for want of bittels.

The charge of this conuete was committed vn-
to Monsieur de Piennes, because he was lieutenant
of those marches: notwithstanding there were a-
mongst the number, other noble men of moze high
degree in honor, and also of great prowesse, fame, and
experience, furnished with sundrie bands of men at
armes of long appoyued valancie, and bled to go a-
waie with victorie in manie a dangerous conflict and
battell, wanting at this present nothing but their old
accustomed god fortune. Whilest the Frenchmen
were thus prepared to come with bittels to Ter-
uine, the emperor Maximilian came from Aire to
the kings campe before Teruine the twelue of Au-
gust, wearing a crosse of saint George as the kings
souldier, & receiuing of him salarie for seruice; which
Anglorum prelia noteth as noteworthie, saing:

Sub rege Anglorum magnus meret induperator.
The emperor was honourable received, and lod-
ged in a rich tent of cloth of gold prepared for him,
according as was conuenient for his estate. He tar-
ried vntill sundae being the fourteenth of August,
and then returned to Aire: and on the morrow after
came againe being mondaie the fiftenth of August,
on which daie there chanced a great fraie betwixt the
Almans of the kings campe, and the Englishmen,
insomuch that manie were laine. The Almans ran
to the kings ordinance and toke it, and imbattelled
themselues, and bent the ordinance against the king
and his campe. The English prepared their bowes,
and the Almans made redie their pikes: but the cap-
tains toke such paines in the matter, that the fraie
was appased.

Now as this trouble was in hand, the emperor
came from Aire, and saw all the demeanour of both
parts, and was glad to behold the discreet behaviour
of the capteins. After that the emperor was thus
come to the kings field, the king called a counsell, at
the which the emperor was present, where it was de-
bated, by what meanes they might best constreine
them within to deliuer by the towne, and especial-
lie how to keepe them from bittels & other succours,
which the French armie (as it was knowne) meant
verie thortlie to minister vnto them. Some were of
this mind, and namelie the emperor; that brydges
should be made ouer the riuer, to passe ouer a part of
the armie to besiege the towne on that side; where o-
therwise the French armie might bittell the towne
at their pleasures.

Others were of a contrarie mind, doubting what
might happen, if the armie should be so diuided, least
the Frenchmen setting on the backe of the one part
of the armie, and they within the towne to fallie out
in their faces, some misfortune might happen yer the
other part could passe the riuer to the succour of their
fellowes. Yet at length the former purpose was al-
lowed as most necessarie; and therefore commande-
ment was giuen to the maister of the ordinance,
that in all hast he should cause fise brydges to be
made ouer the water for the armie to passe. The car-
penters so applied their worke that night, that the
brydges were made by the next morow, and all the
hoisemen first passed ouer, and then the king with
his whole battell, and the great ordinance followed
and passed ouer to the other side of the water. This
was on the sixteenth daie of August being tuesdaie.

On the same morning the Frenchmen were com-
ming with their conuete of bittels to restraie the
towne, hauing appointed one part of their troops to
keepe on that side the riuer where the English armie
was first incamped, and where the earle of Shrews-
burie still kept his field; that in offering the skir-
mish on that side, the residue of the hoisemen might
with moze ease and safetie put the bittels and other
necessarie things into the towne on the other side.
Here might a man haue scene of what force in wars
sudden chance is oftentimes. For the king thus with
his battell passing the riuer, meaning to besiege the
towne on euerie side, and the Frenchmen at that
same instant hauing also passed the riuer with other
carriages laden with bittels, purposing to releue
the towne on that side, caused no small doubt to be
conceiued of ech others meaning, on both parts, least
that the one, hauing knowlege of the others purpose,
had bene prepared for to hinder the same.

And yet was it nothing so, for neither the king
knew of the Frenchmens approach that daie, neither
they of his passing ouer the water. But when the
king had aduertisement giuen him (by the light
hoisemen that were sent abroad to discouer the
countrie) how the Frenchmen were at hand; he pre-
pared himselfe to the battell, and first set forth his
hoisemen, and then followed himselfe with his bat-
tell of footemen. The French capteins being hereof
advised, determined not to fight without their foot-
men; and therefore with all speed sent backe their
carriages, and staled with their hoisemen, vntill the
carriages might haue leasure to get out of danger.
In the meane time the Englishmen aduanced for-
ward, and their hoisemen mounted by the hill,
where the French hoisemen were in troope, with
thirtie and thre standards spread, & might see the Eng-
lishmen comming, and the kings battell marching
forward with the Almans.

There were amongst the Frenchmen certeine
companies of Estradiots, which being placed before
the French host, as they came downe the hill to
A k k k i.

The king and
the emperor
consent which
waies were
best to besiege
Teruine, to
prevent the
bittelling of
it.

Five brydges
made in one
night for the
armie to passe
ouer the river
at Teruine.

Polydor.
The force of
sudden chance
in warre.

Edw. Hall,
Polydor.

The king
with his bat-
tell of footmen.

The Estradiots milita-
king footmen
led first.

skirmish with the Englishmen saw where the banners of the English horsemen were coming, and the kings battell following upward, weening verelie that all had bene horsemen, whereupon they cast themselves about and fled. The Frenchmen were so fast in arraie, that the Estradiots could not enter; and so they ran still by the ends of the Frenchmens ranks. Here with the English horsemen set on, and about an hundred archers on horse-backe, being lighted beside their horses, and set by an hedge all alongest a village side called Bomie, shot freshlie at their enemies; & also certeine culuerings being placed on the top of an hill were discharged amongst the thickest pease of the Frenchmen; so that finally the French were discomfited: for those that were behind saw the fall of some of their standards, which the Englishmen overthrew, and their Estradiots also (in whome they had great confidence) returne.

A great over-
throw given
to the French,
king Henrie
in person be-
ing present.

They that were furthest off fled first, and then the Englishmen & Burgognian horsemen, which were with them, egerlie followed the chase, in the which were taken the duke of Longuile, brother to the earle of Dunois that had married the daughter and heire to the marquesse of Rothlois, the lord of Clermont, capteine Baiard, monsieur de Basse, and other, to the number of twelue score prisoners, and all brought to the kings presence with six standards, which were likewise taken. The Burgognians brought not their prisoners to fight. Monsieur de la Palice, and monsieur de Jambecourt being taken of them and knowne, were put to their ransomes, and licenced maintenanlie to depart upon their word. Thus was the power of the French horsemen by the sharpe encounter of the English horsemen, and full flight of the battels of the footmen, following in arraie at the backs of the horsemen, and the discharging of certeine culuerings amongst them, quickelie put to flight without anie great resistance.

The emperor
encouraged
his Germans
to plaie the
men.

The emperor Maximilian was present with the king, and wore saint Georges crosse, greatlie encouraging the Germans to shew themselves like men, sith the place was fortunate to him and them, to trie the chance of battell in: as they might call to remembrance by the victorie there obtained against the Frenchmen a foure and twentie yeares past. This encounter chancing thus on the sixteenth daie of August, being tuesday, in this first yeare of king Henries reigne, which was the yeare after the incarnation 1517, was called the battell *Des espours*, by the Frenchmen themselves, that is to saie, the battell of spurs: forsomuch as they in stead of sword and lance used their spurs, with all might and maine to picke forth their horses to get out of danger; so that in them was verified the old prouerbe, One paire of hoies is worth two paire of hands.

The battell of
spurs.

That wing of the horsemen also, which was appointed to skirmish with the Englishmen on the other side the river, whilest the other might have conveyed the vittells into the towne, was fiercelie beaten backe by the martiall prowesse of the valiant erle of Shrewesburie, sir Kilee ap Thomas, and other worthy capteins, which laie on that side the water. The duke of Alanson, the earle of saint Paule, and monsieur de Florenge, had the leading of those Frenchmen. They within the towne were in great hope of succour this daie, and when they saw the French power approach, they sallied forth on that side where the lord Herbert laie, and skirmished with his people verie proudlie, but they were repelled to the gates of their towne, and manie of them slaine by the high valiancie of the said lord Herbert and his capteins.

After that the Englishmen were returned from

the chase of the Frenchmen, whome they had followed a thre long miles from the field, the king made sir John Pechie a banneret, and John Carre knight, which was sore hurt: sir John Pechie had his guidon taken, and diuerse of his men hurt, they followed so farre in the chase. After this overthrow of the French horsemen, the R. compassed the towne more streitlie on ech side, and the batterie was brought so nigh the walls as might be, wherewith breaches were made in sundrie places, by meanes whereof the lord Pontremie despairing any long time to keepe the towne, fell to a composition, and yielded it up to the kings hands. This encounter and overthrow, with the giving up of Teruaine, is entant to the knowledge of foreyn nations (to be read) recorded as followeth:

*Francorum pugnax equitatus prelia misceat,
Succurruntque suis, sed frustra infirmior arma
Turba capit; palmam bellando potentior Anglus
Aufert, lachryfera transfusus hostibus hausta.
Diruta turris fragu bombarda mania praebeant
Britigena ingressum facilem, Gallique timorem
Injciunt, tandem Terrouana deducit Angli.*

Howbeit this yielding up of the said towne was with condition, that the souldiers might depart with horse and armour, & that such townemen as would there remaine, might haue their liues and goods saved. Thus (I saie) was the citie of Teruaine deliuered up to the king of England, with all the ordinance and munitions then being found within the same. This was on the eighteenth of August. The earle of Shrewesburie entered the same night, and caused the banner of saint George to be set up in the highest place of the towne in signe of victorie. When the lord Pontremie, and all the souldiers were departed, and that the earle of Shrewesburie had searched all the towne to see that enerie thing was sure, he called the townemen afore him, and swore them to be true to the king of England. The foure and twentieth of August the king himselfe entered the towne with great and roiall triumph, and dined in the bishops palace. After none he returned to his campe, and on the six and twentieth daie of August he removed againe to Cuingate, where he first incamped after the chase of the French horsemen.

Here it was determined in counsell, that the walls and fortifications of Teruaine should be raised, which was done, and the towne burned; except the cathedrall church and the palace. All the ordinance was sent to Aire to be kept there to the kings vse. After this, it was concluded that the king should laie siege to the citie of Coimate; whereupon he set forward in thre battells: the earle of Shrewesburie leading the forward, the king and the emperor governing the battell, and the lord Chamberleine following with the rere-ward. The first night they incamped beside Aire. Diuerse Englishmen tarieng behind at Teruaine for pilgarge, were surprised by the Frenchmen, which slue some of them, & cast some into the fire. Those that fled escaped verie narrowlie. The king with his armie passed forward towards Coimate, and by the waie visited the yong prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret, governess of the prince, in the towne of Aliste, whither his armie laie aboad in the fields beyond Pont Auandien.

There was appointed to attend the king into Aliste the duke of Buckingham, the lord marquesse Dorset, the earle of Essex, and the lord Aulse, with diuerse other; the charge of his campe he committed for the time to his counsell. Then mounted the king upon a courser, his apparrell & bard were cloth of silver of small quadzant cuts trauced and edged with cut cloth of gold, and the border set full of red roses, his armour fresh & set full of ietwels. The maister of his horse sir Henrie Guilford, and the henchmen followed

Sir John
Pechie
banneret
John Carre
knight.

Teruaine
was
deliuered
up to
the king.

The citizens
of Teruaine
swore to
king Henrie
the king
secretly into
Teruaine.

Teruaine
burnt.

King Henrie
marched on
with his
armie to
Coimate.

The king
went
with his
armie
to visit
the
yong prince
of Castile.

Sir Henrie
Guilford
maister of
the kings
horse.

An. Reg. 5.

followed (as you haue heard before) and the couriers richlie apparessed, and so were manie capitains that waited on the king: by the waie met the king the lord Knaues with manie noble men. And a mile without the towne there met with him the burgeses of Lille, and presented to him the keyes of the towne, saying, that the emperor their soueraigne lord had so commanded them to do.

The king praised their obedience to their soueraigne, and thanked the emperor and them for so high a present as the keyes of such a towne. Fewer thelesse, he had such confidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse than his owne subiects, and so delivered the keyes to the prouost of the towne, which was well accompanied. Then met the king a great number of nobles of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Henaud, which noble received him. After them came the countie Palatine or Palgrane, one of the electors of the empire, with thirtie horses, all his men gorgeously apparessed after the fashion of his countie, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate of Lille the capitaine of the towne stood with a garison in armor well appointed, all the streets were set on both sides with burning torches and diuerse goodlie pageants pleasant to behold. Thus he passed thorough the towne with his sword and maces borne before him, and alighted at the hall doore with his sword borne, where met with him the emperor, the prince of Castile, and the ladie Margaret, and humbly saluted him.

Then for reuerence of the emperor, the king caused his sword to be put up, and his maces to be laid downe; & so was the king and all other nobles lodged and feasted according to their degrees. In the towne of Lille was a noise that three gunners with handguns should haue slaine the king: for which rumor manie were attached, but nothing proved. But when these tidings came to the campe, they were neuer merrie till they saw the king againe. Great was the there, with bankets, plaies, comedies, maskes, and other pastimes that were shewed to the king in the court of Burgognie, and so in solace he sojourned there sundrie and moneths the nineteenth daie of September. On the twentieth daie he sent word that his armie should remoue toward Cozmaie, and so they remoued to a place conuenient betwene Cozmaie and Lille, and certeine capitains were appointed to keepe the passage at the bydge of Auandien.

After that the king had taried at Lille these daies, and had well reposed himselfe, he toke his leaue, and thanked the emperor and the young prince, the ladie Margaret & all the ladies for all his high chere and solace; and about six of the clocke at night, he departed out of Lille, and the noble men brought the king forth and so returned, and then the capitaine shut the gates. When the king was a mile and more out of the towne, he asked where his campe laye: And no man there could tell the waie, and guide had they none, the night was so darke & mistie. Thus the king taried a long while, and wist not whither to go; at last they met with a vitteler coming from the campe, which was their guide and brought them thither. The maister of the ordinance shot diuerse peces of ordinance, but they were not heard; but in safetie the king with all his companie returned.

On the one and twentieth daie of September the king remoued his campe toward Cozmaie, and lodged within three miles of the citie, on a cozne ground by the riuer. On which night came to the king the emperor and the Palgrane, which were lodged in rich tents, and noble serued of all viands and things necessarie. The people about Cozmaie were with their gods fled to the citie, and yet the citie had no men of warre to defend it, but with multitude of in-

habitants the same was well replenished. The king commanded sir Alice and his hoisemen to vnder one quarter, and the earle of Essex and his companie another quarter; and the lord Wallon and the lord Lignie the other quarters. Then the two and twentieth daie of September, these foure capitains at one time were sone openlie with banners displayed before the towne, and there made a long scale, and returned.

Then the king sent Cartier king of armes to summon them to yeld it ouer into his hands, to whome they made answer, that they receiued no citie of the king of England to keepe, nor anie would they render him, with which answer he departed. Then they fortified their walls, and made prouision for vittels, cozne, wine, and artillerie, and for all fortifications that might be gotten. And the citie of it selfe was strong, well walled, and furnished with good bulwarks and defenses. But when they saw the king with such a puissance draw nere the citie, they were sore abashed, and called a generall councell. Then the prouost said; Brethren, you know how that the king of England sent an herald to summon vs to render vp to him this citie, or else he would put it and vs to the sword, fier, and blood. We answered we would be at defense. Now he is come in our sight to fulfill the message sent by the herald, & now is come the time of our defense.

Howbeit in this matter standeth three mischefts, one is our bounden dutie and allegiance that we owe to our soueraigne lord king Lewis of France; the second the liues of vs, our wiues, children, and neighbors; the third how to defend the finall destruction of this ancient citie, now likelie to fall, which citie was neuer conquered. Now our citie is whole, your liues in safetie, your goods your owne; determine whether you will haue war or peace. Then the common people cried all; War, war, war. Then said the prouost, Take compassion of wiues and children and of the old folke; consider if you haue no quicke rescue, you cannot continue against ponder puissance, although your courages were neuer so great, this the wisest of the citie and I haue considered. Then suddenly was there in the councell a vaunt parler, a boister, which hearing this, called a great number of his affinitie, and went out of the councell and so out of the gates, and set fire of the suburbs on all sides. When the councell saw the minds of the commons, and that their waies might not be followed, they comforted the people, and maintained them for their defense.

After this the king approached the citie with his whole armie, and they of the citie issued forth to proffer the skirmish: but the archers beat them backe. Also the carriage men that came with the herbingers, saw where certeine wagons were entering the citie, vnto the which they ran, and toke some of them. At this skirmish the horse of the lord John Grate was slaine vnder him, as he came to defend the carriage men; but he himselfe had no hurt. The king with his battell planted his siege on the north side the citie. The earle of Shrewsburie with the forward lodged toward the south side of the riuer, and there laye that night. The lord Herbert with the rearward incamped himselfe on the west side, and beat the walls and towers of the citie with the great ordinance. The next daie after their coming thither, being the three and twentieth of September, the earle of Shrewsburie with the forward passed the riuer, & planted his siege on the southside of the citie, stretching to the east end, and bent his ordinance against the walles. And thus was the citie of Cozmaie besieged on all parts.

On the five and twentieth daie of September, the king

Cozmaie summoned by Cartier king of armes,

The prouost of Cozmaie words to the distressed townsmen.

Cozmaie besieged by king Henrie.

Cozmaie summoned by Cartier king of armes,

Cozmaie summoned by Cartier king of armes,

Cozmaie summoned by Cartier king of armes,

See Hall in
Henrie 8. fol.
37, 38. & histo-
rie of Scot-
land, pag. 297,
298.

king receiued letters from the earle of Surrie with the Scotch kings gantlet, whereby he was certified of the slaughter of the said king, and how all things had bene handled at the battell of Floddon, whereof hereafter ye shall find further mention. The king thanked God of the newes, and highlie commended the prowelle of the earle, and other the capteins: howbeit he had a secret letter, that Chiefhiremen and other fled from sir Edmund Howard in the battell, which letter caused great hartburning, and manie words: but the king toke all things in god part, and would that no man should be disgraced. On the six and twentieth daie, fiers were made in the hoast, in token of that victorie against the Scots, and on the seauen and twentieth daie being tuesday, made was song by them of the kings chappell, with *Te Deum*, and the bishop of Rochester made a sermon, declaring the death of the king of Scots, and lamenting his euill hap and periturie. But now to our purpose of the siege of Tornaie.

The king of England lieng afront before Tornaie, caused his great ordinance to be planted round about the citie, and diuerse trenches were cast, and rampiers made, and the lord Lisle and the lord Willoughbie were appointed to mainteine the ordinance with their bands, and the earle of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencien: so that the citizens could not issue out, nor no aid could come in. The ordinance dailie beat the gates, towers, & wals, which made a great battertie: and a few Englishmen assaulted the port coquerell, but they were to few in number; and if they had bene more in number, they had taken the towne, as the Tornaie confessed after. The citizens of Tornaie considering their estate came together to counsell, and there the prouost said in effect as followeth. Friends and brethren of this noble citie, I cannot to much praise your trust and fidelitie to your soueraigne lord the king of France, considering how manfully you haue defended this citie since the beginning of this siege.

But alas! although it be written on the gates grauen in stone, *Iammes ton ne a perdu ton pucelage*, that is to saie; Thou hast neuer lost thy maidenhead: yet if this citie had not bene well furnished and ever at the daie appointed sure of rescue, it could not haue continued. Now you see that rescue faileth, our gates be rased, our towers beaten downe, our chiefe tower like to fall, so that if this perillous siege continue, or else if our enemies assault vs, we be not able to defend vs: wherefore now, all these things considered, I would know whether you will treat with the king of England or abide the chance. Then they which at the last counsell cried War, war; now cried Peace, peace: yet all were not agreed. Then one wise man said, Sirs if the towne be assaulted once againe with a great number, surelie it will be taken: you sawe the experience at the last assault, and then consider if it be taken by force, who is there that can saie he is sure of his life: but by intreatie, the king of England is so mercifull that we may fortune to saue both life and goods. Then finally all agreed to treat.

Then the prouost sent to the king a trumpet, desiring a safe conduct for him & certaine other to come and to speake with him: which request was to him granted. Then the prouost of the citie, accompanied with eleven with him of the best of the citie, came to the armie, & spake with the lords of the counsell, and after were led to the kings presence. The prouost kneeled downe and all his companie, and said: Right high and mightie prince, although the citie of Tornaie is strong, well walled, well replenished with people, vittels, artillerie, yea and the people in feare and dread of nothing; yet we know that against your great puissance it can not continue long, although it

were ten times as strong as it is. Wherefore we knowing by report your honoz, your wisdom, your iustice, & noble hart, are content to become your subjects & vassals, so that we may haue and enjoy our old lawes, customes, liberties, and franchises, under you; as we haue before this done under other princes.

Then said the king; We haue well heard your petition, we will common with our counsell & make you answer. And when he had communed with his counsell, he answered saying: Sirs, he that asketh mercie of vs, shall not be denied; and seeing you come to treat, we remit you to our counsell. Then they went into the tent of counsell, & there the Tornaie fell at a point, and in conclusion they yielded the citie and ten thousand pounds sterling for the redemption of their liberties, and so departed to the citie, making relation of the king and his noble courage. On thursdaie the nine and twentieth daie of September, the king was in his rich tent of cloth of gold under his cloth of estate, to whome came the citizens of the citie, and were sworne to him, and became his subjects.

Then the king appointed the lord Lisle, the lord Burgauenie, & the lord Willoughbie to take possession, which with six thousand men entered the citie, and toke the market place and the wals, and searched the houses for feare of treason. Then master Thomas Wolffe the kings almoner called before him all the citizens yong and old, and swore them to the king of England, the number whereof was foure score thousand. Thus the king of England by conquest came to the possession of the citie of Tornaie. On sundae the second daie of October, the king entered the citie of Tornaie at port founteine, and foure of the chiefe of the citie ouer him bare a canopie with all the armes of England. Euerie person was in his best apparell, the ladies & gentlewomen laie in the windows beholding the king and his nobilitie, euerie citizen had in his hand a staffe toych. The king himselfe was richlie appareled in rich armor on a barbed courser, his henchmen bearing his peeces of war, as ar, speare, and other, their coursers were barbed with the armes of England, France, Ireland, and other the kings dominions all richlie brodered. Thus the king with his nobilitie all richlie appareled with his sword borne before him, his heralds and sergeants of armes with trumpets and minstrells entered the citie, and came to our ladie church, and there *Te Deum* was song.

Then the king called to his presence, Edward Cullford, William Fitz Williams, John Danlie, William Tiler, John Sharpe, William Dulle, John Sauage, Christopher Carnish, and diuerse other balliant elquiers, and gaue to them the order of knight-hood, and then went to his lodging, and at after none he came to the market place, where was prepared for him a roue. Then he caused a proclamation to be made in his name king of England & France, that no man should greue the citizens. During which proclamation the Tornaie scarce looked up, nor shewed once to him any amiable countenance, which was much marked. The cite finished, the king departed to his campe, leaving the citie in safe keeping. This while the king rode to see the castell of spoton, and there his grace toke great pleasure. The king remembering the great chere that the prince of Castile and the ladie spargaret had made him at Lisle, which was but twelue miles English from Tornaie, desired the said prince & ladie, with diuerse other to come to him to his citie of Tornaie, and made preparation for the same, and appointed a iusts, whereof he himselfe would be one, and caused a tilt to be made in the market place.

While these things were preparing, the king and his

Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fo. xliij,
xlv.

The citie of
Tornaie on
all sides be-
sieged.

The prouost
words to the
townsmen.

The prouost
with eleven
more submit
themselves &
yeild by the
citie to the
king.

The castle
taken by the
king of En-
gland.

The king
with certein
gentlemen
there go to
see the castle
of spoton.

his counsell ordered for the sure keeping of the citie of Tornaie, and there ordeined sir Edward Poynings knight of the order of the garter to be his lieutenant with foure hundred archers, with capteins, horsemen, and artillerie convenient, and to haue aid of Hernando and other the kings friends adioining; and of his gard he left there foure hundred archers, and ordinance was appointed for the defense of the same. On mondaie the eleuenth daie of October the king without the towne receiued the prince of Castile, the ladie Margaret, and diuerse other nobles of their countries, and them brought into Tornaie with great triumph. The noise went that the lord Lisle made request of marriage to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Saucie, and daughter to the emperor Maximilian, which before that time was departed from the king with manie rich gifts and monie bestowed: but whether he proffered marriage or not, the fauoured him highly. There the prince and duchesse sojournd with great solace by the space of ten daies.

During which time, the eighteenth daie of October began the iusts, the king and the lord Lisle answering all comers: vpon the king attended foure & twentie knights on foot in coats of purple velvet and cloth of gold. A tent of cloth of gold was set in the place for the armorie & helieth. The king had a base and a trapper of purple velvet both set full of Sh of brillion, and the lord Lisle in the same suite, there were manie speares broken, and manie a good buffet given, the strangers, as the lord Malon and lord Cumerie and other did right well. When the iusts were done, the king & all the other unhelmed them, & rode about the tilt, and did great reuerence to the ladies, and then the heralds cried to lodging. This night the king made a sumptuous banquet of an hundred dishes to the prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret, and to all other lords and ladies; and after the banquet the ladies danced, and then came in the king and eleuen in a maske, all richly apparelled with bonets of gold, and when they had passed the time at their pleasure, the garments of the maske were cast off amongst the ladies, take who could take.

On the twentieth daie of October, the prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret (with manie great gifts to them giuen) returned to Lisle and all their traine. After that the king was informed that all directions were taken, and euerie thing put in an order for the sure keeping of the citie of Tornaie, he betooke the same to sir Edward Poynings knight, which valiantlie kept it in good order and iustice. The king & his counsell before this considering, that the Frenchmen would giue them no battell, and that winter approached, which was no time to lie at siege of other townes, concluded to keepe Tornaie safe, and to breake by his campe for that winter, and to begin a gaine warre in the spring of the yeare. This was a full conclusion taken by the king and his counsell, and so the king and all his people (except such as were appointed to be with sir Edward Poynings) departed out of Tornaie the twentieth daie of September: and the king and the noble men made such speed, that shortly they came to Calis.

Thither came the lord admerall, whome the king heartilie thanked of his paines, and there euerie man was paid his full wages and conduct monie, and ships prepared for the passage; and so the foure and twentieth daie of September, the king with a priuie companie toke ship, and the same day landed at Dover, and shortly after all his people folloved; then he with a small companie rode to Richmond in post to the queene, where was such a louing meeting, that euerie creature reioiced. This season began a great mortalitie in London and other places, where much people died. All this winter the kings nauis kept the

seas, and robbed and spoiled the Frenchmen on their coasts, so that they were euerie fot afflicted by the English, & wist not which way to remedie it, bearing grudge in their hearts, and wishing a generall destruction of their enemies, against whome they did swell with malignitie and indignation, both for their late ouerthrowes and losses aswell of lands as liues; the surrender of Terwin sticking in their stomachs, and the yielding of Tornaie nipping them at the heart, which had lost the proprietie, & was now forced to obteine new lordes and new lawes, as our poet saith:

dominorum serua nouorum,
Accipit ecce nouas Henrico principe leges.

But now I must returne to speake of the doings in the North parts, betwene the Englishmen and Scots. Whilist the king was occupied in his warres against France in the summer of this yeare (as before is mentioned) yee haue heard how the king of Scots sent his letters vnto the king, as then lieng at the siege before Teruine, and what answer was made thereto by the king. Immediately vpon the sending of those his letters containing in effect a defiance, the king of Scots assembled his people to invade the English confines: but before his whole power was come together, the lord Humes that was lord chamberleine of Scotland, on a day in August entered England with seven or eight thousand men, and getting together a great bottie of cattell, thought to haue returned therewith into his countrie.

But as he came to passe through a field ouergrown with brome, called Millfield, the Englishmen vnder the leading of sir William Bulmer, and other valiant capteins, hauing with them not past a thousand souldiers, being laid within that field in ambushment, brake forth vpon him: and though the Scots on fot defended themselves right manfully, yet the English archers shot so wholie together, that the Scots were constrained to giue place. There were of them slaine at this bickering five or six hundred, and foure hundred or more taken prisoners; the lord chamberleine himselfe escaped by flight, but his banner was taken. This was called by the Scots the ill rode. In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland assembled, with the which king James approaching to the borders, and comming to Rozham castell, laid siege thereto, hauing there with him an hundred thousand men.

After he had beaten this castell with his ordinance for the space of six daies together, the same was deliuered vp into his hands; for the capteine was so liberall of his shot and powder, spending the same so freely before he had cause so to do, that when it shuld haue stood him in stead, he had none left to aid him, so that in the end he yielded himselfe without more resistance. In which meane time the earle of Surrie being lieutenant of the north parts of England, in absence of king Henrie, had giuen order to assemble a power of six or twentie thousand men; and comming to Alnwike the thirde of September being saturday, taried there all the next day till the whole number of his people were come, which by reason of the foule way were staled, and could not come forward with such speed as was appointed. This fourth daie of September then being saturday, his sonne the lord admerall, with a thousand souldiers and able men of warre, which had bene at sea, came to his father; whereof he greatlie reioiced for the great wisdome, manhood, and experience, which he knew to be in him.

Then the earle and his counsell, with great deliberation appointed his battells in order, with wings, and with horsemen necessarie. First of the foreward was ordeined capteine the lord Howard admerall of England, as well with such as came with him from

Vbi Tornaie.

Lord Humes entereth the borders of England.

Englishmen assaile the Scots.

Scots put to flight.

Lord chamberleine escapeth. The ill rode.

Rozham castell besieged.

Rozham castell deliuered.

The earle of Surrie lieutenant of the north raiseth an armie.

The lord admerall joineth with the earle of Surrie his father.

The lord Howard admerall capteine of the foreward.

the sea, as others. First the lord Clifford, the lord Coniers, the lord Latimer, the lord Scrope of Up-sall, the lord Ogle, the lord Lomlie, sir Nicholas Ap-pleyard master of the ordnance, sir Stephan Bull, sir Henrie Shitburne, sir William Sidneie, sir Edward Ichingham, sir William Bulmer, with the powder of the bishopricke of Durham, sir William Gascoigne, sir Christopher Ward, sir John Curing-ham, sir Thomas Spetham, sir Walter Griffith, and manie others.

Of the wing on the right hand of the fore-ward, was capteine sir Edward Howard knight marshall of the host, & with him Brian Lunsall, Rafe Hyeart-ton, John Laurence, Richard Bold, esquires: sir John Bosh, sir Thomas Butler, knights: Richard Done, John Wigod, Thomas Fitz Williams, John Claruis, Brian Stapleton, Robert Marcop, Richard Cholmeie, with the men of Hull, and the kings tenants of Hatfield, and others. Of the wing on the left hand, was capteine sir Parmaduke Constable, with his sonnes and kinsmen, sir William Persie, and of Lancashire a thousand men. Of the reere-ward was capteine the earle of Surreie himselfe, and with him the lord Scrope of Bolton, sir Philip Elmeie, sir George Darcie, sir Thomas Berkeleye, sir John Kocliste, sir Christopher Wike-ring, Richard Tempest, sir John Stanleie, with the bishop of Elies servants, sir Brian Stapleton, Lio-nell Persie, with the abbat of Whitbies tenants, Christopher Clapham, sir William Gascoigne the panger, sir Cuike Watneie, maister Pagrus, maister Dabbies servants, sir John Poymauile, the citi-zens of Yorke, sir Antian Sparkauile, sir John Willoughbie, with others.

Of the wing on the right hand, was capteine the lord Dacres with his powder. Of the left hand wing, was capteine sir Edward Stanleie knight, with the residue of the powder of the two countie palantine of Cheshire and Lancaster. Thus was the host appoin-⁴⁰ted and divided into wards and wings at the first, though afterward (upon occasion) this order was somewhat altered. And now that euerie man knew what to do, the earle of Surrie with his powder com-ming toward the place where he thought to find the Scottish host, was informed how king James be-ing remoued six miles from Forham, laie imbat-telled vpon a great mountaine called Floddon, a place of such strength, as it was not possible for the Englishmen to come nere him, but to their great disadvantage: for at the foot of the same hill on the left hand, there was a great marshy ground full of red and water.

On the right hand it was defended with a riuer called Till, the course whereof being so swift, and the chanell in some places so deepe, that it might not con-⁵⁰uenientlie be passed. On the backe halfe there were such craggie rocks and thicke woods, that it was not possible to assaile him to anie advantage that waie forth. And on the forepart of the campe, where na-ture had left anie easie entrie for men to come to the same, all his ordinance was planted aloft vpon the fleshes of such trenches, as he had caused to be cast for defense on that part. The earle of Surrie here vpon, considering with himselfe, that vntlesse he might de-⁶⁰uise some policie to cause the Scottish armie to des-cend the hill, it were not possible for him to accom-plish his desire, he called about him his counsell, and with them toke aduise in this point.

At length it was concluded and determined a-mong other things, to send Rouge Crosse, pursuant at armes, with a trumpet to the king of Scots, with a message and certeine instructions: which in sub-⁷⁰stance was, to shew and declare vnto the said king of Scots, that where he (contrarie vnto his oth and

league, and vnnaturalle against all reason and con-science) had entered and invaded this his brothers realme of England, and done great hurt to the same, in casting downe castles, towers, and houses, bur-ning, spoiling, and destroing the same, and cruellie murdering the king of England his brothers sub-¹⁰jects; he the said earle would be ready to trie the rightfulness of the matter with the king in battell, by a daie next comming at the furthest, if he of his noble courage would giue him tacieng and abode. And the same did the said earle promise, as he was a true knight vnto God & the king of England his maister.

And before Rouge Crosse should depart with the said instructions, the lord admerall gaue him in cre-²⁰dence to shew the said king of his comming, and part of his companie from the sea with him, and that he had sought the Scottish nauie then being on the sea, but he could not meet with them, because they were fled into France by the coast of Ireland. And in as much as the said king had diuerse and manie times caused the said lord to be called at daies of truce, to make reuelles for Andrew Barton a pirat of the sea, long before that banquished by the same lord adme-³⁰rall, he was now come in his owne proper person, to be in the vant-gard of the field, to iustifie the death of the said Andrew against him and all his people, and would see what could be laid to his charge the said daie.

Furthermore, that he no: none of his companie should take no Scottish noble man prisoner, no: anie other, but they should die if they came in his danger, vntlesse it were the kings owne person; for he said he trusted to none other courtessie at the hands of the Scots. And in this manner he should find him in the vant-gard of the field, by the grace of God, and saint George, as he was a true knight. Yet before the de-⁴⁰parting of Rouge Crosse, with the said instructions and credence, it was thought by the earle & his coun-cill, that the said king would faine and imagine some other message, to send an herald of his with the same, onelic to view and ouerse the manner and or-der of the kings roiall armie, ordinance, and artillerie then being with the earle, whereby might haue ensued great danger to the same.

And for the eschuing thereof, he had in comman-⁵⁰dement, that if anie such message were sent, not to bring anie person comming therewith within three or two miles of the field at the night, where the said earle would come, and heare what he would saie. And thus departed Rouge Crosse, with his trumpet, appar-elled in his coat of armes. On mondaie the first daie of September, the earle toke his field at Bol-ton in Glendale, as he had appointed, where all the noble men and gentlemen met him with their retinues, to the number of six and twentie thousand men. And about midnight next ensuing came the trumpet which went to Rouge Crosse, and declared how the king of Scots, after the message done to him by Rouge Crosse, according to his instructions, the said king deteined him, & sent one Flaie an herald of his with him vnto the earle, to declare to him the kings pleasure; to whom the earle sent Poike herald at armes, to accompanie the said Flaie, at a village cal-⁶⁰led Apilo, two miles from the field, vntill the com-ming thither of the said earle the next morow.

On the first daie of September, earle in the morn-ing, the earle accompanied with the most part of the lords and knights, and gentlemen of the field, euerie man hauing with him but one seruant to hold his horse, rode vnto the place: and so the said herald met with the earle, and with blunt reuerence declar-⁷⁰ed to him that he was come from his maister the king of Scots, which would know whether the earle sent

The strength
of the place
where king
James lay in-
camped, called
Floddon.

An herald
sent from the
earle of Sur-
rie to king
James.

The lord
admerall
gaue to the
king of
Scots.

Andrew
Barton, a
pirat of the
sea, whom
maister
Pagrus
pag. 811.

A good
lieut.

Flaie and
Poike the
heralds.

15. Reg. 5.

For Scotland
the Scotch
armies to
be sent.

sent anie such message by Rouge Crosse. The earle
missed the same, saing further; that Rouge Crosse
had the same message of him in writing, signed with
his owne hand. Wherevnto the said Flaie said: As
to the abiding for battell betwene that and fridaie
then next following, the king his maister bade him
shew to the earle, that he was as welcome as anie
noble man of England vnto the said king, and that if
he had bene at home in his towne of Edenburgh,
there receiuing such a message from the said earle,
he would gladiie haue come, and fulfilled the said
earles desire.

And the herald assured the earle, on the king his
masters behalfe, that the same king would abide him
battell at the date prefixed. Whereof the said earle was
right ioyous, and much praised the honorable agree-
ment of the said rotall king, and esteemed the same to
proceed of an high and honorable courage, promising
the herald, that he, and god suertie with him should
be bound in ten thousand pounds sterling, to keepe the
said date appointed; so that the king would find an
earle of his, and thereto a god suertie with him to be
bound in like summe, for the performance of the
same. And furthermore the earle bade the herald to
saie vnto his maister the king; that if he for his part
kept not his appointment, then he was content that
the Scots should battell him, which is a great reproch
among the Scots, and is vsed, when a man is openlie
perjured, and then they make of him an image pain-
ted, reuered, with his heeles backward, with his name,
10 wondering, crying, and blowing out on him with
hornes, in the most despitefull manner they can,
in token that he is worthe to be eriled the companie
of all god creatures. Then Flaie deliuered to the
earle a litle schedule written with the kings secreta-
ries hand and ensigned, as followeth.

The tenor of the said schedule.

AS to the causes alledged of our
comming into England against
our band and promise (as is alled-
ged) thereto we answere; our bro-
ther was bound as farre to vs, as we to
him. And when we sware last before his
ambassador, in presence of our counceill; we
expressed especiallie in an othe, that we
would keepe to our brother, if our brother
kept to vs, and not else. We sweare our
brother brake first vnto vs. And since his
breach we haue required diuers times him
to amend; & latelie we warned our brother,
as he did not vs, yet he brake. And this
we take for our quarrell, and with Gods
grace shall defend the same at your assured
time, which with Gods grace we shall a-
bide.

The Scotch
armies to be
sent to the
English.

And forsomuch as the king kept Rouge Crosse
with him, who was not yet returned, the same earle
caused the same Flaie to be in the keeping of Sir
Dunfrie Lisle and Porke herald in the same vil-
lage, untill the time that a seruant of the same Flaie
might ride in all hast to the king of Scots, for the de-
liuering of the said Rouge Crosse. Then the earle
toious of the kings answer, returned to his campe,
and set forward five miles, to a place called Weiler
Wangh, in such order of battell, as euen then he
should haue fought, and there lodged for that night,
three litle miles from the king of Scots. And be-
twene the king & him was a goodlie & large come
field called spilsfield, which was a conuenient & faire

ground for two hostes to fight on: there either host
might perceiue other. The earles desire was to pro-
cure the Scots to descend the hill into some euen
ground, where he might fight with them without dis-
aduantage of place.

But the king, though he had a great desire to
fight, yet vpon diuerse considerations, by aduise of
his counceill he still kept his ground, and meant not
to remoue at all out of his strength. Wherevpon
the earle of Surrie not able long to continue in such
ground of disadvantage, by reason of mires, and
marishes, amongst the which he lodged with his ar-
mie that was almost famished for lacke of sufficient
bittels, which could not be recovered in such a barren
countreie, determined to seeke all waies possible, if he
might constrain the Scotch king to come downe
beside the hill. He therefore raised his campe, and
leauing his enemies on the left hand, and passing ou-
er the water of Till, he drew into a more conue-
nient ground, at the end of Warmoie wood; to the
end he might refresh his souldiers somewhat hereby
after they had bene toiled for the space of three daies
together in cloggie mires, and soule filthy waies, to
their disease and wearinesse.

The earle of
Surrie re-
moueth his
campe ouer
the water of
Till.

The earle of Surrie being thus lodged, the wa-
ter of Till ran betwixt the two campes of Scots
and Englishmen, diuiding them in sunder: and still
by reason the one was within the shot of a culuering
of the other, they ceased not to beset with shot and pou-
der either at other, though without doing anie great
hurt at all. For the English campe on that part
which laie toward the Scots, was covered with an
hill rising from the hither banke of Till water, with
an easie steepenesse to the height of a miles space or
thereabouts. Thomas lord Howard sonne and
heire to the earle of Surrie, from the top of this hill
beholding all the countreie on euery side about him,
declared to his father, that if he did effrons remoue
his campe, and passe the water of Till againe in
some place a litle above, and by fetching a small com-
passe come & shew himselfe on the backe halfe of his
enemies, the Scotch king should either be enforced to
come downe south of his strength and giue battell, or
else be stopped from receiuing bittels or anie other
thing out of Scotland.

The lord Ho-
ward taketh
view of the
Scotch ar-
mie.

The earle of Surrie desirous of nothing so much
as to ioyne with the Scots in battell; after he vnder-
stood that his sonne had informed him nothing but
truth, he raised his field: and marching a three miles
vnto the river side, passed ouer his armie in
two parts at two severall bridges, all at one time.
King James when he saw this manner of his eni-
mies, and perceiuing what their meaning was, by
coniecture of their doings, thought it stood not with
his honor to sit still, and suffer himselfe to be forestal-
led south of his owne realme: and againe, that it
might soe diminish the opinion of his princelie pow-
er, if he seemed to remaine as it were besieged with-
in a fortresse, hauing more confidence in strength of
the place, than in the manhood of his people: where-
vpon immediatlie he raised his campe, and got an
hill, which he doubted least the enemy should haue ta-
ken before him.

The earle of
Surrie returneth
againe
ouer the wa-
ter of Till.

But by such diligence as he vsed, and by reason of
the great smoke which was raised and spread ouer all
the countreie, by burning of the litter and cabbins
wherein the Scots had lodged, purposelie set on fire
to the same intent, he was got to the place whither he
intended, before the Englishmen knew for anie cer-
teintie that he was dislodged, though they were as
then within a mile of him. Thus king James keep-
ing the tops of the hills, the earle of Surrie with the
English armie came to the foot of the same hills, and
staing there a while, for so much as he saw how the
hill

The valiant
determination
of the earle to
incounter the
Scots.

hill to the which the Scots were gotten, was neither
stepe nor hard to ascend, he determined to mount
the same, and to fight with the Scottish host per they
should haue leasure to fortifie their campe.

Herewith calling his people together, he made
vnto them a bræfe oration, declaring vnto them
both what necessitie there was for them to shew their
manhood, and what iust causes they had also to fight
against those enemies, that against both the lawes of
God and man had most cruellie invaded the reline
of England, in the quarrell of a schismaticke, and one
that was accursed and excommunicated by the cen-
sures of the church. The Englishmen kindled with
desire to fight, the more thorough those wordes of the
earle, required incontinencie to be led forth against
the Scots, that they might shew what earnest wills
they had to be reuenged; not onelie of new receiued
wrongs, but also of ancient iniuries; for there should
neither height of hill, nor any other obstacle hinder
them, but they would either retorne with victorie, or
else lose their liues in the paine.

The ordering
of the Eng-
lish armie.

The earle of Surrie conceiued no small hope
of victorie in this chearefull readinesse of his souldi-
ers, and thereupon with all speed (as the occasion then
moued him at that instant) diuided his armie into
three battels, or rather sours: vnto the vant-gard
whereof, the lord Howard was capitaine, his brother
sir Edmund Howard was ioined as a wing; the
earle himselfe led the middle-ward, and the reere-ward
was guided by sir Edward Stanleie, afterwards
created lord Mounteagle. The lord Dacres with a
number of horsemen was set apart by himselfe to
succor where need should seme to appeare. The ordi-
nance was placed in the front of these battels, & in
places betwene, as was thought expedient. In this
order, forward they made with manlie courages to-
wards the Scots a good marching pace.

The Scottish
kings thought
at the view of
the English
armie.

In the meane time, king James beholding all
the demeanour of the Englishmen, from the height of
the hill, thought with himselfe, that there was offered
him that daie a goodlie occasion of victorie, if he
might come to fight with the enemies at such aduan-
tage of place and number. And therefore, being hasti-
ned forward through the strenable force of desire,
or rather Gods ordinance, he commanded his stand-
ards to be raised and sped, and euery man to resort
to his appointed place, that they might forthwith in-
counter the enemies, that presumed thus to seke bat-
tell. And herewith turning him to the lords and cap-
tains that stood about him, he spake vnto them ma-
nie comfotable wordes touching the occasion offered
them at that present, to gaine both a famous victo-
rie, and to reuenge so manifold iniuries and displea-
sures, as they had sustained diuerse waies forth at
the Englishmens hands.

King James
and all the rest
alight from
horsebacke.

He had scarce made an end of his tale, but the sol-
diers with great noise and clamor cried; Forward,
Upon them; shaking their weapons in signe of an
earnest desire they had (as then they shewed) to bu-
kle with the Englishmen. Whereupon, without de-
laie, king James putting his horse from him, all o-
ther as well nobles as meane men did the like, that
the danger being equall, as well to the greatest as
to the meanest, and all hope of succor taken awaie,
which was to be looked for by sight, they might be the
more willing to shew their manhood, with their safe-
gard onelie rested in the edges and points of their
weapons. Then was the whole armie diuided into
five wards or regiments, to this intent, that the bat-
tell wherein the king himselfe stood with his standard,
might be inclosed as it were with two wings, on ei-
ther side one. In the right wing, the earles of Hunt-
leie, Cratford, and Montrose, were placed as chiefe
leaders thereof; and in the left were the earles of

The order of
the Scottish
host.

Lenor, and Argile, with the lord Hume, lord cham-
berleine of Scotland, bringing men of great skill in
warlike affaires, as was reported.

Moreover, in euery band (almost generally tho-
roughout) there was a knight appointed for capitaine
and guider, and amongst them certaine French cap-
tains, the which king Lewis had sent ouer into Scot-
land latelie before, to traine the Scots in the practise
of warres. The ordinance was lodged in places most
conuenient; though by reason they marched downe
the hill, their shot did small damage to the English-
men comming by towards them, and yet they
bestowed it freshlie on either side one vpon another.
Herewith sir Edmund Howard with his wing was
got by on the hill side, with whom the lord Hume
and the two foresaid earles of Lenor and Argile in-
countered with such violence, that this battell of
Scots with speares on foot on that part, beat downe
and broke that wing of the Englishmen, in such wise
that sir Edmund Howard was in manner left alone,
and felled to the earth, that (had not barford Heron
come to his succours at that instant) he had bene
slaine there without all remedie.

On the other part, the lord Dacres watching to
aid where need appeared, came in on the sides of the
Scots, & gaue a charge on them with his horsemen,
whereby sir Edmund Howard being somewhat relie-
ued, escaped to the English vant-gard, which was led
(as before is mentioned) by his brother, lord How-
ard, who being now also got aloft on the hill, pressed
still forward to renew the battell, & to succor those
whome he saw put to the worse, so that thereby they
tooke new courages, & laid about them againe. Here-
with the earles of Cratford & Montrose came with
their battell of speares also on foot, and incounting
with the said lord Howard, after sore fight on both
sides continued, with more malicious hatred than
force of the parties, both the said earles were slaine,
besides a great number of other; the whole battell
which they led being put to flight and chased out of
the field, maimed, wounded, and slaine. And though
they did what they could to the bittermost resistance,
in hope to haue bathed their blades in English blood;
yet the contrarie came to passe, as in stories is left
recozded, to the honour of the English; namely:

Sustinet infictos duris umbonibus istis,

Imbuat & gladiis manante cruore Britannum.

On the left hand at the same instant, sir Edward
Stanleie hauing begun to incounter with the Scots
on that side, forced them to come downe into a moze
even ground; and brought to that point with such in-
cessant shot of arrowes as his archers bestowed a-
mongst them, that to auoid the danger of that sore
and sharpe stroyme, the Scots were constrained to
breake their arraie, & to fight not closed together in
order of battell, but insunder one separated from an-
other, so that their standards began to spinke here
and there. Which thing when sir Edward Stanleie
perceiued, forthwith bringing about three bandes;
which he had kept in store for such like purpose; he in-
uaded the open sides of his enemies by a fresh onset,
and put them in such disorder, that they were not able
anie longer to abide the violence of the Englishmen
mightilie preadling vpon them: so that taking them
selues to flight, and running headlong downe the
stepe descent of the mountaine, they escaped to the
woods and there saued themselves. But the earles of
Argile and Lenor, doing what they could to saue
their people from running awaie, were slaine in the
same place.

In the meane time, the king, who a little before had
ioined with the earle of Surrie, perceiuing that the
wings of his battell were distressed, and that his e-
nemies began to inclose him on eche side, he bathed
nothing

French cap-
tains in the
Scottish host.

The battell
was begun, and
sir Edmund
Howard in-
countered with
the earles of
Lenor and
Argile.

Though
lousie, al-
though Hill
feith, that
lord Dacres
stood still all
day vntill
ten with.

The Scots
put to the
flee in the
right wing.

Sir Edward
Stanleie and
his archers
broke the
Scots arraie.

The left
wing of the
Scots is the
confiner.

An. Reg. 5.

nothing at the matter, but with assured countenance exhorted those that were about him to sticke to him, and to remember their worthie ancestors, in committing nothing that might anie waies forth sound to their reproch. And herewith rushing against his enemies, a new battell more egre than the first began to arise; for that battell being well appointed and armed passed little for the Englishmens arrowes, in so much that percing the earles battell, they entred well nere so farre within the same, that they were at point to haue ouerthrowne his standards.

There were on either part a number of tall men of bodie, chosen forth of purpose by the capteins, for the good opinion conceiued of their hardie valiancie, & the battell betwixt them seemed long time doubtful and variable, now one while fauourable to the one part, and an other while to the other. The king himselfe on foot euen in the foremost ranke, fought right ballantlie, incouraging his people, as well by example as exhortation, to doe their deuoirs. Neither did the earle of Surrie for his part faile in the datie of a right worthie general. But while the battell was thus foughten in most earnest manner about the standards with doubtfull chance of victorie, the lord Howard and sir Edward Stanleie hauing banquished the enemies in either wing, returned to the middle-ward, and finding them there thus occupied, they set on, in two parts seuerallie, with great violence.

At the same time, the lord Dacres came with his horsemen upon the backs of the Scots; so that they being thus assailed behind and before, and on either side, were constrained (as insuironed about) to fight in a round compasse. King James as he beheld sir Adam Fozman his standard-bearer beaten downe, thought fuerlie then, there was no waie for him but death, and that euen out of hand. Wherefore to deliuer himselfe from such despitefull reproch, as was like to follow, he rushed forth into the thickest prease of his enemies; and there fighting in most desperat wise, was beaten downe and slaine. And a little beside him, there died with like obstinate wilfulnesse, or (if ye list so to terme it) manhood, diuerse honorable prelates, as the archbishop of saint Andrews, and two other bishops, besides foure abbats; also of lords and knights of hono: a sir and thirtie.

The lord Hume and the earle of Huntleie got horses, and escaped awaie together with certaine bands, placed in two the hindermost wards, which of all that daie neuer came to hand strokes, but stood still and gaue the looking on. Thus thorough the powler of God, on fridaie being the ninth of September, in the yeare 1513 was James the fourth of that name, king of Scots, slaine at Bannockton, and his armie discomfited by the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to Henrie the eight king of England, which a little before had toome the towne of Teruine, and was then preparing to go to besiege Tornale. There were slaine in this battell on the Scottish part, of all sorts, the number of eight thousand persons at the least: some saie twelue thousand, besides prisoners that were taken, as sir William Scot, chancello: to the said king, and sir John Fozman his sergeant porter, with diuerse others. Also in manner, all the Scottish ensignes were taken, and a two and twentie peces of great ordinance, amongst the which were seauen culuerings of a large assise, and verie faire peces. King James named them (for that they were in making one verie like to an other) the seauen sisters. This conflict with egernesse on both sides was continued thre full houres, as *Anglorum praelia saith*:
Iam tres integras pugnatum est cominus horas.

Though the victorie thus remained with the Englishmen, yet they bought it deere, losing no small

number of their people, as well of those that were slaine in the field, as of others that were taken prisoners; for the Scots fought verie stoutlie, and gaue it not ouer for a little, insomuch that there were taken and slaine about fiftene hundred men, as appeared by the booke of wages, when the soldiers were paid. Manie Englishmen that followed ouer rashlie in the chase of the Scots, went so farre, that they wist not which waie to returne, and so were taken of the Scots that were in the two battells that went awaie with cleare hands, and neuer fought. Also, diuerse were taken by the lord chamberleine, which fought with the wing of sir Edmund Howard, and were carried awaie by him and his companie into Scotland, as John Fittion esquier, and others. During the time of the fight, and the night after, manie Englishmen lost their horses, and such stuf as they left in their tents and pavillions, by the robbers of Lindale and Tindale.

When the field was done, and that the skouts brought word that there was no more appearance of the Scots, but that they were all avoided and gone, the earle gaue thanks to God, and called to him certaine lords and gentlemen, and them made knights; as sir Edmund Howard his sonne, the lord Scrope, sir William Berrie, sir Edward George, and diuerse others. The earle and the lord admerall departed to Berrmar wood, & there lodged that night, leaving sir Philip Tlneie knight and diuerse other worthie capteins, with a conuenient power of men, to keepe the place where the field had bene fought, for safegard of the ordinance. The bodie of the king of Scots was not found untill the next daie, and then being found and knowne by the lord Dacres, there appeared in the same diuerse deadlie wounds, and speciallie, one with an arrow, and an other with a bill. But some saie he died of two, both which were inflicted upon him to his deadlie bane (and well worthie for truce-breaking) by the sword; as *Anglorum praelia* reporteth:
Vulneribus Scotus acceptis cadit ense duobus,
versidia meritis usque dans sanguine penas.

The same daie, there appeared some Scots on a hill, but one William Blackenall that had the cheefe rule of the ordinance, caused such a peale to be shot off at them, that the Scots fled; or else the lord admerall, which was come to view the field, had bene in great danger; as was supposed. But now that the Scots were fled, and withdrawne, all the ordinance was brought in safetie to Citill, and there remained for a time. After that the earle of Surrie had taken order in all things, and set the forth parts in good quiet, he returned to the queene with the dead bodie of the Scottish king cered. When the king was returned into England from his conquest made in France of the cities of Teruine and Tornale, he forgot not the good seruice of those that had bene with the earle of Surrie at the battell at Bannockton: wherefore he wrote to them his louing letters, with such thanks and fauourable words, that euerie man thought himselfe well rewarded.

On the daie of the Purification of our ladie, at Lambeth, the king created the earle of Surrie duke of Suffolke, with an augmentation of the armes of Scotland, and sir Charles Brandon viscount Lisle he created duke of Suffolke; and the lord Howard high admerall he created earle of Worcester: and after this, he also made sir Edward Stanleie (for his good seruice shewed at Bannockton field) lord Mounteagle: and in March following was maister Thomas Wolseie the kings almoner, consecrated bishop of Lincoln. This man was bozne at Ipswich, wolseie was and was a good philosopher, verie eloquent and full of wit; but passinglie ambitious, as by his doings it well appeared. In the time of king Henrie the seventh

Edw. Hall.
The English
mens ouerrash
hardinesse
turnes them
to hurt.

The bodie of
king James
found hauing
diuerse dead-
lie wounds.

Scots fle at
the peale of
guns.

The kings
thankfulnesse
signified to
his good ser-
uitours in war.

1514

nenth it was agreed betwixt the said king and Philip king of Castile (that Charles king Philips eldest son should marrie the ladie Marie, daughter to the said king Henrie, with a dowry to him appointed: but for want of sufficient assurance of the dowry, the rest of covenants were made void, and yet had the king highlie prouided for the sending of him ouer, now after his coming from Tozaine.

This yere the citizens of London, finding themselves grieved with the inclosures of the common fields about Mlington, Horton, Shorditch, and other places nere to the citie, whereby they could not be suffered to exercise their bowes, nor other pastimes in those fields, as before time they had bene accustomed, assembled themselves on a morning, and went with spades and shovels unto the same fields, and there (like diligent workemen) so besetted themselves, that within a short space, all the hedges about those towne were cast downe, and the ditches filled. The kings counsell coming to the grate friers, to understand what was meant by this doing, were so answered by the mayor and counsell of the citie, that the matter was dissembled: and so when the workemen had done their worke, they came home in quiet manner, and the fields were neuer after hedged.

Inclosures of the fields about London, cast downe & ouerthrowne.

Anno Reg. 6.
Abr. Fl. ex l. 5,
pag. 902.

Free schools at Walthamstow.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. 46.
The king and the new duke of Suffolke defenders at the tilt against all commers.

George Honor for this yere Mayor of London, of his goodlie disposition reedified the decayed temple of the parish church of Walthamstow, in the countie of Essex, adding thereto a side Ale, with a chappell, where he lieth buried. And on the northside of the churchyard there, he founded a faire large almshouse for an almshouse priest or scholemaster, and thirtene poore almes folke, eight men, and five women, appointing to the said almes priest or scholemaster for his yearelie wages, six pounds thirtene shillings foure pence; and to euerie one of the said almes folke seven pence a weeke, and five pounds to be bestowed yearelie amongst them in coles. And ordeined that the said almes priest should on sundaies and festiual daies, be helping and assistant to the vicar or curat there in celebration of diuine seruice, & on the weeke daies fraile to applie and teach yong children of the said parish, to the number of thirtie, in a scholehouse by him there builded for that purpose. Moreover, he gaue to the parish cleerke there for the time being, a yearelie spend of twentie six shillings eight pence, for euer, and a chamber by the said almes house, to the intent he should helpe the said scholemaster to teach the said children. And hath given faire lands and tenements in the citie of London, for the perpetual maintenance of the premises, to Gods glorie for euer. He also for the great commoditie of travellers on foot, made a continuall cause of timber ouer the marshes from Walthamstow to Lockebridge towards London.

In the moneth of Maie, the king and the new duke of Suffolke were defenders at the tilt against all commers. The king was in a scolaparie mantle, an hat of cloth of siluer, and like a white hermit, and the duke apparelled like a blacke hermit, all of blacke velvet, both their berds were of damaske siluer: and when they had ridden about the tilt, & shewed themselves to the quene, then they threw off their apparell, and sent it to the ladies for a larges. Then was the king in blacke, and the duke in white, with blacke fraues, on the fraues was written with white letters, Who can hold that will away: this posie was iudged to be made for the duke of Suffolke, and the duchesse of Saouie. At these iustes were the duke of Longuile, & the lord Cleremont, and there the king & duke did so valiantlie, that they obtained the prize. At these iustes were broken an hundred and fourtene speares in a short space. The king at this season sent againe into Flanders, for the performance of the

marriage of the yong prince of Castile, and the faire ladie Marie his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all things necessarie and conuenient for such an high estate. The counsell of Flanders answered, that they would not receiue him that yere, with manie subtil arguments; by reason whereof, the perfect loue betwene England and the low countries was much flaked.

On the nineteenth daie of Maie was receiued into London a cap of maintenance & a sword, sent from pope Iulie, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the king on the Sunday then next ensuing, with great solemnitie in the cathedrall church of saint Paul. Touching this pope (saith Guicciardine) disappointed of so manie hopes, we may laie him in comparison with that which is written by the poets of Anteus, that being tamed by the forces of Hercules, as often as he was throlue to the ground, so often did appeare in him a greater strength and courage; such warning had the pope amongst his aduersities, for when he seemed most abused and oppressed, it was then that he did most lift up him selfe with a spirit more constant and resolute, promising better of his fortune than euer.

After he had plaied all his troublesome pageants, and had got by sundrie aspiring practises I wot not what percellle primasie, he fell sicke. And hapilie he was then more full of high conceits and traouelling thoughts than at any time before: for notwithstanding he had brought his fortune to be equall with his desires, & obtained the thing he aspired unto, yet his deuises and plots did nothing diminish, but grew increasing by the same meane which should haue satisfied them. He had determined in the beginning of the spring and first opening of the yere, to lend to the enterpryse of Ferrara which he so much desired, and his opinion was, that that state was able to make no resistance, both for that it was naked of all succours, and because the Spanissh armie was to ioin with his companies: he had secretly bought of Cesar for the price of thirtie thousand duckets, the citie of Sienna for the behoofe of the duke of Arbin, to whom (except Desera) he would neuer giue any thing of the estate ecclesiastike, to the end to reserue to himselfe the whole glorie to haue simple and onelie studied for the exaltation of the church. He agreed to lend to Cesar fortie thousand duckats, receiuing Spodona in gage. He threatened them of Lucquoie, who in the heat of the affaires of the duke of Ferrara, were become lords of Carfagnana; making instance that they would deliuer it to him.

He was out of conceit with the cardinal of Medets, for that he thought him to cleaue more to the king catholike, than to him. And because he knew he was not able to dispose of the citie of Florence as he thought, he studied alreadie new plots, and new practises to alter that estate. He was ill contented with the cardinal of Sion, from whom he took the name of legat, and inioined him to come to Rome, for that in the duchie of Spillan he had appropriated to himselfe a yearelie rent of more than thirtie thousand duckats, of the estates and goods of diuerse persons. The better to assure the duke of Arbin of Sienna by intelligences of his neighbours, he had of new taken into his pate Charles Baillon, to chaie out of Verona John Paule, who by affinity was verie nere ioined to the sonnes of Pandolfe Petruccio succedours to the greatnesse of their father. He would of new create duke of Venes, Adaulan Fregosa, deposing Janus from that dignitie: an action whereunto did consent the others of the house of Fregosa, because for the degree that his ancestors held in that state, it seemed best to appertene unto him.

Cap of maintenance sent to the king from the pope.

Abr. Fl. ex Guicciardine 482 Pope Iulie compared to Anteus.

Guicciardine.

The purpose of pope Iulie the second was death.

The pope's mal content.

1a Reg. 5.

He studied continually either how he might
take out of Italie the Spanish armie, or cut it in
pieces by the aid of the Switzers, whome above all
others he exalted and embraced. In this devise he
had this intention, that the kingdome of Naples be-
ing occupied by him, Italie should remaine free from
strangers; a speech that often passed out of his
mouth: and to that end he had hindered that the
Switzers did not confederate with the king catho-
like. And yet, as though it had bene in his power to
batter all the world at one time, he continued his ac-
customed rigour against the French king. And not-
withstanding he had hard a message from the queene,
yet he stirred by to make warre, the king of Eng-
land, to whome he had transferred by publike decree
of the council of Lateran, the name of *Christianissimo*,
whereof there was already a bull written, and in it
likewise was contained the privation of the digni-
tie & name of the king of France, giving his king-
dome to who could occupie it.

In these conceptions, no lesse strange for their
varietie, than great for the importance they be-
ware, and perhaps in other thoughts more secret and singu-
lar (for in a mind so fierce and terrible, all sorts of
imaginations, how great and vaine so ever they be,
are not incredible) after the continuation of his sick-
nesse for many daies, he declined towards death:
and feeling the end of his mortalitie to hasten on,
and the same to prevent the execution of his high
thoughts, he caused to call together the consistorie,
which albeit he could not assist in person by reason of
his disease; yet by the authoritie of it, he caused to be
confirmed the bull which he had published before a-
gainst such as by simonie would cline by unto the
popedom. He declared, that the election of his suc-
cessor appertained to the college of cardinals, and not
to the council: and that the cardinals schisma-
tiques could have no presence or communitie there, to
whom he protested there to pardon the injuries they
had done him, and praised to God to forgive them the
wronges they had done to his church. After this he be-
sought the college of cardinals, that in his fa-
vor, and for his sake, they would grant to the duke
of Urbino his nephew, the citie of Pescara in patro-
nage or vicarage, alledging the consideration, that
by meane of the duke it had bene recovered to the
church after the death of John of France. In no other
matter he expressed any private or particular af-
fection.

Insomuch as Madame Felice his daughter (to-
ning with her the petitions of many others) beseech-
ing him with great importunitie, to create cardi-
nall Guido de Montfalcon being his brother by the
mothers side, he answered roundly, that he was not
worthy of that degree. He made not his affections
conformable to their desires. In that last action of
his life he showed no parcialitie in worldly causes: his
present debilitie could diminish nothing of his an-
cient resolution, but expressed in all things the same
constancie and severitie, together with that iudge-
ment and force of mind which he had before his sick-
nesse: in which firme estate and disposition of spirit,
he received denoullie the offices of the church, and the
one and twentieth daie of February he ended his
course of these mortall and present paines. He was
a prince of incredible constancie and courage, but so
full of surie & unrelie conceptions, that the reverence
that was borne to the church, the discord of princes,
the conditions of times, did more to kalle him from
his ruine, than either his moderation or his discreti-
on; so that no doubt of great glorie, if either he had
bene a prince secular, or if that care and intention
which he had to raise the church into temporall great-
nesse by the meane of warre, had bene imployed

to exalt it by the meane of peace in matters spiri-
tuall.

Penetheleste, he was lamented above all his
predecessors, & no lesse esteemed of those, who having
either lost the true consideration of things, or at least
ignorant how to distinguish and peise them rightlie,
judged it an office more duellie appertaining to popes
to increase the insurrection of the six apostolike by
armes and blood of christians, than by good example
of holie life and due caring and correction of corrupt
maners, to traueil for the saving of those soules, for
whom they glorie so much that Jesus Christ hath na-
med them his vicars in earth: and therefore it is a
good consequent that he is a brandy or rather a brand
of the duell, as one concludeth against him, saying:

*Impius est igitur natus cecod. amone papa,
Turpibus & genis est homicida latius.*

About the same time the warres yet continuing
betwene England & France, Prior Jehan (of whom
ye have heard before in the fourth yeere of this kings
reigne) great capitaine of the French nauie, with his
gallies and foists charged with great basilisks and o-
ther artillerie, came on the borders of Suffer in the
night season, at a poze village there called Bright-
helmston, & burnt it, taking such goods as he found.
But when the people began to gather, by firing the
becons, Prior Jehan sounded his trumpet, to call his
men aboord, and by that time it was daie. Then cer-
taine archers that kept the watch followed Prior Je-
han to the sea, and shot so fast, that they beat the gallie
men from the shore; and wounded many in the foist,
to the which Prior Jehan was constrained to wade
and was shot in the face with an arrow, so that he
lost one of his eyes, and was like to have died of the
hurt: and therefore he offered his image of waie be-
fore our ladie at Bullongne, with the English arrow
in the face for a miracle.

The lord admerall offended with this proud part
of the Frenchmen, in making such attempt on the
English coasts, sent sir John Wallop to the sea
with diuers ships, which sailing to the coasts of Nor-
mandie, landed there, and burnt one and twentie vil-
lages and townes, with diuerse ships in the haven of
Trepast, Staples, and other where. Men marvelled
greatlie at the manfull doings of sir John Wallop,
considering he had not past an eight hundred men,
and toke land there so often. In June sir Thomas
Louell was sent ouer to Calis with six hundred men
to strengthen that towne, and other the fortresses
within the English pale, for doubt of any sudden at-
tempt to be made by the Frenchmen; because mon-
seur de Montremie, with a mightie armie and great
ordnance was come downe nere to Ard: howbeit
he taried not long, but raised his campe within a
while after his coming thither, and returned with-
out any more doing. The French king perceiving
what losses he had sustained by the warres against
England; and doubting least one euill lacke should
still follow in the necke of an other, determined to
make sute for peace; and first agreeing with pope Leo,
desired him to be a meane also for the procuring of
some agreement betwixt him and the king of Eng-
land.

This pope Leo, of that name the tenth, before his
election, cardinall of Medici, bare but seauen and
thirtie yeeres of age, which albeit was so much the
more marvellous and wonderfull, by how much the
election was contrarie to custome; yet the pong car-
dinals were the principall causers of it by their in-
busherie, having long time afore secretlie agreed a-
mongst themselves to create the first pope of their
number. The most parts and nations of christen-
dome reioiced much at this election, euery one in-
terteining an assured expectation of his vertues, as
well

*Antich. Christi. 2.
Page pag. 26, 28.*

*Brighthelm-
ston in Suff-
sex burnt.*

*Prior Jehan
capitaine of the
French gallies
shot into the
eye with an
arrow.*

*Sir John
Wallop in
Normandie.*

*The French
king procu-
reth the pope
to be a meane
for peace be-
twene king
Henrie and
him.*

*Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 63.
Creation of
pope Leo the
tenth.*

Coronation
of pope Leo
the tenth.

Pope Leo a
poore priso-
ner the verie
same date
twelve mo-
neth of his e-
lection and in-
thygnization.

A marriage
concluded.

well by the present and graine memoire of the baloy of his late father, as for an vniuersall reputation that went of his owne inclinations and liberalities. To this estimation was ioined a generall opinion of his continencie and life not atteinted, together with a glad some hope, that by the example of his father, he would be a furtherer of learning, and beare sauoy to wits disposed to studie and knowledge. So that vnto these hopes was much helping the manner of the election, being made in his person sincerelie, and without simonie or suspicion of other corruption.

The first act of this new pope was his coronation, which was represented according to the vsage of his predecessors in the church of saint John de Lateran. The pompe was so great both of his familie and his court, and also of the prelates and multitudes that were there, together with the popular and vniuersall assemblies of people, that by the opinion and iudgement of men, the pride and maiestie of that action did farre surpass all the celebrations done in Rome since the tyrannies of the Goths and sauage nations. In this same solemnitie the Consalon of the church was caried by Alfonso de Este, who hauing obtained a suspension of his censures & paines, was come to Rome, with great hope, that by the clemencie and facilitie of the pope, he should be able to compound for his affaires. The Consalon of the religion of Rhodes was borne by Julius de Medici mounted vpon a statelie courser armed at all points: by his nature he bare an inclination to the profession of armes, but by destinie he was gauen to the life ecclesiastike, in which estate he made serue as a wonderfull example of the variation of fortune.

One matter that made the memoire of that date wonderfull, was this consideration; that the person who then in so high & rare pompe was honozed with the most supreme and soueraigne dignitie of the world, was the pèere before, and on the verie same date miserablie made prisoner. The great magnificence that appeared vpon his person, and his expences, confirmed in the generalitie and multitude of men, the expectation that was had of him; euerie one promising that Rome should be happie vnder a pope so plentifullie indued with the vertue of liberalitie, whereof that date he had given an honorable experience, his expences being aboute an hundred thousand duckats. But wise men desired in him a greater granitie and moderation: they iudged that neither such a maiestie of pompe was conuenient for popes, neither did the condition of the present time require, that he should so vnprofitablie disperse the treasures that had bene gathered by his predecessour to other vses.

The befall of amittie betwene the king of England & the French being first broched by his popes letters, the French king by an herald at armes sent to the king of England, requiring of him a safe conduct for his ambassadors, which should come to intreat for a peace and attonement to be concluded betwixt them and their realmes. Upon grant obtained thereof, the French king sent a commission with the president of Rome and others, to intreat of peace and alliance betwixt both the princes. And moreover, because they understood that the marriage was broken betwene the prince of Castile and the ladie Sparte, they desired that the said ladie might be ioined in marriage with the French king, offering a great dowrie and suerties for the same. So much was offered, that the king moved by his counsell, and named by Wolsey the bishop of Lincoln, consented vpon condition, that if the French king died, then the should (if it stood with his pleasure) returne into England againe with all his dowrie and riches.

After that they were accorded vpon a full peace,

and that the French king should marrie this young ladie, the indentures were drawen, ingrossed, & sealed, and peace therevpon proclaimed the seventh daie of August; & the king in presence of the French ambassadors was sworne to keepe the same: and likewise there was an ambassage sent out of England to see the French king sweare the same. The dowrie that was assigned vnto the byde to be receiued after his husbands deceasse, if he suruiued him, was named to be 32000 crownes of yearelie reuenues, & to be receiued out of certeing lands assigned forth therefore during all his naturall life. And moreover, it was further agreed & conuenanted, that the French king should content and paie yearelie vnto king Henrie, during the space of five yeares, the summe of one hundred thousand crownes. By conclusion of this peace was the duke of Longue with the other prisoners deliuered, paying their ransoms, and the said duke assisted the ladie Sparte in the name of his

maister king Lewis. In September following, the said ladie was conueied to Douer by the king his brother & the queene, and on the second daie of October she was shipped, and such as were appointed to giue their attendaunce on her, as the duke of Norfolk, the marquisse Dorset, the bishop of Durham, the earle of Surreie, the lord de la Ware, the lord Werners, the lord Pontefract, the four brethren of the said marques, sir Spaurice Berkleie, sir John Pechie, sir William Sands, sir Thomas Bulleine, sir John Car, and manie other knights, esquires, gentlemen and ladies. They had not sailed past a quarter of the sea, but that the wind arose and seuered the ships, driuing some of them to Calis, some into Flanders, and his ship with great difficultie was brought to Bullen not without great leopordie at the enterfing of the haven, for the maiester ran the ship hard on shore.

But the boats were readie, and receiued the ladie out of the ship, and sir Christopher Garmish stood in the water and took her in his armes, and so caried her to land, where the duke of Wandolme, and a cardinal, with manie other great estates receiued her with great honoz. From Bullen with easie iourneys she was conueied vnto Abbeie, & there entered the eighth of October (where she was receiued by the Dolphin with great honoz, she was apparelled in cloth of siluer, her horse was trapped in goldsmiths worke verie richlie. After her followed 6 ladies all their palfries trapped with crimsin velvet embordered. After them followed one chariot of cloth of tisse, the second cloth of gold, & the third crimsin velvet embordered with the kings armes & hers, full of roses. After them followed a great number of archers, and then wagons laden with their stuffe. Great was the riches in plate, iewels, monie, apparell, and hangings that this ladie brought into France.

On the morrow following being mondaie, and s. Denise day, the marriage was solemnized betwixt the French king and the said ladie, with all honour, joy, & roialtie, both apparelled in goldsmiths worke. Then a great banquet and sumptuous feast was made, where the English ladies were honorable interteined, according to the dignitie of the persons, and to the contentment of them that had no dregs of malice or mistaking settled in their harts. For vnpossible it is, that in a great multitude meeting together, though all about one matter, be it of pleasure and delight, there should not be one of a repugnant disposition, and (though not apparantlie perceived) frangling with grudge malignant mind; as we see some apples vnperished and other some wormeaten, albeit one bough beare them, and one tree giue them sap.

On the Tuesday being the tenth daie of October, all the Englishmen, except a few that were off-
cers

Edw. Hall's
Hist. of England

The marriage
solemnized
betweene the
French king
and the ladie
Sparte
to s. Denise

Abv. Fl. or
Edw. Hall's
Hist. of England
cers

An. Reg. 5.

cers with the said quene, were discharged; which was a great sorrow for them, for some had serued hir long in hope of preferment, & some that had honest comes left them to serue hir, and now they were without service, which caused them to take thought, in so much some died by the waie returning, and some fell mad, but there was no remedie. After the English lords had done their commission, the French king willed them to take no longer paine, and so gaue to them good rewards; and they took their leaue of the quene and returned. Then the Dolphin of France called lord Francis duke of Valois, and by his wife duke of Britaine, for the more honour of this mariage before the Englishmen departed from Abailie, caused a solemn iusts to be proclaimed, which should be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouember next ensuing.

Danielle, that he with his nine aids should answer all commers, being gentlemen of name and of armes. First to run five courses at the tilt with peeces of aduantage, & also five courses at random with sharpe speares, and twelue strokes with sharpe swords; and that done, he and his aids to fight at the barriers with all gentlemen of name and of armes. First six foines with hand speares, and after that eight strokes to the most aduantage if the speare so long held, and after that twelue strokes with the sword: and if anie man be unhorsed or felled with fighting on foot, then his horse and armour to be rendered to the officers of armes: and euerie man of this chalenge must set by his armes and name vpon an arch triumphant, which shalbe made at the place where the iusts shalbe, and further shall write to what point he will answer, to one or to all.

When this proclamation was reported in England by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, and his four brethren, the lord Clinton, sir Edward Denill, sir Giles Capell, Thomas Cheneie, and other sued to the king to be at the chalenge, which request he graciously granted. Then the lords and knights prepared all things necessarie for their enterprise, and shipped there horses and harnesse, and did so much by tourneie, that they came to Paris at the end of October, which were hartlie welcomed of the king and the Dolphin: but most of all of the French quene which then laie at saint Denise, and was not yet crowned nor entered into Paris. The Dolphin desired the duke of Suffolke and the lord marquesse Dorset, to be two of his immediat aids, which thereto assented.

Therefore was erected an arch of wondrousse at the tombs before the street of saint Anthoine, disrealie before the bassell, on the which were set four targets or scutthions, the one silver, and he that set his name vnder that shield, to run at tilt according to the articles. He that put his name vnder the golden target should run with the sharpe speares and fight with sharpe swords. They that put their names to the blacke shield, should fight on foot with speares and swords for the one hand. And he that touched the fawne shield should cast a speare on foot with a target on his arme, and after to fight with a two hand sword. On this arch aboue stood the armes of the king & the quene, and beneath them stood the armes of the Dolphin and his aids, and vnderneath stood the four scutthions that you haue heard of, and vnder them all the armes and names of such as set their names to anie of the said four scutthions.

While all these things were preparing, the ladie Marie of England the first daie of Nouember, then being lundaine, was with great solemnitie crowned quene of France in the monasterie of S. Denise, and the Dolphin all the season held the crowne ouer his head, because it was of great weight to his grace,

at which coronation were the lords of England, all according to their degrees well intertained. On mondaie the first daie of Nouember, the said quene was receiued into the citie of Paris after the order that followeth. First the gard of the citie met with hir without saint Denise all in coats of goldsmiths worke, with ships gilt, and after them met hir all the priests and religious, esteemed to be three thousand. The quene was in a chaire covered about (but not ouer hir person) in white cloth of gold; the horses that drew it, in cloth of gold; on hir head a coronall all of great pearles, hir necke and breast full of iewels.

Before hir went a gard of Almans after their fashion, and after them all noblemen, as the Dolphin, the duke of Alanson, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Wandosme, the duke of Longueuil, and the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, five cardinals, and a great number of estates; about hir person rode the kings gard, which were Scots. Thus was this quene receiued into Paris, and so conueied to the cathedraall church, and there offered, & from thence to the palace, where she offered at the holie chapel; and from thence she went to hir lodging for that night: for whome was provided a great supper, and the heralds cried a largesse, and had to them giuen a ship of silver and gilt, and other plate, to the value of two hundred marks, and after supper began dancing and pastime. On the morow began the iusts, and the Dolphin with his aids entered the field, the apparel and hards were cloth of gold, cloth of silver, and crimson velvet kanteled together all in one sute, they shewed themselves before the king and quene, who were on a goodlie stage, and the quene stood so that all men might see hir, and wondered at hir beautie: but the king was fable & laie on a couch for weakenesse.

Then entered the counter part by a ralle for coming the place. These iusts continued three daies, in the which were answered three hundred and five men of armes, and euerie man ran five courses, and with sharpe speares; diuerse were slaine & not spoken of. At the random and turneie the duke of Suffolke hurt a gentleman, so that he was like to die. The Marques Dorset stroke monsieur Crue an Albanois with his speare, perced his headpiece, and put him in jeopardy. The duke of Suffolke in the turneie overthrew a man of armes, horse & man; and so did the lord Marquesse another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no wise praise them. At this turneie the Dolphin was hurt in the hand, so that he could not performe his chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his aid in his roime. The next daie after began the fight at the barriers. And because the Dolphin was not present, the duke of Suffolke and the lord Marques Dorset that daie began the field, and took the barriers with speares in his hand abiding all commers.

The Dolphin brought a man secretlie, which in all the court of France was the tallest & the strongest man, and he was an Alman, and put him in the place of an other person to haue had the duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Alman came to the bars secretlie with face hid, because he would not be knowne, and bare his speare to the duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the duke him receiued and for all his strength put him by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but end of the speare strake the Alman that he staggered: but for all that the Alman strake stronglie and hardlie at the duke, and the iudges suffered manie more strokes to be foughten than were appointed; but when they saw the Alman rale and stagger, then they let fall the ralle betwene them. The lord marquesse Dorset at the same time, even at the same barre fought with a gentleman of France that he lost his speare, and in manner withdrew. When the ralle was let fall, there

She is receiued into Paris.

The heralds reward.

The time how long these iusts lasted and the manner thereof.

The duke of Suffolke in counterchase, tall and strong Alman.

two noble men put vp their visers and toke afe, and with swords, the points and edges abated, they came to the barriers.

The duke
foiles the
Alman,

The Alman fought lore with the duke, which imagined that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the duke by pure strength toke him about the necke, and pomeled him so about the head that the bloud issued out of his nose, and then they were parted, and the Alman was conueied by the Dolphin least he should be knowne. These two noblemen of England that daie fought valiantlie diuerse feats, and the Frenchmen likewise noble them defended. But it happened the lord Sparquelle on a time to put for his aid his yongest brother called the lord Edward Greie of the age of nineteene yeare, and to him was put a gentleman of France of great stature and strength, to the intent to plucke him over the barres, but yet the yong lord was of such strength, power, & policie, that he so stroke his aduersarie that he disarmed him, all the face bare. Thus were these enterprises finished to the laud of all parties, & the Englishmen receiued much honoꝝ and no spot of rebuke, yet they were puiſſie set at & in manie ieopardies.

The yong
lord Greies
prowesse.

For the declaration of this triumph, he that saw it can tell how goodlie the courſers trotted, bounded, and quicklie turned: how valiantlie the men of armes behaued themselves, and how the duke of Burbons hand was apparrelled and barded in tabyrie veluet, and cloth of siluer cloude, the hand of the earle of saint Paule apparrelled and barded in purple veluet all to cut on purple sattin, the infant of Arragon, sonne to Frederike last king of Naples, and his hand all in cloth of gold and siluer paled. This lord was but yong, but yet berie toward. The duke of Glondouc and his hand in cloth of gold and plumket veluet. The Dolphin and his aids were euerie daie new apparrelled at his cost, one daie in siluer and gold, another in crimſin veluet and yelloe veluet, and another daie in white veluet and greene, some daie mired with sattin, some daie embrodered, some daie pounced with gold, and so euerie daie in change as the workes fantasie could deuise, but the Englishmen had euer on their apparrell red crosses to be knowne for loue of their countrie.

A description
of the poyne
and brancie
in apparrell at
this solemne
tut.

At this triumph the countie Calcas came into the place on a genet trapped in blew sadden, and he himselfe likewise apparrelled, and ran a course with a speare, which was at the head five inches on euerie side square, that is twentie inches about, and at the butt nine inches square, that is six and thirtie inches, this speare was massie timber, and yet for all that he ran cleane with it a long course and slightlie avoided it to his great honour. Also there was another gentleman called Anthonie Bounarime, which came into the field all armed, and on his bodie brought in eight ten speares, that is to wit, thre speares set in euerie stirrop forward, and under euerie thigh two speares upward, and under his left arme was one speare backward, and the tenth in his hand; and when he came before the queene, he let his houlſe run, and neuer stopped till he had taken euerie speare after another and broken it on the ground, and he neuer stopped his houlſe till all were broken. This gentleman was highlie praised, and so he was worthy. When all this great triumph was done, the lords of England toke their leaue, and were highlie thanked of the king, queene, Dolphin, and all the lords, and so departed and came into England before Christmas. ¶ In Nouember the queene was deliuered of a prince which liued not long after.]

Anthonie
Bounarime
with his ten
speares all at
once about
him.

Touthing the accord of peace betwene England and France, you shall heare the report of Guicciardine, which to this place maketh passage to know ledge, as oile giueth maintenance of light to the

lampe. [At the first opening of this practice for peace, there fell out manie difficulties, for that the king of England demanded Bullongne in Picardie, with a great summe of monie: but at last all the differences fell upon the towne of Coznaie, the king of England striving to retaine it, and the French offering some difficultie: in so much as the king of England dispatched in post to the French king the bishop of Tricarco, whome he charged, without imparting in what nature of particularitie considered the difficultie, to declare to the king from him, that in regard of so great a benefite, he should not stand upon so manie subtle difficulties, but to consider that in a prince reason shuld beare more imperie than passion.

The French king, because he would neither do wrong to his crowne, nor ill content his people, the towne of Coznaie being berie noble and loiall to the crowne of France, caused the matter to be debated in full counsell, wherein was an assistance of the pzincipals of his court, who advised him with one voice to embrace peace, yea vnder the condition offered. And yet in that time the king catholike did what he could to bpeake it, offering the king manie plots and deuises, but speciallie to minister to him all his means and fauours to conquer the duchie of Spillan. But the answer being returned into England, that the French king had content with the resolution of Coznaie, the peace succeeded & was concluded in the beginning of August betwene the two kings during their liues, & a yeare after their death.

In the capitulation it was expressed, that Coznaie should remaine to the king of England, to whom the French king should paie six hundred thousand crownes, and that in such sort of distribution, that the French king should make payment of an hundred thousand franks euerie yeare, untill the full payment was satisfied: that they should be bound to defend their estates mutuallie and reciprocally with ten thousand footmen if the warre went by land, and with six thousand onelie if the warre were made by sea: that the French king should be bound to serue the king of England in all his affaires with twelve hundred lances, and the king of England likewise to minister to his seruices with ten thousand footmen: the expenses to be defraiched by either of them that should haue need of the men: both the one and the other of them named the Scotch king, the archduke, & the empire: but Cesar and the king catholiks were not named: the Switzers had a nomination, but it bare a condition, that whosoener would defend against the French king, the estate of Spillan, Venes, or Ast, should be excluded out of the nomination.

This peace, which was made with a wonderfull readinesse, was confirmed by the marriage of the kings sister of England with the French king, vnder condition, that he should acknowledge to haue receiued foure hundred thousand crownes for his dowrie: the contract or handfastings were made in England, where the king catholiks ambassadoꝝ was not in presence, for the great hatred the king of England bare to the king his maister. And euen upon the conclusion and resolution of this peace, came to the court of France the instrument of ratification which Cesar had made, together with his commission, and the king catholiks, for conclusion of the marriage that was solicited betwene Ferdinando de Austrich and the second daughter of France not yet foure yeares of age: but the practice of that marriage vanished presentlie by reason of the peace that was now established: and the French king to satisfy better the king of England, gaue order that the duke of Suffolke, capitaine generall of the lance knights that were in his paie, should depart the dominions of France, in whome the honours and recompenses

The French
counsell
chose for peace.

The content
of the capitulation
for peace.

The French
king married
the lord
the sister
of the king of Eng.

compenseth that the king made to him ouercame all occasions of discontentment, the bountie and liberality of the one being no greater than the affabilitie and disposition of the other.]

In December, one Richard Hun a merchant tailor of London, that was laid in Lollards tower by commandement of the bishop of London, called Richard Fitz James, and his chancelor doctor Housie, was found dead, hanging by the necke in a girdle of silke within the said tower. That ye maie understand the cause of his imprisonment, the beginning was this. The same Hun had a child that died in his house, being an infant; the curat claimed the bearing thereof for a mortuarie. Hun answered, that the infant had no proprietie in the sheet. Whereupon, the prest ascribed him in the spirituall court. He taking to him counsell, sued the curat in a premunire: and when this was knowne, meanes was found, that Hun being accused of heresie, was attached, and laid in Lollards tower, where he was found dead, as ye haue heard. Much adoe was made about his death, for the bishop and the chancelor said, that he hanged himselfe.

But manie of the temporallie affirmed, that he was murdered, greatlie lamenting the case: for he was well beloued, and namelie of the poore, which cried out against them that were suspected to haue made him awaie. He was a good almes-man, and greatly relieued the needy. The question of his death was so farre put forth, that vpon the suspicion he should be murdered, twelue men were charged before the coroner. After they had taken view of the bodie, the same was burned in Smithfield by the bishops appointment: notwithstanding the coroners quest indicted doctor Housie, with one John Spalding, otherwise called Welringer, and Charles Forch the summoner of the murdered; howbeit, vpon his arraignment, through great sute and corruption of monie (as manie iudged) the kings attorneie declared doctor Housie not to be giltye.

This Christmasse on Tweluepeares night, the king, the duke of Suffolke, & two other were in mantels of cloath of siluer lined with blew veluet, the siluer was pouned in letters that the veluet might be seene thorough, the mantels had great capes like to the portingall strops, and all their hosen, dublets, and coats were of the same fashion cut, and of the same stiffe. With them were foure ladies in gowns, after the fashion of Hauoie, of blew veluet, lined with cloath of gold, the veluet all cut, and mantels like tapets knit together all of siluer, and on their heads bonets of burned gold, the foure torch-bearers were in fatten white and blew. This strange apparell pleased much euerie person, and in especiall the queene. And thus these foure lordes & foure ladies came into the queenes chamber with great light of torches, and danced a great season, and then put off their visors, and were all well knowne, and then the queene hartlie thanked the kings grace for his goodlie pastime and dispos.

Likewise on the Twelue night, the king and the queene came into the hall of Greenwich, & suddenlie entered a tent of cloath of gold, and before the tent stood foure men of armes, armed at all points with swords in their hands; and suddenlie with noise of trumpets entered foure other persons all armed, and ran to the other foure, and there was a great and a fierce fight. And suddenlie came out of a place like a wood eight wildmen, all appareled in greene mosse, made with fleued silke, with ongle weapons & terrible visages, and there fought with the knights eight to eight; and after long fighting, the armed knights drove the wild men out of their places, and followed the chase out of the hall: and when they were depar-

ted, the tent opened, and there came out six lordes and six ladies richlie appareled, and danced a great time: when they had danced their pleasure, they entered the tent againe, which was conuered out of the hall; then the king & the queene were serued with a right sumptuous banquet.

On the third day of Februarie, the king made a solemne iusts, and he and the marquesse Dorset would answer all comers, their apparell and baces were of blew veluet and cloath of siluer, all to cut in subtil knots, richlie embrodered, all the seruitors in white & blew silke. The counterpart, which were foureteene in number, richlie appareled in beluet, cloath of gold, and embroderie, euerie man after his owne deuise. The king was that daie highlie to be praised, for he brake three and twentie speares beside atteints and bare downe to ground a man of armes and his horse: the lord marquesse and all other did valiantlie, and had much praise, for euerie man did passing well, which is selborne seene in such a case. But the king for a iuertie exceeded all other.

On the fourth daie of October, the king removed to Lambeth, and on the morow began the high court of parlement, sir Thomas Hewill was then speaker. In this parlement were diuerse acts made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of: the one was the act of apparell, and the other act for labourers: of these two acts was much communing, and much businesse arose. For the labourers would in no wise labour by the daie, but all by taske & in great, and therefore much trouble fell in the countrie, and in especiall in harvest time, for then husbandmen could scarce get workemen to helpe in their harvest. This parlement continued untill Easter, in the which diuerse subsidies were granted to the king, toward his great costs and charges that he had bene at in his biage roiall to France.

After Easter the nineteenth daie of the moneth of Aprill, the king deliting to set forth yong gentlemen, called Nicholas Carew, and Francis Bystan, and caused diuerse other yong gentlemen to be on the counter-part, and lent to them horse and harness to incourage all youth to seeke deeds of armes. This yeare died at Rome by poison (as was reported) the archbishop of Yorke and cardinall, called doctor Wentworth, who was the kings ambassadour there: his was a wiseman and of a folie courage. The king then gaue the said archbishop like to Thomas Wolsey, then bishop of Lincolne, who at that time bare all the rule about the king, and what he said was obeyed in all places. How when he was once archbishop, he studied daie and night how to be a cardinall, and caused the king, and the French king to write to Rome for him, and at their requests he obtained his purpose, as you shall heare afterward.

At this time was much communing, and berelie (as it appeared) it was intended, that the king in person would passe the sea to Calis, and there on the marches of the same, the French king and queene to come and see the king their brother: and for the same iournie manie coslie works were wrought, much rich apparell prouided, and much preparation made against the next spring: but death which is the last end of all things let this iournie. For before the next spring the French king died at the citie of Paris, the first daie of Januarie, when he had bene married to the faire ladie Marie of England foure score and two daies (whom he so feruentlie loued, that he gaue himselfe ouer to behold too much his excellent brautie bearing then but eightene yeares of age, nothing considering the proportion of his owne yeares, nor his decayed complexion; so that he fell into the rage of a feauer, which drawing to it a sudden sur, ouer came in one instant the life, that nature gaue ouer

The king and the marquesse Dorset make a challenge at iusts.

A parlement wherein sir Thomas Hewill was speaker. In this parlement were diuerse acts made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of: the one was the act of apparell, and the other act for labourers.

Doctor Wentworth, archbishop of Yorke and cardinall, poisoned at Rome.

The king in person purposed to passe the seas to see the French king his brother.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag 684.

to preferue anie longer. He was a king iust & much beloued of his people, but touching his condition, neither before he was king, nor after he had the crowne he neuer found constancie nor stabilitie in either fortune.

For, rising from a small duke of Mleance with great happinesse to the crowne, and that by the death of Charles yonger than he, and two of his sonnes, he conquered with a verie great facilitie the duchie of Millan and the kingdome of Naples, and almost all the residue of the regions of Italie, being gouerned for manie yeares by his direction: he recovered with a verie great prosperitie, the state of Genes that was in rebellion: and vanquished with no lesse glorie the armiees of the Venetians, being in person at both those victories. But on the other side, euen when he was in his youth and best disposition of bodie, he was then constrained by king Lewes the elcuenth to marrie his daughter that was both barren and deformed; and yet could neuer get the god will nor countenance of his father in law.

The variable-
nesse of his
fortune.

And after his death, such was the greatnesse of the ladie of Bourbon, that he could neuer get the institution of the new king, being then in minority, being almost compelled to retire himselfe into Britaine: where being taken in the battell of saint Aubin, he liued two yeares in the calamitie of a prisoner. To these afflictions maie be added the siege and famine of Pauarre, the manie discomfites he had in the realme of Naples, the losse of the estate of Millan, Genes, and all the townes which he had taken from the Venetians: and lastlie the græuous warre he had in France against verie mightie enemies, his eyes beholding into what lamentable perils his realme was brought: neuertheless, before he died it seemed he had conquered all his aduersities, and for tune shewed good tokens of his reconcillement, both for that he had defended his kingdome against mightie enemies, and also established a perpetuall peace and alliance with the king of England, with whom by how much his amitie was great and assured, by so much it gaue him hope to be able to reconquer the duchie of Millan.

The king of England being aduertised of the French kings death, caused a solemne obsequie to be kept for him in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, with a costlie hearfe: at which manie nobles were present. After this he sent a letter to comfort the quene his sister, requirring to know hir pleasure, whether she would continue still in France, or returne into England. And when he was aduertised of hir mind (which was to returne into England) the duke of Suffolke, sir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calis, and doctor West, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yeomen, all in blacke, were sent into France, and coming to Paris, were well receiued of the new French king, Francis the first of that name (who was the next heire male of the blood roiall and of the same line of the dukes of Mleance: he was preferred to the succession of the kingdome before the daughters of the dead king by vertue and disposition of the law Salike, a law verie ancient in the realme of France, which excludeth from the roiall dignitie all women; so long as there is anie issue male of the same line.

The world had such a hope in his vertues, and such an opinion of his magnanimitie, and such a concept of his iudgement and wit, that euerie one confessed, that of verie long time there was none raised by to the crowne with a greater expectation. He was made the more agreeable to the fancies of men, by the consideration of his age bearing then but two and twentie yeares; his excellent stature and proportion of bodie, his great liberalitie, and generall hu-

manitie, together with the ripe knowledge he had in manie things. But speciallie he pleased greatly the nobilitie, to whom he transferred manie singular and great fauours. Unto this king Francis de Angoulesine did the foresaid English nobilitie declare the effect of their commission, which was to receiue the quene Dowager, according to the covenants of the marriage.]

The councill of France (by the kings appointment) assigned forth hir dowrie, and the duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the quene deliuered to the duke by indenture, who behaued himselfe so towards hir, that he obtained hir good will to be hir husband. It was thought, that when the king created him duke of Suffolke, he perceiued his sisters good will towards the said duke; and that he meant then to haue bestowed hir vpon him; but that a better offer came in the waie. But howsoeuer it was now, he won hir love; so as by hir consent, he wrote to the king hir brother, makelie beseeching him of pardon in his request, which was humble to desice him of his good will and contentation.

The king at the first staide, but after long sute, and speciallie by meane of the French quene his selfe, and other the dukes friends, it was agreed that the duke should bring hir into England vnmarrried, and at his returne to marrie hir in England: but for doubt of change he married hir secretly in Paris at the house of Clugnie, as was said. After he had receiued hir with hir dower appointed, & all hir apparell, iewels, and household stuffe deliuered, they took leaue of the new French king, and so passing thorough France, came to Calis; where she was honourable entertained, and after openlie married with great honour vnto the said duke of Suffolke. Doctor West (as then nominated bishop of Elie) remained behind at Paris, to go thorough with the full conclusion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

The court lieng at Orleuich, the king and the quene, accompanied with manie lords and ladies, road to the high ground of shooters hill to take the open aire; and as they passed by the waie, they espied a companie of tall yeomen, clothed all in greene with greene hoods, and bowes and arrowes, to the number of two hundred. Then one of them, which called himselfe Robin hood, came to the king, desiring him to see his men shot; and the king was content. Then he whiffled, and all the two hundred archers shot and loosed at once; and then he whiffled againe, and they likewise shot againe; their arrowes whiffled by crack of the head, so that the noise was strange and great, and much pleased the king, the quene, and all the companie. All these archers were of the kings gard, and had thus apparelled themselves to make solace to the king.

Then Robin hood desired the king and quene to come into the greene wood, and to see how the outlawes liued. The king demanded of the quene & hir ladies, if they durst aduenture to go into the wood with so manie outlawes. Then the quene said, that if it pleased him she was content. Then the hounes blew, till they came to the wood vnder shooters hill, & there was an arbo made of boughes with a hall, and a great chamber; and an inner chamber verie well made and covered with flowers & sweet hearbs, which the king much praised. Then said Robin hood, Sir, outlawes breakfasts is venison, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we vse. Then the king and quene sat downe, and were serued with venison and wine by Robin hood and his men, to their great contentation.

When the king departed and his companie, and Robin hood and his men them conducted; and as they were

The duke of
Suffolke and
others sent
into France
to bring the
French
quene into
England.
Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 68.
Francis the
first comes to
the crowne.

This praise-
worthy pro-
perties.

The history
of the
quene
Dowager
France.
Polydor.
Edw. Hall.

Anno Reg.
The French
quene mar-
ried to the
duke of
Suffolke.

Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. lib. 4.
Robin hood
and his men
hundred and
present them-
selves to the
king & quene
in a merry
game.

An. RGS. 7.

were returning, there met with them two ladies in a rich chariot drawn with five horses, and every horse had his name on his head, and on euerie horse sat a lady with his name written. On the first courser called Cande, sat Humilitie; on the second courser called Pencon road lady Cler. On the third called Jheton sat lady Tegetur. On the fourth called Kimphon sat lady Pleasant. On the fifth called Lampace sat sweet About. And in the chaire sat lady Paie, accompanied with lady Floza, richly apparelled, and they saluted the king with diuerse goodlie songs, and so brought him to Greenwich. At this meeting was a great number of people to behold it to their great solace and comfort.

The same after none, the king, the duke of Suffolke, the marquisse Dorset, and the earle of Essex, their barbes and bases of greene velvet and cloth of gold, came into the field on great coursers, on whome waited diuerse gentlemen in silke of the same colour. On the other side entered sixteen lords and gentlemen, all apparelled richly after their deuises, and so valiantly they ran their courses appointed: after that, they ran volent one as fast as he might on crake another, which was a goodlie sight to see: and when all was done they departed, and went to a goodlie banquet. This summer the king took his progress westward, and visited his townes and castles there, and heard the complaints of his poore communalitie; and euer as he roode he hunted and liberalitie departed with venison.]

This yeare in September, the king being at his manour of Oking, after his returne from his progress which he made that yeare into the west parts, the archbishop of Yorke came thither to him. Whilke he sojourned there, a letter was brought to the said archbishop from Rome, aduertising him that he was elected cardinall, which letter incontinentlie he shewed to the king, disabling himselfe in wordes, though his intent was otherwise; and so the king did incourage him, and willed him to take that dignitie upon him, and called him from thenceforth my lord cardinall. But his hat, bull, nor other ceremonies were not yet come. In November, the king assembled his high court of parlement at Westminster, wherein, diuerse acts made in the first yeare were reformed and altered, and especiallye the act of apparell, and the act of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainelie appereth.

At the end of this parlement, doctor Warham archbishop of Cantuarburie, and as then lord chancellor, perceiving how the new lord cardinall medled further in his office of chancelorship than he could well suffer, except he should aduenture the kings displeasure; for this and for other considerations gaue up his office of chancelor into the kings hands, and deliuered to him the great seale, which incontinentlie was deliuered by the king vnto the lord cardinall, and so was he made lord chancelor. He was no longer in that office, but he directed forth commissions into euerie shire, for the execution of the statutes of apparell and labourers, and in all his doings shewed himselfe more loslie and presumptuous than became him. And he himselfe on a daie called a gentleman named Simon Fitz Richard, and took from him an old tacket of crimfin velvet and diuerse hooches, which extreame doing caused him greatlie to be hated: and by his example manie cruell officers for malice euill intreated diuerse of the kings subiects, in so much that one Shinning, maior of Rochester, set a young man on the pillorie for wearing of a riuen oz gathered shirt.

In the end of November, the cardinals hat was sent into England, which the gentlemen of Kent received, and brought to London with such triumph, as

though the greatest prince in Europe had bene come to visit the king [much like that of the people at Rome in the yeare 1515, when were sene in the said citie two elephants, a nature of creatures which hapilie had not bene sene in Italie since the triumphs and publike plates of the Romans. Emanuel king of Portugal sent to pope Leo the tenth a verie honorable ambassage, and withall presented him with these huge and statelie elephants, which his ships had brought by sea from India; their entring into Rome was celebrated with a verie great concourse of people, some wondering at the strange forme and stature of the beasts, some maruelling at what uses their nature inclined them, and some considering the respects and purposes of such a present, their ignorance making their wonder farre greater than their reason.]

No lesse adu was there at the bringing of the cardinals hat, who on a sundae (in S. Peters church at Westminster) received the same, with the habit, the piller, and other such tokens of a cardinall. And now that he was thus a perfect cardinall, he looked about all estates, which purchased him great hatred and disdaine on all sides. For his ambition was no lesse discernable to the eyes of the people, than the sunne in the firmament in a clere and cloudlesse summer daie; which procured against him the more hatred among the noble and popular sort; for that his base linage was both noted and knowne, in so much that his insatiable aspiring to supereminent degrees of dignitie kindled manifest contempt and detestation among such as pretended a countenance of god will and honorable dutie vnto him, though in verie deed the same parties (if frelie and without checke they might haue spoken their fanlie) would haue intitled him a proud popeling; as led with the like spirit of swelling ambition, wherewith the rable of popes haue bene bladder like puffed and blowne vp: a diuelish and luciferian vice, in the iudgements of men abhominable, and in the sight of God most damnable; as the poet in this distichon tralie witnesseth:

*Dij superi fastum, fastum mortales abhorrent,
Hac homini leuitas displicet atque Deo.*

Ch. H.

After the end of the parlement, sir Edward Poynings laboured to be discharged of the keeping of Coznaie, because he could not haue health there: and so he was discharged, and sir William Blunt lord Mountjoy was sent thither to haue that come, and for marshall was appointed sir Sampson Poyston. Immediatlie vpon their comming thither chanced a great riot, raised by the souldiers, so that to appease them, the lord Mountjoy was put in leoparchie of his life. In conclusion, to quiet them sir Sampson Poyston was banished the towne for euer, but what the matter was I haue not found rehearsed by anie writer. After that the citie was appeased, and euerie thing thought to be forgotten, diuerse of the offenders were executed, and diuerse banished the towne, some fled, and were confined both out of England and the towne.

The lord Mountjoy made gonerour of Cozmaie.

A mutinie amongst the souldiers at Cozmaie.

After the parlement was ended, the king kept a soleinne Christmasse at his manor of Eltham; and on the Twelue night in the hall was made a goodlie cassell, wonderfullie set out; and in it certeine ladies and knights, and when the king and queene were set, in came other knights and assailed the cassell, where manie a good stripe was giuen; and at the last the assailants were beaten awaie. And then issued out knights and ladies out of the cassell, which ladies were rich and strangelie disguised: for all their apparel was in haizes of gold, strewed with mounting spangls of siluer and gilt, set on crimfin sattin lose and not fastned: the mens apparell of the same sute made like Julius of Hungarie; and the ladies heads and bodies

The king kept his Christmasse at Eltham.

Courtlike pastime on the Twelue night.

bodies were after the fashion of Amsterdam. And when the dancing was done, the banquet was served in of two hundred dishes, with great plenty to euerie bodie.]

The birth of
Margaret
daughter to
the queene of
Scots, and of
the earle An-
gus after-
wards mar-
ried to the earle
of Lennox.

Edw. Hall,
The queene
of Scots and
the earle of
Angus hir
husband come
into Eng-
land.

1518
The birth of
ladie Marie
the kings
daughter, af-
terwards
queene.

Anno Reg. 8.

The king
underth for
the queene of
Scots and
hir husband
to his court.

The queene
of Scots
comming to
London, and
so to Grenew-
ich.

There
queenes in
the English
court at once.

This yere the new league accorded betwixt king Henrie & the French king was openly proclaimed through the cite of London by a trumpet. Margaret queene of Scots eldest sister to the k. came this yere into England, & at Harbottell castell was deliuered of a daughter, begot by hir second husband the lord Archembald Douglasse earle of Angus. This daughter was called at the fontstone after hir mother Margaret. The said queene after the death of hir late husband king James married the said earle of Angus, without consent of hir brother king Henrie, or other of hir friends; chælie (as some haue thought) for hir sonnes sake, doubting if she should not haue taken hir choise at home, she should haue married in some other place, and so haue bene sequestred from hir sonne, whose bringing vp appertained now chælie unto hir. But such contention rose shortly after in Scotland amongst the lords, that both she and hir husband were glad to seeke succor in England at hir brothers hand, who was contented to releue them, assigning them the said castell of Harbottell to lie in, with apparell and all other necessities, till his further pleasure should be knowne. The eighteenth daie of Februarie this yere, the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie the eight was borne at Grenewich. This was she that afterwards was queene of this realme, & married the king of Spaine. This yere also died the king of Aragon, father to the queene; for whom was kept a solemne obsequie in the cathedra church of Paules.

As ye haue heard the last yere how the queene of Scots with hir husband was come for succor into England, and laie at Harbottell in Roxthumberland, till the kings pleasure was to send for them; so now know you that he (like a naturall brother) sent for hir and hir husband to come to his court for their solace; for the which kindnesse the earle humble thanked the king, and promised to giue his attendance on the queene his wife to the court. Whereupon the king sent William Blacknall esquier, clerke of his spicerie with siluer vessel, plate, and other things necessarie for the conuenance of hir, and sent to hir all manner of officers for hir estate conuenient. Now when she was readie to depart, she asked for hir husband, but he was departed into Scotland, and left hir alone; nothing remembryng his promise. Which sudden departing much made hir to muse; howbeit, the lords of England greatly encouraged hir to keepe hir promise with the king hir brother.

Now when she was somewhat appeased, she set forward; and in euerie towne she was well receiued, & so on the third day of Maie she made hir entrie into London, riding on a white palfreie (which the queene of England had sent unto hir) behind sir Thomas Parre richlie besene, and with a great companie of lords and ladies. She rode through the cite to Watnards castell, and from thence she was conueied to Grenewich, and there receiued isolationie of the king, the queene, the French queene hir sister, and highlie was she feasted. And when the king heard that the earle of Angus hir husband was departed, he said it was done like a Scot. This queene sometime was at the court, and sometime at Watnards castell, and so she continued in England all this yere.

The king for the honour of his sister the nineteenth and twentieth daie of Maie prepared two solemne daies of iusts: and the king himselfe, and the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Essex, and Nicholas Carew esquier, took on them to answer all commers. The apparell of them and their horses was blacke veluet,

couered all ouer with branches of honic-suckles of fine flat gold of damaske of loose worke, euerie leafe of the branch moning, the embroidery was verie cunning and sumptuous. On the king was attending in one sute on horsebacke, the lord marquesse Dorset, the earle of Surrie, the lord Burgaunnie, the lord Hastings, sir John Pechie, the lord Ferrers, sir William Fitz Williams, and twelue other knights. All these were in strokes of blew veluet, garded with rich cloth of gold, and their horses trappers of blew veluet fringed with gold: and on foot were fortye persons all in blew sattin garded with cloth of gold. And so they entred the field with trumpets, drummes and other minstrellie. Then in came the counterpartie richlie apparelled, to the number of twelue: and on that daie euerie man did well, but the king did best, and so was adiudged; and so at night they ceased, and came to supper.

The king the next daie and his companie were apparelled (horses and all) in purple veluet, set full of leaues of cloth of gold ingrailed with fine flat gold of damaske embroidered like to rose leaues, and euerie leafe fastned to other with points of damaske gold, and on all their borders were letters of gold bullion. And on the king waited five lords, fourtene knights in strokes of yellosh veluet, garded and bound with rich cloth of gold: and thirtie gentlemen were in like apparell on foot, and fortye officers in yellosh sattin edged with cloth of gold. Thus with great triumph they entred the field. Then the counterpartie entred all clothed and barbed in white sattin trauesed with cloth of gold richlie. This daie was manie a great stripe giuen. The king and sir William Kingston ranne together; which sir William Kingston was a strong and a tall knight, & yet the king by strength overthrew him to the ground. And after that the king and his albs had performed their courses, they ranne volant at all commers, which was a pleasant sight to see. And when night approached, they all disarmed them, and went to the queenes chamber, where was a great banquet for the welcome of the queene of Scots.

In this moneth of Maie were sent out of England twelue hundred masons and carpenters, and three hundred laborers to the cite of Lorraine; for the king and his counsell considered that the garrison that was kept there was chargeable: and therefore it was determined that there should be bulled a castell to chælie the cite if they rebelled, and to minish the garrison. And therefore these workemen were sent thither, which this yere began a strong castell, and wrought still on it. In this yere, by the cardinall were all men called to account that had the occupieng of the kings monie in the warres or elsewhere, not to euerie mans contentation: for some were found in arrearages, and some saved themselves by policie and byberie, and waied rich, and some innocents were punished. And for a trust, he so punished perurie with open punishment, and open papers wearing, that in his time it was lesse used. He punished also lords, knights, and men of all sorts, for riots bearing and mainteining in their countries, that the poore men liued quietlie: who perceiving that he punished the rich, complained without number, and brought manie an honest man to trouble and vexation.

Now when the cardinall at the last perceived their untrue surmises, and feined complaints for the most part, he then waied wearis of hearing their causes, and ordeined by the kings commission diuerse under courts to heare complaints by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the White hall, the other before the kings almoner doctor Stokellere, a man that had moze learning than discretion to be a iudge, the third

The second
daie of
the same
yeld by the
king and
others
all commers.

A castell
built by
the king at
Lorraine.

Justice
taken
into by
certain
and
punish
offenders
of
summe
times
and
years.

Creation
of
new
courts
by the
kings
commission.

third was kept in the lord treasurers chamber beside the starre chamber, and the fourth at the rols at the after none. These courts were greatlie haunted for a time: but at the last the people perceived that much delaie was used in these courts, and few matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no man by the law; then euery man was werie of them and resorted to the common law.

It was strange to see the cardinall (a man not skilled in the laws) sit in the seat of iudgement and pronounce the law, being aided at the first by such as according to the ancient custome did sit as associates with him: but he would not sticke to determine sundrie causes, neither rightlie decided nor adiudged by order of law. And againe, such as were cleare cases, he would sometime prohibit the same to passe, call them into iudgement, frame an order in controuersies, and punish such as came with untrue surmises afore the iudges, & shapeliie reprove the negligence of the iudges themselves, which had received such surmises, and not well considered of the controuersies of the parties. And such was the administration of the cardinall vnder a colour of iustice at the first: but because the same seemed at length to be but a verie shadow or colour in deed, it quicklie banished awaie, he taking vpon him the whole rule himselfe, for that he saw the king made small account of anie other but onlie of him.

Whereby it came to passe, that manie of the pères and high estates of the realme withdrew them from the court; as first the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Winchester, which got them home into their diocesses. But yet before their departure (as god fathers of their countrie) they instantlie besought the king that he would not suffer anie seruant to erre and passe his maister: borrowing that sentence out of the gospel of saint John, where our Saviour speaking to his disciples, saith to them; Verelie, verelie, I say vnto you, the seruant is not greater than his maister. Herevnto the king, knowing that they meant this by the cardinall, made this answer, That he would diligentlie see, that euery seruant should obeye, and not command. But the cardinall notwithstanding (during the time of his flattering felicitie) held out, thinking soone to be countermanded; behauing himselfe more like a prince, than a prelat, so blinded was he with vaine glorie, and drunken with the transitorie delights of the world: obstinate impediments and most horrible hinderances to the permanent ioies of heauen, as the poet saith:

*Delicias mundi fragiles quimēte sequetur,
Perdidit eterni certissime gaudia cali.*

After this, the duke of Suffolke departed home into his countrie, and last of all the duke of Suffolke also followed the other. For he hauing spent liberalie in his iournies when he went as ambassadoe into France, also in the solemnization of his marriage, and in housekeeping since he was married, borrowed great summes of monie of the king, which he hoped should haue bene forgiven him: but the cardinall would not haue it so, to the intent that the duke being behind hand in debt, should be the more at commandement. For as wealth maketh men loslie, so both want make them lowlie. In the moneth of October, in this eight yeare of king Henrie, the bishop of Sion or Sittin, a cardinall (commonlie called the cardinall of the Switzes) came into England from the emperor Sparimilian.

At the contemplation of this cardinall, the king lent to the emperor a great summe of monie. But the chiefest matter that moued the king to be so free to Sparimilian, was because the same monie should be employed on men of warre against the French king, towards whome the king (or rather cardinall

Wolfeie) of late had conceived a grudge, as thus. True it is, that the king bestowed the reuenues of the see of Tornaie vpon the cardinall, at what time that see came into the kings hands: and therefore the cardinall being desirous to assure to himselfe the same, made sute to the French king, that he would prouide Guillard the former bishop of Tornaie of some other bishopricke in France, so that he might resign the bishopricke of Tornaie clearelie into his hands. The French king, perceiuing how much this should make against his purpose, that vpon occasion hoped euer to recouer the possession of Tornaie, would not gratifie the cardinall herein.

Wherevpon the cardinall turning the kings mind at his pleasure, persuaded him, that the next way to abate the French kings puissance (which in the beginning of his reigne had recouered Milan, and grew euery daie in power more than other) should be to mainteine the emperor with monie against him, so as the Frenchmen should be chastised without the trauell of him or his people. Herevpon was Richard Pale sent first into Germanie with a great summe of monie to wage the Switzes, which vnder the conduct of the emperor Sparimilian invaded the duchie of Milan; but without anie great gaine returned from thence, leauing Milan in the Frenchmens hands at that time. And now for a new reliefe was this cardinall of Sion sent from Milan, at whose instance monie was assigned to be deliuered, and certeine Genouaies undertooke the exchange, which made not payment thereof at the day, although they had received it of the king.

In this yeare the king kept his Christmasse at his manor of Greenwich, & on the Twelue night, according to the old custome, he and the queene came into the hall: and when they were set, and the queene of Scots also, there entered into the hall a garden artificiall, called the garden of Esperance. This garden was towred at euery corner, and railed with railles gilt, all the bankes were set with flowers artificiall of silke and gold, the leaues cut of greene satin, so that they seemed verie flowers. In the midst of this garden was a pillar of antique worke, all gold set with pearles and stones; and on the top of the pillar, which was six square, was a tower or an archembowed, crowned with gold: within which stood a bush of roses red and white, all of silke and gold, and a bush of pomegranats of like stuffe. In this garden walked six knights, and six ladies richlie apparelled; and then they descended and danced manie goodlie dances, and so ascended the garden againe, and were conueied out of the hall, and then the king was serued of a great banquet. After this Christmasse the king exercised himselfe much in hawking.

This yeare, and about this time, Richard Fox bishop of Winchester builded and founded Corpus Christi college in Oxford, and minded to haue appointed the same for a house of monks: but Hugh Aldom then bishop of Excester changed his mind from that purpose by these meanes. This Hugh Aldom albeit hee were not the best learned of himselfe, yet verie much and well affected towards learning and learned men; and was minded to haue enlarged Excester college. But being denied the preferment of a scholer, which stood then in election for a roome, his good will was withdrawne from that college, and he would haue ioined with William Smith bishop of Lincolne, who then was in building of Walsen nose college; but it took no effect. And then being aduertised that Richard Fox bishop of Winchester was in hand to build Corpus Christi college, hee did send his letters vnto him, and offered to ioine with him therein, who was verie glad thereof and well contented. So these two bishops conferring together what

The cardinall
an enimie to
peace.

Ed. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. lix.
A moueable
garden called
the garden of
Esperance,
verie colliie
& artificiall
wrought.

John Hooker,
alias Vowell.
Corpus Christi
college in
Oxford founded
by Richard Fox
bishop of Winchester.

what maner of house they should build, and to what end and purpose.

Bishop of Exeter is bitterlie against ffor the mind to found a college for monks.

Bishop For was of the mind and determination to haue made the college for religious men. But bishop Oldom (whether it was because he fauoured not those sects of cloistered monks, or whether he foresaw anie fall towards of those sects) dissuaded bishop For what he could from that his purpose and opinion, and said vnto him; What my lord, shall we build houses, and prouide liuelodes for a companie of bustling monks, whose end and fall we our selues maie lue to see? No, no, it is more meet a great deale, that we should haue care to prouide for the increase of learning, and for such as who by their learning shall do good in the church and commonwealth. To this bishop For at length yelded, and so they proceeded in their buildings. Wherin Oldom referring to for the name of the founder, was contented with the name of a benefactor, and verie liberallie did contribute great masses of monie to the same: and since (according to his wish and desire) the same college hath bene and is the nurse of manie notable good scholars.]

Oldom gtueth for the name of founder, & contenteth himselfe with the name of benefactor.

About this season there grew a great hartburning and malicious grudge amongst the Englishmen of the citie of London against strangers; and namelie the artificers found themselues sore grieved, for that such numbers of strangers were permitted to resort hither with their wares, and to exercise handie crafts to the great hinderance and impouering of the kings liege people. Besides that, they set nought by the rulers of the citie, & bare themselves too bold of the kings fauor, whereof they would insolentlie boast; vpon presumption thereof, & they offered manie an inuiolent abuse to his liege people, inasmuch that among other accidents which were manifest, it fortuned that as a carpenter in London called Williamson had bought two stockdowes in Cheape, and was about to pay for them, a Frenchman took them out of his hand, and said they were not meate for a carpenter.

Hall in H.8. fol. lix.

The insolent saucinesse of the Frenchmen against the English.

The directish notice of the Frenchmen.

Well said the Englishman I haue bought them and now paid for them, and therefore I will haue them. He said the Frenchman I will haue them for my lord the ambassadour. And so for better or worse, the Frenchman called the Englishman knaue, and went awate with the stockdowes. The strangers came to the French ambassadour, and submitted a complaint against the poore carpenter. And the ambassadour came to the lord maiour, and said so much, that the carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complained to the kings counsell, that the kings commandement was laid on him. And when sir John Baker knight and other worshipfull persons sued to the ambassadour for him, he answered by the bodie of God that the English knaue should lose his life, for he said no Englishman should denie that the Frenchmen required, and other answer had they none.

There was also a Frenchman that had slaine a man, and should abiure the realme, and had a crosse in his hand. When suddenlie came a great sort of Frenchmen about him, and one of them said to the constable that led him; Sir is this crosse the price to kill an Englishman. The constable was somewhat affrighted & answered not. Then said another Frenchman, On that price we should be banished all by the masse. This saying was noted to be spoken spitefullie. Howbeit, the Frenchmen were not alone oppressors of the Englishmen. For a Lombard called Francis de Barb, enticed a mans wife in Lombard street to come to his chamber with his husbands plate, which thing she did. After, when his husband knew it, he demanded his wife, but answer was

made he should not haue hir: then he demanded his plate, and in like maner answer was made that he should neither haue plate nor wife. And when he had sued an action against the stranger in the Guildhall, the stranger so faced the Englishman, that he fainted in his lute. When the Lombard arrested the poore man for his wifes bond, while he kept hir from his husband in his chamber.

This abuse was much noted, so that the same and manie other oppressions done by them, increased such a malice in the Englishmens hearts, that at the last it burst out. For amongst other that foregrewed at these matters, there was a broker in London called John Lincolne, that busied himselfe so farre in the matter, that about Palmes funde in this eight yeare of the kings reigne, he came to one doctor Henrie Standish with these words; Sir I vnderstand that you shall preach at the sandnaries spittle on mondaie in Easter weeke, and so it is, that Englishmen, both merchants and other are bounde, for strangers haue more libertie in this land than Englishmen, which is against all reason, and also against the common-weale of the realme. I beseech you therefore to declare this in your sermon, and in so doing ye shall deserue great thanks of my lord maiour, and of all his brethren: and herewith he offered vnto the said doctor Standish a bill, containing this matter more at large.

But doctor Standish (wiselie considering that there might more inconuenience rise thereof, than he would wish, if he should deale in such sort) both wiselie refused the bill, and told Lincolne plainlie, that he ment not to meddle with anie such matter in his sermon. Wherevpon the said Lincolne went vnto one doctor Bele a canon of the foresaid spittle, that was appointed to preach likewise vpon the tuesday in Easter weeke at the same spittle, whome he perswaded to read his said bill in the pulpit. Which bill in effect contained how miserablie the common artificers liued, and scarce could get anie worke to find them, their wiues & children: there were such a number of artificers strangers that toke awate all their liuing in manner. And also how the English merchants could haue no utterance, for the merchant strangers bring in all silkes, cloth of gold, wine, oile, iron, and such other merchandize, that no man almost buieth of an Englishman.

Furthermore, they carie out so much English wool, tinne, and lead, that Englishmen who aduenture outward can haue no liuing: which things (said Lincolne) hath bene shewed to the counsell, and cannot be heard. And further (said he) the strangers compass the citie round about, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, saint Martins, saint Johns street, Algate, Tower hill, and saint Katharins, and forest all the market, so that no good thing for them cometh to the market: which is the cause that Englishmen want and starue, & they lue abundantlie in great pleasure. Wherefore (said Lincolne) maister doctor, sith you were borne in London, and see the oppression of the strangers, and the great miserie of your owne native countrie, erport all the citizens to ioint in one against these strangers, raueners, and destroyers of your countrie. After doctor hearing this, said he much lamented the case, if it were as Lincolne had declared.

Yes said Lincolne, that it is, and much more. For the Dutchmen bring over iron, tinne, leather, and weincoth readie wrought; also nales, locks, balckets, cupboards, stoles, tables, chests, girdles, with points, saddles & painted clothes, so that if it were wrought here, Englishmen might haue some worke and liuing by it. And besides this, they grow into such a multitude, that it is to be looked vpon: for I saw on a funde

John Lincolne came to one doctor Henrie Standish with these words; Sir I vnderstand that you shall preach at the sandnaries spittle on mondaie in Easter weeke, and so it is, that Englishmen, both merchants and other are bounde, for strangers haue more libertie in this land than Englishmen, which is against all reason, and also against the common-weale of the realme. I beseech you therefore to declare this in your sermon, and in so doing ye shall deserue great thanks of my lord maiour, and of all his brethren: and herewith he offered vnto the said doctor Standish a bill, containing this matter more at large.

By great particular in Lincolnes bill for the case of artificers.

Lincolne a great comer to strangers.

Lincolne a great comer to strangers.

sun daie this Lent, six hundred strangers shating at the poppinge with crobbowes, and they keepe such assemblies and fraternities together, and make such gathering to their common bor, that euerie botcher will hold plice with the cite of London. Well said the doctor, I will do for a reformation of this matter as much as a preest maie do, and so recited Lincolns bill, and studied for his purpose. Then Lincolne berie toious of his enterprise, went from man to man, saing that shortly they should heare news, and da-
lie excited yong people and artificers to beare ma-
lice to the strangers. When Easter came, and doctor Beke should preach the tuesday in Easter weeke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared, that to him was brought a pitifull bill, and read it in this wise.

The tenor of the bill of complaint
which doctor Beke read in open audi-
ence at the Spitle.

Tall you the worshipfull lordes & maisters of this cite, that will take compassion ouer the poore people your neighbours, and also of the great importable hurts, losses, and hinderances, whereof proceedeth the extream pouertie to all the kings subiects, that inhabit within this cite and suburbs of the same. For so it is, that the aliens & strangers eat the bread from the fatherlesse children, and take the liuing from all the artificers, and the intercoure from all merchants, whereby pouertie is so much increased, that euerie man bewaileth the miserie of other; for craftmen be brought to beggerie, and merchants to needinesse. Wherefore the premises considered, the redresse must be of the commons, knit and bound to one part. And as the hurt and damage graueeth all men, so must all men set to their willing power for remedie, & not to suffer the said aliens so highlie in their wealth; & the naturall borne men of this region to come to confusion. ¶ Of this letter was moze, but the doctor read no further.

When he had read this letter, or the chiefest part thereof, comprehending (as ye haue heard) much seditions matter, he began with this sentence, *Celum calis Dominus, terram autem dedit filijs hominum*, and upon this text he intreated, how this land was giuen to Englishmen. And as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and mainteine themselves, and to hurt and grieue aliens for respect of their common-wealth. And upon this text *Pugna pro patria*, he brought in, how by Gods law it was lawfull to fight for their countrie. And thus he subtilie moued or rather indiscreetlie prouoked the people to rebell against strangers. By this foolish sermon, manie a light person toke courage, and openlie spake against strangers. And as vn hap would, there had bene diuerse euill parts plaied of late by strangers, in and about the cite of London, which kindled the peoples rancour the moze furiously against them.

Now as the diuell would, the sun daie after at Greenwich in the kings gallerie was Francis de Bard, who (as ye haue heard) kept an Englishmans wife and his goods, and yet he could haue no remedie; and with him were Domingo, Anthonie Caueler, and manie moze strangers, and there they talking with sir Thomas Palmer knight, teased and laughed

how that Francis kept the Englishmans wife, saing that if they had the maiors wife of London they would haue hir. Sir Thomas said, Sirs you haue too much fauour in England. There were diuerse English merchants by, who heard them laugh, and were not content, in so much as one William Bolt a mercer said; Well you whoseon Lombards, you reioice and laugh, by the masse we will one daie haue a sting at you, come when it will. And that saing the other merchants affirmed. This tale was reported about London, and the yong and euill disposed people said they would be reuenged on the merchants strangers as well as on the artificers strangers. ¶ On monday the morow after, the king remoued to his manor of Richmond.

On the eight and twentieth daie of Aprill, diuerse yong men of the cite piked quarels to certeine strangers as they passed by the streets, some they did strike, some they buffeted, and some they threw into the kennell: wherefore the maior sent some of the Englishmen to prison, as Stephan Stubleie skinner, Betts, Stephanson, and diuerse other. Then suddenly rose a secret rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that on spais daie next the cite would rebell and slea all the aliens, insomuch that diuerse strangers fled out of the cite. This brute ran so into euerie mans eares, that it came to the knowledge of the kings counsell, whereupon the lord cardinall sent for the maior, and other of the counsell of the cite, giuing them to vnderstand what he had heard.

The maior, as one ignorant of the matter, told the cardinall that he doubted not but so to gouerne the cite, as peace should be obserued. The cardinall willed him so to do; and to take good heed, that if anie such riotous attempt was intended, he should with good policie prevent it. The maior came from the cardinals house at foure of the clocke in the after none on spais euen, and in all hast sent for his brethren to the Guildhall; yet was it almost seuen of the clocke per the assemblee was set. Upon conference had of the matter touching the rumour that was spred abroad of the rebellion against the strangers, some thought it necessarie that a substantiall watch should be set, of the honest citizens householders which might withstand the euill doers, if they went about anie misrule.

But other were of this opinion, that it was dangerous to raise men in armour, because it was hard to tell whome they might trust; but rather they thought it best that commandement should be giuen to euerie man through euerie ward, to shut in his doores, & to keepe his seruants within. Before eight of the clocke the recorder was sent to the cardinall with these opinions; who hearing the same, allowed the latter for best and most surest. And then the recorder and sir Thomas More (late vnder shiriffe of London, and now of the kings priuie counsell) came to the Guildhall halfe an houre before nine of the clocke, and there shewed the pleasure of the kings counsell; whereupon euerie alderman sent to his ward, that no man should stirre after seauen of the clocke out of his house, but to keepe his doores shut, and his seruants within, till nine of the clocke in the morning.

After this commandement giuen, in the evening, as sir John Spundie (an alderman) came from his ward, and found two yong men in Cheape plaining at the bucklers, and a great manie of yong men looking on them (for the commandement was then scarce knowen) he commanded them to leaue of. And for that one of them asked, why? he would haue had him to the Counter. Then all the yong prentises kept to, and resisted the alderman, taking the yong fellow from him, & cried; Prentises and clubs. Then

Note the fauour, haue, shamelesse, and dishonest dealing of the strangers in their lewdnes

Anno Reg. 9. Strangers inuiouslie abused of diuerse yong men.

The cardinall advise to the maior in this hurle burie.

Counsell taken by the maior and his brethren how to prevent the hurt at hand.

Guill Gate daie, as Edw. Hall noteth it.

The heat of
the huns
burles.

out at euerie doore came clubs and weapons. The alderman fled and was in great danger. Then more people arose out of euerie quarter, and forth came seruicemen, watermen, courtiers, and others; so that by eleuen of the clocke, there were in Cheape, six or seven hundred; and out of Paules churchyard came three hundred, which knew not of the other. So out of all places they gathered, & brake by the counters, took out the prisoners that the maior had thither committed for hurting the strangers, and came to Newgate, and took out Studeleie and Petit committed thither for that cause.

The raging
madnesse of
the mutiners.

The maior and shiriffes were present there, and made proclamation in the kings name, but nothing was obeyed. Herewith being gathered in plumpes, they ran thorough saint Nicholas shambles, and at saint Martins gate there met with them sir Thomas More, and others, desiring them to go to their lodgings. And as they were thus intreating, and had almost persuaded the people to depart, they within saint Martins threw out stones, bats, and hot water; so that they hurt diuerse honest persons that were there with sir Thomas More, persuading the rebellious persons to cease, inasmuch as at length one Nicholas Downes a sergeant of armes being there with the said sir Thomas More, & so hurt amongst others, in a furie, cried; Downe with them. And then all the misruled persons ran to the houses and windows of the houses with saint Martins, and spoiled all that they found.

Nicholas
Downes so
hurt.

And
there.

The rioters
malicious
purpose a-
gainst one
Pewtas.

And
there
was
done.

Sir Thomas
More infor-
meth the king
of the riot and
rebellion.

And
there
was
done.

Certaine
lords with
their powers
come to Lon-
don about
this riot.

After that, they ran headlong into Cornhill, & there likewise spoiled diuerse houses of the French men that dwelled within the gate of maister Pewtas house called Greene gate. This maister Pewtas was a Picard boine, and reputed to be a great bearer of Frenchmen in their occupiengs and trades, contrarie to the lawes of the citie. If the people had found him, they would surely haue striken off his head: but when they found him not, the watermen and certeine yong preests that were there fell to risking, and some ran to Blanchapelson, and brake by the strangers houses, and spoiled them. Thus from ten or eleuen of the clocke, these riotous people continued in their outrageous doings till about three of the clocke, at what time they began to withdraw, and went to their places of resort: and by the waie they were taken by the maior and the heads of the citie, and sent some of them to the Tower, some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of three hundred.

Manie fled, and speciallie the watermen, preests, & seruicemen, but the prentises were caught by the backs and had to prison. In the meane time, whilest the hottest of this ruffling lasted, the cardinall was aduertised thereof by sir Thomas Parre: whereupon the cardinall strengthened his house with men and ordinance. Sir Thomas Parre rode in all haste to Richmond, where the king laie, and informed him of the matter; who incontinentlie sent forth bassilie to London, to vnderstand the state of the citie, and was truelie aduertised how the riot was ceased, and manie of the misdoers apprehended. The lieutenant of the Tower sir Roger Cholmeleie (no great friend to the citie) in a franticke furie, during the time of this uprore, shot off certeine peeces of ordinance against the citie. And though they did no great harme: yet he wan much euill will for his hastie doing, because men thought he did it of malice, rather than of anie discretion.

About five of the clocke the earles of Shrewsbury and Surrie, Thomas Dokerie lord of saint Johns, George Peuill lord of Aburgauennie, and others, which had heard of this riot, came to London with such strength as they could make upon that sad-

den, and so did the Iunes of court. But before they came, whether with feare of the hute of their coming, or otherwise, the riotous assemblie was broken by, and manie of the misdoers taken (as ye haue heard.) Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of doctor Beke called to remembrance, and he taken and sent to the Tower. Herewith was a commission of oier and determiner directed to the duke of Norfolk, and to diuerse other lords, to the lord maior of London, and the aldermen, and to all the iustices of England, for punishment of this insurrection. [The citie thought the duke bare them a grudge for a lewd preest of his, which the yeare before was slain in Cheape, inasmuch that he then in his furie said; I praye God I maie once haue the citizens in my danger! And likewise the duke thought that they bare him no good will; wherefore he came into the citie with thirtene hundred men in harness to keepe the oier and determiner.

Now upon examination it could neuer be proued of anie meeting, gathering, talking, or conuenticle, at anie daie or time before that daie; but that the chance so happened without anie matter premeditated of anie creature sauing Lincoln, and neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onelie he. When proclamations were made, that no women should come together to babble and talke, but all men should keepe their wiues in their houses. All the streets that were notable stood full of harnessed men, which spake manie opprobrious words to the citizens, which grieved them sore: and if they would haue bene reuenged, the other had had the worse: for the citizens were two hundred to one, but like true subiects they suffered patientlie. Now for the due correction (according to law) of this disorder, all the iustices with all the kings counsell learned in the lawes, assembled at the house of sir John Fincure lord chiefe iustice of England nere to saint Brides by Fleetstreet, to take advice, and conclude upon the order which they should follow in this matter, and first there was read the statute of the third yeare of Henrie the first, the effect whereof insurth in these words following.

The statute made in anno tertio of Henrie the first.

Because that diuers nations com-
prised within the truces con-
cluded as well by our souereigne lord
the king that now is, as by his
right noble father, haue bene robbed and
spoiled by the kings lieges and subiects, as
well on the maine seas as within the ports
and coasts of England, Ireland, & Wales,
by reason whereof, the truces and safe con-
ducts haue broken and violated, to the da-
mage, dishonour, and slander of the king,
and against his dignitie, & the manslaughter,
spoilers, robbers, & violaters of the same
truces and safe conducts (as before is de-
clared) haue bene recetted, procured, coun-
selled, vpholden, and maintained by diuerse
of the kings liege people upon the coasts:
our said souereigne lord the king by the ad-
uise and assent abouesaid, and at the prayer
of the said commons, hath ordeined and es-
tablished, that all such manslaughter, rob-
bers, spoilers, breakers of truces, and safe
conducts granted by the king, and the wil-
full recetters, abettors, procurers, coun-
sellors, sustainers and maintainers of such
persons, hereafter in time to come, being
an

A comma-
ndment was
sent to the
duke of Nor-
folk, and to
all the iustices
of England,
for punish-
ment of this
insurrection.
The citie
thought the
duke bare
them a grudge
for a lewd
preest of his,
which the
yeare before
was slain in
Cheape.

Sir John
Fincure.

His statute
hath the
rioters been
in compell-
ment of
triall.

anie of the lieges & subiects of this realme of England, Ireland, & Wales, are to be adiudged and determined as guiltie of high treason committed against the crowne & dignitie of the king. And further, in euerie haven and port of the sea, there shall be from hence forth made and assigned by the king, by his letters pattents, one lawfull officer named a conservator of truces and safe conducts granted by the king, which officer shall dispend at the least ten pounds in land by yeare, &c: as in the statute moze at large is expessed.

These truces were made between the king and the French king, and another betwixt him and the archduke of Burgogne, and another betwixt him & the king of Spaine (all the which truces were violated by the said insurrection) it was determined by the whole councell there assembled, that the kings sergeants and attournies should go to the lord chancellor, to haue a sight of all the said leagues and charters of truces, to the intent they might frame their indictments according to the matter. And note that iudge Fineur said, that all such as were parties to the said insurrection, were guiltie of high treason, as well those that did not commit anie robbery, as those that were principall doers therein themselves, because that the insurrection in it selfe was high treason, as a thing practised against the regall honour of our soveraigne lord the king.

Page 843. The said Fineur made against the statute of laborers. For so (said he) it came to passe, that certeine persons within the countie of Kent began an insurrection, in disobedience of the statute of laborers, and were attainted therfore of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, and quartered. He shewed where and when this chanced. It was further determined by the said Fineur, and all the iustices of the land, that upon the said commission of oier and terminer in London, the iustices named in the said commission, might not arreigne the offenders, and proceed to the trial in one selfe daie, no moze than might the iustices of peace. But iustices in oier might so doe, as well as the iustices of gaole deliuerie: and as the insufficiencie of the iurors within the citie to passe betwixt the king and the said traitors, the iustices determined, that he that had lands, and goods, to the value of an hundred marks, should be inabled to passe upon the said indictments. And this by the equitie of the statute of *Anno undecimo Henrici septimi*, the which will, that no man be admitted to passe in anie inquest in London in a plee of lands, or other action, in which the damages shall passe the value of fourtie shillings, except he be worth in lands or goods the value of an hundred markes.

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On saturdaye the second of Maie, in this ninth yeare, all the commissioners, with the lord maior, aldermen, and iustices, went to the Guildhall, where manie of the offenders were indicted, as well of the insurrection, as of the robberies by them committed against the truces. Whereupon they were arreigned, & pleading not guiltie, had day giuen till monday next ensuing. On which daie being the fourth of Maie, the lord maior, the duke of Norfolk, the earle of Surrie and others came to sit in the Guildhall, to proceed in their oier and terminer as they were appointed. When the lords were set, the prisoners were brought through the streets tied in ropes, some men, and some lads of thirtene yeares of age. Among them were

diuerse not of the citie, some priests, some husbandmen, and labourers. The whole number amounted unto two hundred thre score and eightene persons.

This daie was John Lincolne indicted as a principall procurer of this mischievous insurrection, and thereupon he was arreigned, and pleading not guiltie, had daie giuen ouer till wednesdaye, or as Hall saith till thursday next ensuing. He was charged with such matter (as before ye haue heard) concerning his sute unto doctor Standish, and doctor Bele, for the reading of this bill in their sermons, and opening the matter (as before ye haue heard) all which matter with the circumstances he had confessed on sundae the third of Maie, unto sir Richard Cholmeie, sir John Danlie, & sir Hugh Skenington. Diuers other were indicted this mondaie, and so for that time the lords departed. The next daie the duke came againe, & the earle of Surrie with 2000 armed men, which kept the streets. When the maior, the duke, the earles of Shrewsburie and Surrie were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and thirtene found guiltie, and adiudged to be hanged, drawne, and quartered. For execution whereof were set vp eleuen paire of gallowses in diuerse places where the offenses were done, as at Algate, at Blanchapellon, Crations streete, Leaden hall, and before euerie counter one, also at Pewgate, at saint Spartins, at Aldersgate, and at Bishopsgate.

Then were the prisoners that were iudged brought to those places of execution: and executed in most rigorous maner, in the presence of the lord Edmund Howard son to the duke of Norfolk, & knight marshall, who shewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie to the poore wunglings in their execution: and likewise the dukes servants spake manie opprobrious words, some bad hang, some bad draw, some bad set the citie on fire, but all was suffered. On thursdaie the twentieth of Maie, was Lincolne, Shirwin, and two brethren called Betts, and diuerse other adiudged to die. Then Lincolne said, My lords, I meant well: for if you knewe the mischief that is insued in this realme by strangers, you would remedie it, & manie times I haue complained, and then I was called a buffe fellow: now our Lord haue mercie on me. They were laid on hardels, & drawne to the standard in Cheape, and first was John Lincolne executed. And as the other had the ropes about their neckes, there came a commandement from the king to respite the execution. Then the people cried, God saue the king, and so was the oier and terminer deferred till another daie, and the prisoners sent againe to ward: the armed men departed out of London, and all things set in quiet.

On the eleuenth daie of Maie, the king came to his manor of Greenwich, where the recorder of London and diuerse aldermen came to speake with his grace, and all wore gownes of blacke colour. And when they perceived the king comming out of his private chamber into his chamber of presence, they kneeled downe, and the recorder said: Our most naturall, benigne, and soueraigne lord, we knowe well that your grace is displeased with vs of your citie of London, for the great riot late done: we ascerteine your grace, that none of vs, nor no honest person were condescending to that enormitie, and yet we, our wiues, and children, euerie houre lament that your fauour should be taken from vs. And for so much as light and sole persons were the doers of the same, we most humbly beseech your grace to haue mercie of vs for our negligence, and compassion of the offenders for their offense and trespass.

Trulie said the king, you haue highlie displeased and offended vs, and you ought to walle and be sore for the same. And where as you saie that you the subiects

The whole number of the rebellious rout.

what was said to Lincolne charged,

Eleuen paire of gallowses erected for the executing of the rebels,

Edw. Hall. in Hen. 8. fol. liij.

John Lincolne the assize of ill Maie daie executed in Cheape side.

Edw. Hall. in H. 8. fol. lix.

The recorder in the behalfe of the citie speaketh humbly to the king, touching the riot.

The kinges answer where in their sute is denied.

Sancti

"stantiall persons were not consenting to the same, it appeareth to the contrarie. For you neuer moued to let them, nor stirred once to fight with them, which you say were so small a number of light persons. Wherefore we must thinke, and you can not denie, that you did winke at the matter, but at this time we will grant to you neither our fauour nor good will, nor to the offenders mercie, but resort to the cardinall our lord chancellour, and he shall make you an answer, and declare our pleasure. And with this answer the Londoners departed, and made relation to the maior.

The queene of Scots returneth toward Scotland.

On the eighteenth day of this moneth, the queene of Scots, which had bene at the court, and at Barnardes castell, a whole yeare at the kings charge, and was richlie appointed of all things meet to hir estate, both of iewels, plate, tapistrie, arras, coine, hories, & all other things of the kings gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great riches, albeit she came into England with great povertie, and she entered into Scotland the thirteenth daie of June, whome hir husband receiued at Berwick, but the Englishmen smallie regarded him. All hir charges within the realme, comming to the court and returning, were of the kings purse.

The king cometh to westminster hall, and there sitteth in iudgement himselfe.

On thursdaie the two & twentieth daie of Maie, the king came into Westminster hall, for whome at the upper end was set a cloth of estate, and the place hang'd with arras. With him was the cardinall, the dukes of Suffolke and Suffolke, the earles of Shrewsburie, of Essex, of Wiltshire, & Surrie, with manie lords and other of the kings counsell. The maior & aldermen, with all the chiefe of the citie were there in their best luerie (according as the cardinall had appointed them) by nine of the clocke. Then the king commanded that all the prisoners should be brought forth, so that in came the poore yonglings and old false knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their shirts, and euerie one a halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men, and eleuen women. And when all were come before the kings presence, the cardinall rose laid to the maior and comminallie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that they had deserued death for their offense. When all the prisoners together cried; Mercie gracious lord, mercie. Herewith the lords altogether besought his grace of mercie, at whose sute the king pardoned them all. Then the cardinall gaue vnto them a good exhortation, to the great gladnesse of the hearers.

The kings gracious and generall pardon.

Now, when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners shouted at once, & all together cast by their halters into the hall rose, so that the king might perceiue they were none of the discreet sort. Here is to be noted, that diuerse offenders, which were not taken, hearing that the king was inclined to mercie, came well appavelled to Westminster, and suddenlie stripped them into their shirts with halters, and came in among the prisoners willingly, to be partakers of the kings pardon. By which doing, it was well knowne, that one John Gelson peoman of the crowne was the first that began to spoile, and exhorted other to do the same: and because he fled and was not taken, he came in with a rope among the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke wagon. When were all the gallows within the citie taken downe, and manie a good praier said for the king, and the citizens toke more heed to their seruants. But the kings mercie ministred abundant matter of communication, euerie one (speciallie the pardoned and their allies) founding the benefit of his roiall clemencie, whereby of dead men they became liuing, and had sustained the seuerer sentence of law, had not mercie

The blacke wagon that followed all Maie daie.

remitted the fault and the punishment, which beareth the force of iudgement, as the poet trulie saith:

Iudicij nervos frangit miseratio clemens.

In June the king had with him diuerse ambassadours, for solace of whome he prepared a collie tuffes, he himselfe & twelue more against the duke of Suffolke and other twelue. His base and bard was the one halfe cloth of siluer, & the other halfe blacke finsel. On the siluer was a curious lose worke of beluet imbrodered with gold, cut on the siluer, and euerie cut ingrailed with gold, so that that side was gold, siluer, and beluet. On the blacke finsel side was blacke beluet imbrodered with gold, and cut, and euerie cut was ingrailed with flat gold of damaske. The base and bard were brodered with great letters of maslie gold bullion, full of pearles and stones, maruellous rich: all his companie were in like sute, saving that they had no iewels. The king had on his head a ladies heere full of diamonds. On the king attended gentlemen, armours, and other officers, to the number of an hundred and twentie fine persons, all in white beluet and white sattin, horse and harness for horsemen, caps and hosen for footmen, all white, at the kings cost. Thus roiallie the king and his companie with his waiters came to the tilts end.

Then entered the duke of Suffolke, with the marques Dorset, the earls of Essex and Surrie, and eight other of his band, in bardes and bases of white beluet and crimson sattin loriged, set full of letters of C. M. of gold, for Charles and Marie, and they toke the other end of the tilt. Then the trumpets blew, and the king and the duke ran fiercely together, and brake manie speares, and so did all the other, that it was hard to saie who did best. But when the courses were run, they ran volant one at another, so that both by the report of sir Edward Clifford maister of the armourie, and also of the iudges and heralds, at these iustes were broken five hundred and six speares: and then the king the same night made the ambassadours a sumptuous banquet, with manie ribells and much pastime. After this great triumph, the king appointed his ghefts for his pastime this summer; but suddenlie there came a plague of sicknesse, called the sweating sicknesse, that turned all his pastime.

This maladie was so cruell, that it killed some within three houres, some within two houres, some merrie at dinner, and dead at supper. Marie died in the kings court, the lord Clinton, the lord Erle of Wiltton, and manie knights, gentlemen, and officers. For this plague Michaelmasse tearme was adourned. And because that this maladie continued from Iulie to the midd of December, the king kept himselfe ever with a small companie, and held no solenne Christmasse, willing to haue no resort for feare of infection: but much lamented the number of his people, for in some one towne halfe the people died, and in some other towne the third part, the sweat was so feruent and infectious. [By the extreme thereof, and the multitudes with such suddennesse and present mortallitie dropping auaie: it should seme that they little remembered, or at least little neglected the preservative remedie used in the first great sweating sicknesse in king Henrie the seuenths time, whereby as then manie a mans life was saued, so now the like benefit (by applieng of the same wholsome meanes) might haue rebounded to the patients.]

In the beginning of this yeare, Crinitie tearme was begun at Drenford, where it continued but one daie, and was againe adourned to Westminster. This yeare came to Calis from pope Leo, a legat De latere, called Laurence Campesius borne in Bullogne

Solomon as
describes
the king and
others.

The king and
his company
glorious here

The king and
the duke run
personallie.

The sweating
sicknesse pre-
empting and
debilitie.

Abt. Flen.

* See before
pag. 783. 24.

1519
Anno Reg. 14
The tearme
begun at 25
febre and ad-
ourned to
Westminster.

An. Reg. 10.

logne la Grasse, commonlie called cardinall Campeius, to require the king of aid against the Turke. At the request of the king of England, and also of the French king (which sought now to be received into friendship with the king of England) pope Leo constituted the said cardinall Wolffe his legat in England, joining him in commission with the said Campeius, the which staid at Calis untill the bulles were brought from Rome touching that matter. There was also an other cause that staid Campeius at Calis, & that was a sute which cardinall Wolffe had moued for the obtaining of the bishoprike of Bath, which benefice cardinall Adrian Castilian intoid by the collation of king Henrie the seventh.

This cardinall Adrian being fallen in the popes displeasure, withdrew out of the court of Rome into Venice: and in the meane time cardinall Campeius, at the instance of cardinall Wolffe, wrote to the pope, that cardinall Adrian might be deprived of that bishoprike, to the end that cardinall Wolffe might haue the same. Which request was accomplished, and the bulles sent vnto Calis; so that then cardinall Campeius, after he had remained at Calis three moneths, came ouer into England, and was received with all pompe & honour that might be desired. Inasmuch that cardinall Wolffe had sent to the legat (whilest he late at Calis) red cloth to cloath his seruants, which at their comming to Calis were but meanelie appareled. And when all things were ready, he passed the sea and landed at Dover; and so kept forth his iourne toward London.

At euerie towne as they passed, he was receiued with procession, and accompanied with all the lords & gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheath, there met him the duke of Norfolk, with a great number of prelates, knights, & gentlemen, all richlie appareled. And in the waie he was brought into a rich tent of cloath of gold, where he shifted himselfe into the robe of a cardinall, edged with ermins; and so toke his mule riding towards London. The night before he came to London, the cardinall of Porke, to furnish the carriages of the cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelue mulets with emptie coffers couered with red: which twelue mulets were led thorough London amongst the mulets of Campeius, which were but eight; and so these twentie mulets passed thorough the streets, as though they had bene full of treasures, apparell, & other necessities.

Now when they came into Cheape, one of the mulets brake from his keeper, and ouerthrew the chests, and ouerturned two or three other mulets carriages, which fell with such a violence, that diuerse of them vnlocked; & out of some fell old hosen, broken shoes, and roasted flesh, peeces of bread, egges, and much vile baggage. At which sight the boies cried; See, see my lord legats treasure: and so the muletters were ashamed, and toke vp all their stufte and passed forth. About three of the clocke in the after none on the twentieth day of Iulie the said legat entered the cite, and in Southwoke met him all the clergie of London, with crosses, censours, and copes, and censed him with great reuerence. The mayo; and aldermen, with all the occupations of the cite in their best liveries stood in the streets, and him highlie honoured: to whome sir Thomas More made a brasse oration in the name of the cite.

Now when he came to Paules, there he was receiued with bishops mitred, and vnder a canopie entered the church: which canopie his seruants toke for their fens. And when he had offered, he gaue his benediction to all the people, & toke againe his mule, & so with all his traine aforesaid was conueied to Bath place, and there rested: where he was welcommed of

cardinall of Porke. On sundate next ensuing, these two cardinals as legats toke their barges, & came to Grenewich, each of them had besides their crosses two pillars of fluer, two little axes gilt, and two cloake-bags embroidered, & the cardinals hats borne before them. And when they came to the kings hall, the cardinall of Porke went on the right hand: and there the king roiallie appareled and accompanied, met them euen as though both had come from Rome and so brought them both vp into his chamber of presence.

Then a solemne oration was made by an Italian, declaring the cause of the legacie to be in two articles, one for aid against Gods enemies, and the second for reformation of the clergie. And when masse was done, they were had to a chamber, and serued of lordes and knights, with much solemnitie: and after dinner they toke their leaue of the king, and came to London, and rode through the cite together, in great pompe and glorie to their lodgings. This cardinall Campeius for his friendship shewed in helping the cardinall of England to the bishoprike of Bath, was considered (besides other great rewards) with the bishoprike of Salisbury, the profits whereof he receiued, untill the act was established, that no forrenner should inioine any spirituall benefice within this realme. But for the chiefest errand that this cardinall Campeius came, he could haue no toward answer: which was (as you haue heard) to haue lea-
30 nued a summe of monie by waie of tenths in this realme, to the maintenance of the warre in defense of the christan confines against the Turke.

There were at the same time other legats sent into other parts of Christendome about the same matter, as into France, Spaine, and Germanie. For pope Leo calling to remembrance, that the feare conceived of the Turkes had brought no small gainnes to diuerse of his predecessours, he began to feare too. But for that such feare was now too well knowne to be v-
40 sed as an ordinarie shift of the popes, when they stood in need of monie, this practise was at this time vfed in vaine; so that Campeius hearing that it toke not place in other parties, left off his earnest sute about it, and with great rewards receiued of the king and cardinall, returned to Rome, not without hope yet (by reason of promises made vnto him by his friends) that the popes request might hereafter be granted, according to his motion. There attended him to Rome one John Clarke a lawier, as ambassador from the king.

This man obtained for the cardinall, authoritie to dispense with all men for offenses committed against the spirituall lawes, which part of his power legantine was verie profitable and gainefull. For then he set vp a court, and called it the court of the legat: in the which he proued testaments, and heard causes, to the great hinderance of all the bishops of this realme. He visited bishops, and all the cleargie exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of reformation he got much treasure. For thorough bribes & rewards, notorious offenders were dispensed with, so that nothing was reformed, but came to more mischief. The example of his pride, caused prelates and all spirituall persons to wax so proud, that they rushed it out in velvet and silks, which they wore both in gounnes, sackets, doublets, and shoes. They vfed open lecherie, and bare themselves so stout by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst reprove any thing in them. So that we see here vrefied in proue how forcible the examples of great men be in the inferiour sort; as the wise man truelie saith;

*Qualis erit princeps, talis profectus habetur,
Nobilitas qualis, plebs quoque talis erit.*

[But before we inferre further processe of other accidents,

The glorious shew of pompous port of the two cardinals going to the court.

See after in the extract out of Guiccardine. A craftie feare of the pope.

The court of the legat erected by the cardinall.

Examples of great ones what it doeth.

Gu. Ha. in Eccles. cap. 10.

Abr. Fl. ex
Guic. pag. 736.

The pope so-
licitly all the
princes of chri-
stendome a-
gainst the
Turke.

The ambition
and tyrannie
of Selim a-
gainst his fa-
ther & allies.

Selim over-
throweth the
Sophi of
Persia.

The state of
the Soldan
king of Sozia
and Egypt.

accidents, it were good to heare a full discourse, for the exact vnderstanding of the popes affaires, whereabout he addrested so manie cardinals into so manie parts of chrisendome, as solicitors to obtaine succour against the Turke. ¶ Now followeth (saith mine autho^r) the yeare 1518, in which the regions of Italia, contrarie to the precedent of manie yeares before, felt not the least impression or motion of war, yea there appeared the selfe same disposition in all other princes of chrisendome, betwene whome by the operation of the pope, though happilie more with faire reason, than with substantiall counsels, was solicited an vniuersall expedition of all chrisendome against the pride of Selim prince of the Turkes.

This man the yeare before, had so enlarged and extended his greatnesse, that comparing with his power, his ambition to be greater, pushed on with manie helpes of nature, it was wortheilie to be doubted, that if he were not prevented by the inuasions of the christians, he would in his pride lift vp his victorious hands against them. ¶ For Selim discerning that Baseth his father, reduced to extreme old age, sought to establish the succession of the empire in the person of Acornath his elder brother, drew into rebellion against him, and by force of armes, concurring the corruption of the souldiours of his gard, constrained him to resigne vp to him the authoritie of the gouernment: and not suffering his ambition to staie there, it was beloued of all men, that for his more absolute assurance he toke awaie his life by poison: and afterwards giuing an overthrow to his brother in an incounter of a battell, he confirmed false the seat of his empire, by depriuing him of his life in publike shew, exercising the like rage of crueltie vpon Cocu the yongest brother of all. And being not satisfied according to the tyrannie of the house of Dromanni, with the blood and slaughter of all his nephues, or anie others that remained of that line and stocke, he was in thought oftentimes (by the rage and furie of his disposition) to take awaie the life of Soliman his onclie sonne.

Of these beginnings breeding one warre vpon another, after he had subdued the Aduliti, a people of the mountaines, he passed ouer into Persia against the Sophi, to whome he gaue battell and overthrow him, and in that felicitie of warre he toke the citie of Tauris the souereigne seat of that estate, together with the greatest part of Persia which he was constrained to abandon, not through the valour of his enemies, who for their disability to support their army were retired into the mounteins and places desert, but for the vniuersall dearth and barrennesse of that yeare, he fell into an extreme want of vittels: he returned home after this expedition to Constantinople, where after he had done execution vpon certeine souldiers seditious, and for certeine moneths had refreshed his armie, he gaue out that he would euenly returne to make warre vpon Persia. But indeed he turned his forces against the Soldan king of Sozia and Egypt, a prince not onclie of most ancient reuerence and dignitie for that religion; but most mightie for the amplitude of dominion, most rich in tributes, and verie glorious by the discipline of the Hammelukes, of whose armes and forces that state was possessed with great reputation thre hundred yeares.

For that empire, being ruled of the Soldans, they not by succession but by election ascended to it, and to the supreme seat of gouernement were not preferred but men of manifest vertue, and confirmed by all the degrees of warre, in the administration of prouinces and armies, and also the sinewes and strengthes of their forces stood not vpon souldiours mercenarie and forreine, but of men elected, who

taken of children in the prouinces adjoining, and trained vp by succession of yeares in hardnesse of face, in suffering of labour and toile, and in the exercise of armes and all customes appertaining to the discipline and law of warre, they ascribed and intolled them in the order of the Hammelukes. There succeeded from hand to hand in this order, not the sons of the Hammelukes that were dead, but others, who being taken of children for slaues, had their rising by the same discipline, and by the same industrie and artes, by the which their predecessours had passed from hand to hand.

These not being in number aboute seuentene or eightene thousand, held subiected under a most heauie yoke, all the people of Egypt and Sozia, whom they spoiled of the vse of all armes, and practised to manage horses: yea such was their fiercenesse and valour, that oftentimes they made warre of themselves, for that of their numbers and by their election were chosen the Soldans, and in their power refused all authoritie to distribute the honours, offices, and profits of that most rich empire. By the opportunitie of which, hauing subdued manie nations adjoining, and reduced to obedience the Arabians, and maintained manie warres with the Turkes, they were manie times victorious, but verie seldom or neuer vanquished of others. Against these people did Selim conuert his forces, whome he overthrow in manie battels fought in plaine field, wherein was slaine the Soldan, and afterwards in another battell was taken prisoner the other Soldan his successor, whome he caused to be publike murdered with an vntootherie kind of torment. Thus hauing satisfied his bloudie humour with such great slaughters, and also waisted the name of the Hammelukes, he proceeded to the inuasion of Cairo a most populous citie, wherein were resident the Soldans, and in short time subdued under his iurisdiction all Sozia and Egypt.

These drew vnto him so great an increase of imperie, such amplification of tribute and reueneue, and removing the impediments of so mightie enemies, and of so great reputation, that with great reason he was to be feared of the christians. A feare which toke his degrees of increasing by his consideration, that to so great a power and valour was ioined a settled impression of ambition to beare rule, & by manie victories, to make glorious his name to all posterities: wherein reading oftentimes the legends and actions of the great Alexander, and Julius Cesar, he seemed to suffer griefe and perplexitie of mind, that his actions & exploits of warre could in no wise hold comparison with so manie great triumphs and victories. In which humour, returning continuallie his armies, and building of new a great number of ships, and leuising all prouisions necessarie for the warre, it was feared when his preparations were accomplished, that he would inuade Rhodes, the bulwke of the christians in the east parts, or else the kingdome of Hungaria, made fearefull by the valour of the inhabitants: to the nation of the Turkes, which at that time was in division amongst themselves, and made weak by the minority of their king, who was gouerned by the priests and barons of the realme.

Others were of opinion, that he had addrested all his thoughts to the inuasion of Italia, taking his encouragement vpon the discord of the potentates and naturall princes, whome he knew to be much shaken with the long warres of those regions. To this was ioined the memorie of Spahomet his grandfather, who with a power farre lesse than his, and with a small name sent vpon the coasts of the realme of Naples, had wonne by assault the citie of Otranto: and (sauiug he was prevented by death) had both opened

By which
election the
Soldans
were chosen

The Turke
slayeth the
Soldans
and
subdueth
Sozia and
Egypt.

The Turke
emboldened
by
honours &
circumstan-
ces.

opened the way, and established the meane to persecute the regions of Italie with continuall berations: so that the pope together with the whole court of Rome being made astonished with so great success, and no lesse proud to eschew so great a danger, making their first recourse vnto the aid and succour of God, caused to be celebrated through Rome most devout inuocations, which he did assist in presence bare-footed.

And afterwards calling vpon the helpe of moir, he wrote letters to all christian princes, both aduising them of the perill, and perswading them to lay aside all ciuill discords and contentions; and attend speedilie to the defense of religion & their common safetie, which he affirmed would moze and moze take increase of most grievous danger, if with the unitie of minds, and concordances of forces, they sought not to transference the warre into the empire of the Turke, & invade the entrie in his owne countrie. Upon this aduise and admonition, was taken the examination and opinion of men of warre, and persons skillfull in the discouerie of countries, the disposing of prouinces, and of the nature and vsage of the forces and weapons of that kingdome, and thereupon a resolution was set downe to make great levies of monie by voluntarie contributions of princes, and vniuersall imposts of all people of christendome.

It was thought necessarie that Cesar accompanied with the horsemen of Hungaria and Polonia, nations warlike, and practised in continuall warre against the Turke, and also with the footmen of Germanie, should saile along Danubi into Bosna called ancientlie Spissa, and from thence to Thracia, and so to draw neare Constantinople, the seat of the empire of Ottomanes: that the French king with all the forces of his kingdome, the Venetians, and the other potentates of Italie, accompanied with the infanterie of Switserland, should passe from the port of Symissi in Albania, a passage verie easie & short, to invade Greece, a countrie full of christian inhabitants, and for the intollerable yoke of the Turkes, most readie to rebell: that the kings of Spaine, of England, and Portugall, assembling their forces together in Cartagena, and the ports thereabouts, should take their course with two hundred ships full of Spanish footmen and other souldiers, to the streit of Calipoli, to make rodes by to Constantinople having first of all subdued the castles and forts standing vpon the mouth of the streit: and the pope to take the same course, imbarcking at Ancona, with an hundred ships armed.

With these preparations, seeming sufficient to couer the land, and ouerspread the sea, it was thought that of a warre so full of deuotion and pietie, there could not be but hoped a happie end, speciallie adding the inuocation of God, and so manie feuerall inuasions made at one time against the Turkes, who make their principall foundation of defense, to fight in the plaine field. These matters were solicited with no small industrie, and to stop all matter of imputation against the office of the pope, the minds of princes were throughlie founded, and an vniuersall truce for fure yeares betwene all the princes of christendome, published in the consistorie, vpon paine of most grievous censure to such as should impugne it. So that the negociation continuing for all things appertaining to so great an enterprise, he assigned ambassadours to all princes: to the emperor he sent the cardinall S. Sisso, to the French king he dispatched the cardinall S. Maria in Portico, the cardinall Siles to the king of Spaine, and the cardinall Camperius to the king of England.

All cardinals of authoritie, either for their expert-

ente in affaires, or for opinion of their doctrine, or for their familiaritie with the pope. All which things albeit they were begun with great hope and expectation, and the vniuersall truce accepted of all men, and all men with no little ostentation and buzzerie of words, made shew of their readinesse with their forces to aduance so good a cause: yet, what with the consideration of the perill esteemed vncertaine and farre off, and extending moze to one prince than to another, and what by the difficulties and long tract of time that appeared, to introduce a zeale and vnion so vniuersall, priuate interests and respects particular seemed to preuaile moze, than the pietie of the expedition: insomuch that the negociation stood not one lie naked of all hope and issue, but also it was followed verie lightlie, and as it were by ceremonie.

This being one propertie in the nature of men, that those things which in their beginnings appeare fearefull, doo daillie take such degrees of diminution and vanishing, that vnles the first feares be reniued by new accidents, they lead men in proceesse of time to securitie. Which propertie of negligence, both touching the affaires publike, and affection of priuate and particular men was well confirmed by the death that succeeded not long after to Selim, who, having by a long maladie suspended the preparations of the warre, was in the end consumed by the passions of his disease, and so passed into the other life, leauing so great an empire to Soliman his sonne, young in yeares, and iudged to beare a wit and mind not so disposed to the warres, although afterwards the effects declared the contrarie.

At this time appeared betwene the pope and the French king a most great and streit contention: for the king gaue to wolfe to Laurence his nephew, the ladie Spagdaen noble descended of the blood and house of Bullognie, with a yerele reuenuue of ten thousand crownes, whereof part was of the kings gift, and the residue rising of his owne patrimonie. Besides, the king hauing borne to him a sonne, the pope required that in his baptism, he would impose vpon him his name. By which occasion Laurence making preparations to go to marrie his new wife, for his moze speed, performed his iourne by post into France, where he was receiued with manie amities and much honour of the king, to whome he became verie gracious and of deare account, the rather for that (besides other generall respects) he made a dedication of himselfe whole to the king, with promise to follow in all accidents, his fortune.

And now to returne to cardinall Wolfe, who grew so into exceeding pride, that he thought himselfe equall with the king. For when he said masse (which he did oftener to shew his pompe, rather than for anie deuotion) he made dukes and earles to serue him of wine, with a lay taken, and to hold to him the bason at the lauatorie. Thus was the pride of the cardinall and other priests so past the compasse of reason, that in maner all good persons abhorred and disdained it (as altogether degenerating from the example of Christ & his poore traine, of whome in name and title they seemed to be professors, but of their manners and trade of life open defers; yea in such manifest sort, both in apparell and diet, as also in all other respects, that few there were (if they perceived anie thing by discretion) but saw the euident abuses of their behaviours, tending greatlie to the dishonour of the place which they possessed, as also to the no small offense of the modest sort of the cleargie, whereof some did so well like of this ruffling and masking presbyterie, that they abhorred it as strong poison in their bosome.)

It fortuned that the archbishop of Canterburie wrote to the cardinall, anon after that he had receiued

The popes negociation naked of all hope & issue.

The death of Selim, and succession of Soliman.

Aliance betwixt the pope & the French king.

The excessive pride of the cardinall.

The cardinal
takeeth it in
fearne to be
called brother
by the arch-
bhop.

ued his power legantine, the which letter after his
old familiar manner he subscribed thus: Pour luy
ther William of Canturburie. With which subscrip-
tion, because the archbishop wrote him brother, he
was so much offended, as though the archbishop had
done him great iniurie, that he could not temper his
mood, but in high displeasure said, that he would so
worke within a while, that he should well understand
how he was his superiour, and not his brother. When
the archbishop (being a sober wise man) heard of the
messenger that bare the letter, how the cardinal
tooke it not well, but so as it might seeme there was
a great fault in the letter, and reported the tale as
one that disliked the cardinals presumption herein:
Peace (said the archbishop) knowest thou not how the
man is become mad with too much ioy. And thus the
cardinal forgetting to hold the right path of true
laud and praise, sought to be feared rather than be-
loved of all good men.

In this meane time the French king greatlie con-
uicting to redeme the cite of Rozaie out of the
hands of the king of England, and knowing that he
must make waie thereunto thorough the cardinals
friendship, ceased not with high gifts to win his
good will, and moreover in often writing to him, ex-
alted him with titles of honor, and so magnified him,
that the cardinal, as one tickled with vaine-glorie
more than can be imagined, thought that he could
not doe pleasure enough to the French king, that did
esteem so much of him. Whereupon the French king
hoping to compass his desire, after he perceived the
cardinals good will towards him, signified his mea-
ning unto the said cardinal; who found meanes to
breake thereof to the king, in such wise as he was
contented to heare the French kings ambassadoys,
that should be sent hither to talke of that matter.

Ambassadors
from the
French king.

In breaso-
nable number
for an ambas-
sage.
Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall in
Hen. 8. fol. lxx.
The ambassa-
dors of France
received on
Blackheath.

The French king then understanding the king
of England his pleasure, sent ouer the lord Boniuet
high admerall of France, and the bishop of Paris
as chiefe ambassadoys, accompanied with a great
sort of lustie gentlemen of the French kings court,
to the number of foure score and aboue, on whose at-
tended such a companie of other of the meaner sort,
that the whole number amounted to twelue hundred
one and other, which were thought to be manie for an
ambassage. ¶ On mondaie the twentieth seuenth daie
of September, the earle of Surrie high admerall of
England, in a coat of rich tulle cut on cloath of sil-
uer, on a great courser richlie trapped, and a great
whiske of gold, set with stones and pearle, hanging
at a great and massie chaine baudycke wise, accom-
panied with an hundred and firtie gentlemen, richlie
appareled, on goodlie horses came to Blackheath,
and there amiable received the ambassadoys of
France. The yong gallants of France had coats
garded with one colour, cut in ten or twelue parts
verie richlie to behold: and so all the Englishmen ac-
coupled themselves with the Frenchmen longinglie
together, and so road to London. After the two ad-
meralls followed foure and twentie of the French
kings gard, accompanied with foure and twentie of
the English gard. And after them a great num-
ber of archers, to the number of foure hundred. And
in this order they passed thorough the cite to tailors
hall, and there the chiefe ambassadoys were lodged,
and the remnant in merchants houses about.

When these lords were in their lodgings, then
the French harder men opened their wares, & made
the tailors hall like the paund of a mart. At this do-
ing manie an Englishman grudged, but it auailed
not. The last daie of September, the French ambas-
sadoys toke their barge, and came to Greenwich.
The admerall was in a gowne of cloath of silver cal-
sed, furred with rich fables; and all his companie al-

The French
ambassadors
come to the
court.

most were in a new fashioned garment, called a the-
naw, which was in effect a gowne cut in the middle.
The gentlemen of France were brought into the
kings presence, where the bishop of Paris made a
solemne oration; which being ended, & answer made
thereto, the king highlie intertained the admerall
and his companie, and so did all the English lords and
gentlemen.

The ambassadoys after this were daillie in coun-
cell, till at length an agreement was concluded, un-
der pretense of a marriage to be had betwene the
Dolphin of France, and the ladie Marie, daugh-
ter to the king of England: in name of whose mar-
riage monie, Rozaie should be deliuered, unto
the French king, he paing to the king of England
for the castle which he had made in that cite, six hun-
dred thousand crownes, to be paid in twelue yeares
space, that is to saie, fiftie thousand euerie yeare du-
ring that terme. And if the marriage chanced not to
take effect, then should Rozaie be againe restored
to the king of England. For performance of which
article, hostages should be deliuered, that is to wit,
monsieur de Montmorencie, monsieur de Montpe-
sac, monsieur de Poise, monsieur de Poiret. Where-
after the French king should paie to the lord cardinal
of England a thousand marks of yearelie pension, in
recompense of his reuenues before time received of
the bishopricke of Rozaie: and likewise to other of
the kings counsell he should also giue certeine
summes of monie as yearelie pensions, in like ma-
ner as his ancestors had done to the counsellors of
the kings of England before time.

The French is agreed to call backe the duke of Al-
banie out of Scotland, that the suertie of Ia. James
might the better be provided for, and lesse occasion of
trouble ministred to the king of England. And fur-
ther the French king was contented that the said
king James should be received as a confederat in
this peace. When all things were concluded, the king
and the ambassadoys road to the cathedrall church
of saint Paule in London from Durham place,
where the cardinal of England sang the masse in
most pompous manner: and after that masse was
ended, doctor Pace the kings secretaire made an
eloquent oration in praise of peace: and that done,
the king and his nobles with the ambassadoys went
to the bishops palace, and there dined, and after din-
ner, the king rode againe to Durham place. That
night the cardinal of Poise made to the ambas-
dors a solemne banquet, and them accompanied ma-
nie lords and ladies of England. And when the ban-
ket was done, in came six minstrels, richlie dis-
guised, and after them followed three gentlemen in wise
and long gownes of crimsin sattin, euerie one ha-
uing a cup of gold in their hands.

The first cup was full of angels and roials, the se-
cond had diuerse bales of dice, and the thir had cer-
teine paires of cards. These gentlemen offered to
plaie at mumchance, and when they had plaied the
length of the first bowd, then the minstrels blew up,
and then entered into the chamber certeine ladies
disguised, on whose attended twelue knights dis-
guised bearing torches. All these thirtie & six persons
were in one sute of fine graine sattin, all covered o-
uer with cloth of gold, vnder tied together with laces
of gold, and masking hoods on their heads: the ladies
had tiers made of bzards of damaske gold with long
haire of white gold. All these maskers danced at one
time, and after they had danced, they put off their vi-
sors, and so were they all knowne. The admerall and
lords of France hartilie thanked the king, that it
pleased him to visit them with such disport. Then the
king & his companie were banketed, and had high
chere: and so they departed euerie man to his lo-
ging.

And the
gentlemen
of the
court

And the
Halls

15. Reg. 10.

gang. The eight of October at Crēnewich, was
long a solemne masse by the bishop of Durham, and
after masse, docto: Cusfall, maister of the rolles,
made an eloquent proposition in praise of the matri-
monie to be had betwixt the Dolphin and the ladie
Marie. All that daie were the strangers seafred, and
at night they were brought into the hall, where was
a rocke full of all manner of stones, verie artificiallie
made, and on the top stood fine trees, the first an olive
tree, on which hanged a shield of the armes of the
church of Rome; the second a pincaple tree, with the
armes of the emperor; the third a roser, with the
armes of England; the fourth a branch of lillies, bea-
ring the armes of France; and the fift a pomegra-
nat tree, bearing the armes of Spaine: in token
that all these five potentates were ioined together in
one league against the enemies of Chyistes faith.

In and upon the middelt of the rocke sate a faire
ladie, rightie apparelled with a dolphin in hir lap. In
this rocke were ladies and gentlemen apparelled in
crimson sattin, covered ouer with floures of purple
sattin, embroidered upon with wythes of gold, knit
together with golden laces, and on euerie floure a
hart of gold mouing. The ladies apparell was after
the fashion of Inde, with herchifes of pleasance, hat-
ched with fine gold, and set with letters of Greeke in
gold of brillion; and the edges of their herchifes were
garnished with hanging perle. These gentlemen and
ladies sat on the neyther part of the rocke, and out of a
cane in the said rocke came ten knights, armed at
all points, and fought together a faire tournie. And
when they were seuered and departed, the disguisours
descended from the rocke, and dancd a great space:
and suddentlie the rocke moued and receiued the dis-
guisours, and immediatlie closed againe.

Then entered a person called Xepoit, apparelled in
crimson sattin full of fonges, sitting on a flying hollie
with wings and feet of gold called Pegasus. This
person in French declared the meaning of the rocke,
the trees, and the tournie. After this pastime en-
ded, the king and the ambassadours were serued at a
banquet with two hundred and firtie dishes, and after
that a bodice of spices with firtie spice plates of sil-
uer and gilt, as great as men with ease might beare.
This night the cupbord in the hall was of twelue
stages all of plate of gold, and no gilt plate. When
that euerie man had bene plentiouslie serued, the
tables were taken vp, and the king with the quene
and all the strangers departed to their lodgings.

After diuerse iusts & castes made for the said am-
bassadours by the king and lords: sir Thomas Crē-
newich maior of London made to them a coslie din-
ner at Goldsmiths hall, which dinner they highlie
praised, it was so well ordered. And when the time
came, they toke their leaue of the king, the quene,
and the kings counsell, and deliuered into the kings
possession their foure hostages (as you haue heard be-
fore.) At which departing the king gaue to the adme-
rall of France a garment of gilt vessel, a paire of co-
uerd basens gilt, twelue great gilt boles, foure paire
of great gilt pots, a standing cup of gold, garnished
with great pearles: and to some other also, he gaue
plate, to some chains of gold, to some rich apparell, and
to some great hosties with rich bards, so that euerie
gentleman was well rewarded; which liberalitie the
strangers much praised: and after that all their trust-
les were readie they departed towards the sea, and
toke ship and landed at Bullogne.]

Shortlie after their departure, the earle of Wor-
cester, lord chamberleine, the bishop of Elie, the lord
of saint Johns, sir Nicholas Laue, sir John De-
chey, sir Thomas Bullen, as ambassadours from the
king of England, accompanied with thre score and
ten knights, gentlemen and peomen, to the num-

ber of foure hundred and aboue, passed the sea to Ca-
lis, and so from thence went to Paris, where they
were noble receiued, & being brought to the French
kings presence, the bishop of Elie made a solemne
oration touching the mariage and peace concluded.
And interteine the English ambassadours and gen-
tlemen; the French king had made a banquetting
house in the bastill of Paris betwene foure old
walles. This house was covered with cords streined
by craft, and euerie cord was wound about with bor,
and so laid crossewise one ouer an other in fret, and
at the meetings a great knop gilt with gold foile. O-
uer their cords was streined wollen cloaths of light
blew: this rose was foure score foot high, and on e-
uerie side thre stages high: all the pillars of the sta-
ges were covered with antike works, & the breads of
the stages curiously wrought with armes, vniets,
and branches: the rose was set full of starres gilt
& furnished with glasses betwene the frets. In this
house was two hundred and twelue branches gilt
hanged, & on euerie branch a great number of lights
of white wax.

Diuerse sorts of maskes were shewed also that
night: and at euerie side of the palace a great cup-
bord of masse plate of much greatnesse was set,
the French king welcomming the lords and ambas-
sadours with good countenance.] Here is to be re-
membred, that immediatlie after the conclusion of
the mariage, a rumor was raised, that the Dolphin
was dead before, and that this mariage was but a
colourable pretext, devised of the Frenchmen for a
policie to come by their purpose: and therefore, after
that the English ambassadours had bene seafred and
interteined with banquetting and princelie pastime,
the bishop of Elie, with sir Thomas Bullen, and
sir Richard Weston, were appointed to go vnto
Comaiche to see the Dolphin, where they were hono-
rable receiued, and brought vnto the presence of the
Dolphin, being a goodlie young child, whome they kis-
sed and embraced in most louing wise.

The earle of Worcester, and with him sir Nicho-
las Laue, sir John Dechey, sir Edward Belknap,
and diuerse others at the same time, toke leaue of
the French king, and rode to Comaiche to see the citie
deliuered to the Frenchmen. Whereupon, the eight
of Februarie, the lord Chatillon came thither with
one and twentie hundred men; and after some con-
trouerisie moued about the deliuerie of his commis-
sion, and sealing an indenture, which the earle had
there readie ingrossed, containing the articles of a
greuement, in consideration whereof it was deliue-
red, the capteine sir Richard Feringham was dis-
charged, and the Frenchmen suffered to enter with
drummers and minstrells, but not with standards
nor banners, which the Englishmen caused them to
roll vp greatlie against their wils. Before they came
to the gates, they sealed the indenture, confessing
how they receiued the citie as a gift, and not as a
right, and deliuered their commission, whereby they
were authorized to receive it, which at the first they re-
fused to do, affirming that it was sufficient for them
to shew it.

Thus was Comaiche deliuered in this tenth yeare
of the kings reigne, on the eight daie of Februarie,
& the Englishmen returned into England, soze dis-
pleased in their minds, for thereby manie a tall peo-
man lacked liuing, the which would not labour after
their returne, but fell to robbing, pilfering, thieving,
and other extraordinarie meanes of maintenance,
whereas before they were staied upon a certaintie of
hope, so long as they had allowance by the king. So
that this resignation of Comaiche, though it were an-
swerable to the desire of the French king, and com-
modious for his people, yet that benefit of theirs byed

Pyman.ij.

to

Edw. Hall in
H.8 fol. lxx.
A banquetting
house of the
French
kings descri-
bed.

1520

The manner
how Comaiche
was deliuered
to the French
king.

to the English soldiers detriment and losse: who wished in their hearts to haue left their liues behind them in defense of possession, rather than it should reuert into the hands of them, by whome it was surrendered & giuen vnto the English power, whom (because they were not able to encounter) they let in at their gates by a voluntarie motion and common consent for their better safetie, as a late writer witnesseth:

*Angligenas passus intra sua mania portu
Sponte intramittens.*

Ed. Hall in H. 8.
fol. lxxvii.
The light and
milded be-
meanour of
diuerse yong
gentlemen of
England & the
French king.

During this time remained in the French court diuerse yong gentlemen of England, and they with the French king rode daile disguised through Paris, throwing egges, stones, and other foolish trifles at the people, which light demeanour of a king was much discommended and leasted at. And when these yong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French, in eating, drinking, and apparell, yea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to displeasure, as you shall heare.

After the kings ambassadours were returned, and Comnaie deliuered to the Frenchmen vpon the conditions aforesaid, the hostages that were here left for the payment of the great summes and performance of the conditions compassed in the league (of the which one was, that if the marriage toke none effect, then the citie of Comnaie should be redeliuered vpon repayment of the same summes) the said hostages knew not in what case they stood, but when they knew it, they were verie heauie and sorrowfull: howbeit, they dissembled the matter in the best wise they could. The king used familiarlie these foure hostages, and on the seventh daie of Maie prepared a disguised, and caused his great chamber at Greenwich to be staged, and great lights to be set on pillos that were gilt, with basons gilt, and the rose was couered with blue satin set full of presses of fine gold and flowers: and vnder was written *l'amour*, the meaning whereof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed.

Preparation
for solempne
dispoit.

A comedie
of Plautus
plaid before
the king.

Into this chamber came the king, and the quene, with the hostages, and there was a goodlie comedie of Plautus plaid; and that done, there entered into the chamber eight ladies in blacke velvet bordered about with gold, with hoes from the waist downeward, and sleeves ruffed and plited at the elbow, and plaine in the middell, full of cuts, plucked out at euerie cut with fine camerike, & tired like the Egyptians verie richlie. And when these ladies had passed about the place, in came eight noble personages in long gowones of taffata set with flowers of gold bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke velvet embroidered with gold all to cut, and plucked out with cuts of white sarcenet, and euerie man had buskins of blacke velvet full of agglets of gold.

Then the eight men danced with the eight ladies all being disguised, and suddentie the men cast off their large gowones, and then their vnder apparell was seene. And when all was done, euerie lord and ladie put off their visards, and then it was knowne that the king, the duke of Suffolke, and the French quene were there, which were present at the plaine time. On the eight daie of March was a solempne testes, the king himselfe, and eight yong gentlemen bared and barbed in blacke velvet embroidered with gold: against the duke of Suffolke, and eight of his band, all in white fatten with drops of gold. And that daie they all ran exceeding well, which the strangers highly commended.

A testes.

About the end of March, the king sent for all the

yeomen of the gard that were come from Comnaie, and after manie good words giuen to them, he granted to euerie of them foure pence the daie without attendance, except they were speciallie commanded. And here it seemeth requisite to adde the report of a forreine chronicler touching the league of amitie and conditions of the same, knit by in vnicitie and good tearmes as followeth. Now (saith he) the differences betwene the French and English were also reconciled. And for the more stabilitie of which agreement, it was confirmed with a contract of parentage and alliance, wherein the king of England promised to giue his onelie daughter, to whome hauing no sons, there was hope of the descending & succession of the kingdom to the Dolphin the eldest sonne of the crowne of France, adding for a portion foure hundred thousand duckets. Both the one and the other bore yet so tender age, that infinit accidents might happen, before perfection of yeeres would make them able to establish matrimonie. There was made betwene them a league defensiu, wherein were comprehended Cesar, and the king of Spaine, in case they would ratifie it in a certeine time.

The king of England bound himselfe to redore Comnaie, receiuing presentlie for detraiments expended vpon that towne, two hundred and threescore thousand duckets, and three hundred thousand to be defalked of the portion, and to paie three hundred thousand more in the space of twelue yeares. The French king also was bound, that if the peace and the parentage folowed not, to render by againe into the hands of the English, the towne of Comnaie. Panie ambassadours were sent from both the realmes to negotiate this league, and to receiue the ratifications and othes, by whome in the courts of both the kings the acts of the accord were dispatched with great solemnitie and ceremonie, with a resolution of an interueto of both the kings betwene Calis and Bullongne, immediatlie after the restitution of Comnaie.

About the same time, the daughter of the French king, appointed to be married to the king of Spaine, being dead, the former peace and capitulation was effones reconfirmed betwene them, wherein was promised the marriage of the second daughter of France. Both the kings celebrated this coniunction with most great demonstrations of perfect amitie: for the king of Spaine, hauing paid in at Lyons an hundred thousand duckets, ware publikelie the order of saint Michaell vpon the day of the celebration of the same, and in recompense of that honour: the French king, vpon the daie dedicated to saint Andrew, was honozable attired in the robes and colour of the golden fleece.

About this time, John Ja. Crinulce, whome neither old age reduced almost to the last time, nor his vertue so oftentimes expressed in the service of the fruce of France could anie waie aid or comfort (being both ambitious and impatient, and therefore enuied) following the French court, fell sicke at Charters, where he gaue vp to the king, his innocencie and complaints, and made to God the last reckoning of his aged daies. He was a man in the indgement of manie, and confirmed by sundrie experiences, of singular valour in the discipline of warre, and ran a race alwaies opposed to the inconstancie of fortune, who (according to his mutabilitie) made him feele the operation of both his humors, sometimes reioicing in his fauour, and erst againe finding his fauour and of a bitter taill. By his commandement were written vpon his tome these words, not disagreeable to the variable condition and course of his naturall life:

I find the rest within my graue,
Which in my life I could not haue.]

An. Reg. 11.

Death of
Emperour
Sparmilian.
1550-51

A description
of the
emperor
Sparmilian.

In this yeare the twelue of February, died the
emperour Sparmilian, for whome the king caused a
solemn obsequie to be kept in Poules church. ¶ He
died at Lutz, a towne upon the marches of Austria,
where he remained for his delight and pleasure in
hunting the wild boze, and other chases of the field.
He lived allwaies under one condition of fortune,
who manie times fauoured him, in offering him ma-
nie faire occasions, & as often wrought against him
in not suffering him to take the fruit and effect of
them. He was by nature inconstant and remoue-
able, and had conceits and impressions verie ill dis-
posed and different from the iudgement of other
men, joined to an excessive prodigalitie and dissipati-
on of monie.

¶ Matters which cut off from him the effects and
successe of all occasions, being otherwise a prince
most perfect and instructed in the ordering of warre,
secret to late and dispose a plot, diligent to follow it,
of bodie able and suffering, of mind affable and easie,
and replenished with manie other excellent gifts and
ornaments. Into some of these properties, the god
service which he did the king of England at Terwin
gittich prove, at what time both he and his people
marched under the English ensigne, and receiued
paie as spendarie souldiours; whose wages the king
had a care to paie, as maie appeare by his coining
of silver monie, whereof was scarcitie in his campe,
in respect of gold, wherewith the souldiours were well
sored, as one doth verie well make report, saieing:

*Pro mercede nihil nisi fulvum soluitur aurum,
Auri militibus radiantis copia totis
Tanta fuit castris, ut rex cunctis coactis
Nummum ex argento fieret.*

The French
king and the
king of Spaine
beginne to
dispute.

As soon as the emperour was dead, the French
king and the king of Spaine began manifestlie to
aspire to the empire, the purchase whereof albeit was
a matter of right great importance, and no lesse the
emulation running betwene two so mightie prin-
ces, yet they ordered their ambition with great mo-
destie, neither using words of iniurie, nor threats of
armes; but either one labouring by his authoritie,
& by his meanes, to draw on his side the electors. The
French king sundrie times reasoned touching the
election with great comelinesse with the Spanishe
ambassadors, to whom he said it was a matter both
agreeable and convenient, that either of them seu-
rallie should seeke by honest meanes to increase the
honour of his house by so great a dignitie: which for
that in times before had bene transferred into the fa-
milies of their predecessors, there was now the lesse
occasion to breed betwene them two matter of iniu-
rie, nor diminution of their amitie and good will.

The king of
Spaine claim
the empire.

But rather he wished, that in the action of the
empire, they might follow the example and order of
two young lovers, who albeit they follow the quest of
one ladie, and either one laboureth by his industrie to
carie hir; yet they forbere to come to contention. The
king of Spaine alluded with good right, that the em-
pire appertained to him, as having continued by a
long succession of time in the house of Austria, and
that it had not bene the custome of the electors to
deprive the issue of the emperour, without mani-
fest cause of their disability, neither was there anie
in Germanie of that puissance and authoritie to
make him equall to stand competitor with him in
that election. And least of all did he hold it iust or like-
lie, that the electors would transport to a forreine or
strange prince, so great a dignitie continued by so
manie ages in the nation of Germanie.

And albeit some particular amongst them, ei-
ther through the insinuation of monie, or other pro-
perties of corruption, might be allured to another
intention, yet he hoped to stop him with force prepa-

red in time convenient, not doubting also but the o-
ther electors also would oppose against him, and the
princes and free townes of Germanie would not in-
dure so universall an infamie, speciallie to suffer it
to be laid upon the person of the French king, which
would be no other thing than to make great the puis-
sance of a king enemie unto their nation, and from
whome there was no libertie that the imperiall dig-
nities would ever returne into Germanie: he thought
it would be an action easie to obtaine and reduce to
perfection, that which had bin solicited by his grand-
father, who had already compounded for recompen-
ses and donations, and other discontents for enemie of
the electors.

On the other side, the desire of the French king
was as great, and no lesse were his hopes, which took
their principall foundation upon an opinion he had
to corrupt the voices of the electors with his huge
summes of monie: especiallie for that there were a
mongest them both pensionaries to him, and other-
wise assured by manie good offices, who encouraging
him with the facilitie of the enterprise, pushed him on
to embrace it. And for his part, as mortall men are
apt to believe the thing they desire, so he nourished
that hope with reasons rather apparant than true:
he knew that commonlie it was a matter grievous
to the princes of Germanie to have the emperors
mightie; being jealous that in so great a puissance,
they would not either in part or in all, quarrell the su-
periorities and authorities imperiall occupied by
manie of them. In which reason he persuaded him-
selfe, that they would in no sort consent to the election
of the Spaniard, & so of themselves to subiect them-
selves to an emperour more mightie than had bene
since a long descent and race of emperors. A matter
which in his person seemed to be qualified, for that ha-
ving neither estates nor ancient alliances in Ger-
manie, they had no occasion of suspicion of his great-
nesse.

The same reason also made him believe well of
the conformance of the free townes, in whome much
lesse that the regard of the glorie of the nation would
carie it from him, seeing it would helpe to peize the
ballance on his side, for that with most men the mo-
tions of proper and private interest maie doe more,
than the respect of publike and generall profit. He
knewe it was not a little grievous to manie noble
houses of Germanie, pretending to be capable of
such a dignitie, to see the empire continue so long time
in one house; but much more did it discontent them to
suffer that so great an estate, which of right ought
sometimes to be given to one of them, and sometime
to passe to another, should become a perpetuall de-
cent and succession in one line: insonmuch as they
might call inheritance and succession that election,
which durst not leaue the line of the emperors. That
in that sort the empire was translated from Albert
de Austria to Frederike his brother, and from Fre-
derike to Sparmilian his sonne; and now there was
deuise to passe it from Sparmilian to the person of
Charles his grandchild.

By these humors and indignations of the prin-
ces of Germanie, he took hope that the discords and
jealousies among themselves might helpe on his
cause, the rather for that it often happeneth in the con-
tentions of men, that he that is excluded, or the par-
tie whome he fauoureth, runneth with a naturall
rashnesse rather to call in, and to advance a third,
than to give place to him that hath opposed against
his intention. Moreover, the French king was not
without his hopes in the favour of the pope, both in
regard of the amitie and alliance newlie past betwixt
them; and also for that he was not ignorant how in-
convenient it would be to the see apostolike to have
the

The French
king in hope
to be emperor
as well as the
Spaniard.

The French
king builded
his hope upon
the humors of
the princes of
Germanie.

The French
king relied
upon the fa-
vour of the
pope.

the imperiall crowne inuested in Charles, no; so much for his owne greatnesse, as for that by the opportunitie and neighbourhood of the realme of Naples to the estate of the church, and the adherencie of the barons of the Gebelins, he had a plaine and open passage to run vp to the gates of Rome.

But in that discourse he considered not that the same reason, which he iudged true against Charles, was also against himselfe: for that the empire being ioined to his person, he was no lesse to be feared of the pope & all others, than Charles. For that though the one of them possessed hapillie more realmes and states; yet the other was not to be lesse esteemed, hauing his power not dispersed nor separate in manie places, but was prince of a realme entierlie assembled and vniited, where the obedience and fidelitie of his subiects was no lesse wonderfull, than his treasure and riches infinite. Heurthelesse, not knowing in himselfe that which he considered in an other, he had recourse to the pope, and implored his fauor: vnder the offer and protestation of his person and kingdomes, with all other deuotions of a loving son. Notwithstanding all this, the French king was abused by his vaine hope, which fed him with fancies of the empire, whereto he was not allotted nor elected.

Abr. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall. in
H. 8. fol. lxxvij.
&c.
Charles the
sixt. king of
Spaine chosen
emperor.

For on the twentie eight of June was elected to be emperor Charles king of Castile, and nephew to the quene, by the whole assent of the electors of the empire: namely, the archbishop of Spaine, the archbishop of Cullen, the count Palatine, and the duke of Baron. Although the French king sent his great messenger to cause him to be elected to the high maiestie of the empire; yet his ambassado; and great messenger of his household (called Constier lord of Boffie, and brother to William Constier lord Boncuert, admirall of France, which was ambassado; in England the last yere, as you haue heard) did not so his message that it toke any effect. The king which had sent doctor Pace his secretarie for the advancement of his nephew the king of Castile, to the dignitie imperiall, because he had the duchie of Austria, and manie other seignories in Almaine, was verie ioyous of this election, and caused a solemne masse to be sung at Paules the seventh daie of Iulie: at which masse was present the cardinall Campeius, the cardinall of Boche, the duke of Buckingham, of Norfolk, & Suffolke, with the ambassadours of Spaine, France, Venice, and Scotland.

After masse was done, the quier sang *Te Deum*, and then all the lords departed to Wainards castell to dinner, and that night were solemne fires made thorough London, and great plentie of wine giuen by Italians, Dutchmen, and Spaniards for these newes. In this yere the king with all the knights of his order being in England, rode on double horses, with the henchmen following the king from Colbroke to Windsor in gorgeous apparell, and there he kept with great solemnitie the feast of saint George, and dined in the hall. The bishop of Winchester prelat of the order sat at the bords end alone. The king was solemnelie serued and the turnep cast like the feast of a coronation. All things were plentiful to strangers that resorted thither. At the masse of *requiem* were offered the banner & other habillements of honour belonging to Maximilian the emperor late deceased.

The kings
affablenesse &
familiaritie
with the inferior
sort of
people gradd
ed at of the
council.

After this feast ended, the king came to Richmond, and so to Grenewich, and there laie all wate. In which moneth the kings counsell secretlie communed together of the kings gentlenesse and liberallitie to all persons: by the which they perceived that certaine yong men in his priue chamber, not regarding his estate or degree, were so familiar and homelie with him, that they forgot themselves. Which

things although the king of his gentle nature suffered, and not rebuked nor reprimoued it: yet the kings counsell thought it not meet to be suffered for the kings honour, and therefore they all together came to the king, beseeching him to haue more regard to his roialtie.

To whome the king answered, that he had chosen them of his counsell, both for the maintenance of his honour, and for the defense of all things that might blemish the same: wherefore if they saw any about him misuse themselves, he committed it vnto their reformation. When the kings counsell caused the lord chamberleine to call before them diuerse of the priue chamber, which had bene in the French court, and banished them the court for diuerse considerations, lateng nothing particularlie to their charges, & they that had offices were commanded to go to their offices. Which discharge out of court grieved sore the hearts of these yong men, which were called the kings minions. Then was there sone sad & ancient knights put into the priue chamber, whose names were; sir Richard Wingfield, sir Richard Feringham, sir Richard Weston, and sir William Kingston; and diuerse officers were changed.

In this summer the quene desired the king to bring to hir manor of Haurcing in the Bowler in Essex the gentlemen of France being hostages, for whose welcomming she purueied all things in the most liberrall manner: and especiallie she made to the king such a sumptuous banquet, that the king thanked hir hartlie, & the strangers gaur hir great praise. The king lieng there did shot, hunt, and run battie with the hostages to their great ioy. This yere in September the king laie at his manor of Netherhall in Essex, otherwise called Beaulieu, where the king had newlie builded a coslie mansion, there to welcome the quene, the lords, and the French gentlemen, he made to them a sumptuous banquet, and all along the chamber sat a ladie & a lord, or a knight, which were plentifullie serued.

After the banquet ended, with noise of minstrels entered into the chamber eight maskers with white beards, and long and large garments of blew sattin paired with sippers, powdered with spangles of bullion gold, and they danced with ladies ladie, and communed not with the ladies after the fashion of maskers, but behaued themselves grauelie. Wherefore the quene plucked off their visors, and then appeared the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Essex, the marquesse Dorset, the lord Aburgaunnie, sir Richard Wingfield, sir Robert Wingfield, sir Richard Weston, sir William Kingston: all these were somewhat aged, the yongest man was fiftie at the least. The ladies had good sport to see these ancient persons maskers.

When they departed, the king and the foure hostages of France, and the earle of Devonshire with six other yong gentlemen entered the chamber, of the which six were all in yellow sattin, hose, shoes, and caps, and six other were in like manner in graine: the peloto sattin was frettyed with siluer of damaskie, and so was the graine verie richlie to behold: then euerie masker toke a ladie and danced. When they had danced and communed a gre at while, their visors were taken off, and they knowne, and the king gaue manie bowches and proper gifts where he liked.

In the moneth of Nouember the king came from Lambeth to Westminster hall, and so to the Starre chamber, and there were brought before him the lord Digle, the lord Holward, sir Pathe Wylborne, sir William Bulmer, and John Scot of Camerwell, for diuerse riots, misdemeanors, & offenses by them committed: but the king speciallie rebuked sir William Bulmer knight, because he being his seruant sworne, refused the kings seruice, and became for want

Entered in
the priue
chamber
in France
other things
same appoynted.

The king
quene at the
dinner in
Essex.

Arrived in
Essex called
Beaulieu.

A masker of
graine and
ancient costume.

A masker of
youthful
courtiers.

The king
with his
starre
chamber
in the
night.

uant to the duke of Buckingham: yet at length by
on his humble craving of mercie, still kneeling on
his knees before his grace, the king pardoned him
his offense: and likewise he pardoned the lord Ho-
ward, and sir Pater the Wyolne, their offenses: but
because the lord Wyles matter concerned murder,
he remitted him to the common law. And then he
rose and went to his barge, and by the waie made
James Parford maior of the citie of London
knight, and so returned to Lambeth.

The French king desirous to continue the friend-
ship latelie begun betwixt him and the king of Eng-
land, made meanes vnto the cardinall, that they
might in some conuenient place come to an inter-
uiew together, that he might haue further knowlege
of king Henrie, and likewise king Henrie of him.
But the same went that the cardinall desired great-
lie, of himselfe, that the two kings might meet, who
measuring by his will what was conuenient, thought
it should make much with his glorie, if in France al-
so at some high assemble of noble men, he should be
seene in his baine pompe and shew of dignitie: he
therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, de-
claring how honourable, necessarie, and conuenient
it should be for him to gratifie his friend therein, and
thus with his perswasions the K. began to conceiue
an earnest desire to see the French king, and there-
upon appointed to go ouer to Calis, and so in the
marshes of Guisnes to meet with him.

Then were there sent vnto Guisnes, vnder the
rule of sir Edward Welknay three thousand artifi-
cers, which builded out of the earth on the plaine be-
fore the castell of Guisnes, a most pleasant palace of
timber, right curiously garnished without and with-
in. Herewith were letters written to all such lords,
ladies, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, which should
giue their attendaunce on the king and quene, which
incontinentlie put themselves in a readinesse after
the most sumptuous sort. Also it was appointed that
the king of England, & the French king, in a campe
betwixt Ard and Guisnes, with eightene aides,
should in June next ensuing abide all commers be-
ing gentlemen, at the tilt, at tourneie, and at barri-
ers, whereof proclamatioun was made by Orleans
king of armes of France here in the court of Eng-
land, and by Clarenceur king of armes of Eng-
land in the court of France, and in the court of Bur-
gogne, and in diuerse other courts and places in Al-
manie and Italie.

During the time of these preparations, newes
were brought to the king, that Charles his nephew
elected emperor of Almanie, would shortly depart
out of Spaine by sea, and come by England to go
to Acon or Ayr: a citie of fame and renowne in Ger-
manie, for the ancient residence and sepulchre of
Charlemaine, where he receiued the first crowne.
Wherefore the king hearing of this determination
of the emperor, caused great provisions to be made
at euerie haubn, for the receiuing of his welbeloued
nephew and friend: & daillie prouisions were made on
all sides for these noble meetings of so high princes:
and especiallie the quene of England, and the ladie
Dowager of France, made great cost on the appa-
rell of their laides and gentlewomen.

On the first daie of Februarie being Candle-
masse euen, as the king and quene were come from
euensong at there manour of Greenwich, before the
quenes chamber there blew a trumpet suddenly,
and then entered into the quens chamber foure gen-
tlemen apparelled in long and large garments of
blew damaske bordered with gold, and brought with
them a trickie waggon, in the which sat a ladie rich-
lie apparelled, with a canopie ouer hir head: and
on the foure corners of the waggon were foure hed-

peces called armifes, euerie pece being of a sundrie
deuise. The said ladie put up a bill to the king, the ef-
fect whereof was, that the foure gentlemen present
would (for the loue of their ladies) answer all com-
mers at the tilt at a daie by the king to be appointed:
which daie was appointed at Shrouetide next ensu-
ing. At which daie the foresaid gentlemen ballantlie
accomplished their enterpise, with great lauds of
the king, the quene, and the ladies.

Whereouer, now that it was concluded, that the
kings of England and France should meet (as ye
haue heard) then both the kings committed the order
and manner of these meetings, and how manie daies
the same should continue, & what preheminence each
should giue to other, vnto the cardinall of Poike,
which to set all things in a certaintie, made an instru-
ment, containing an order and direction concerning
the premises by him devised and appointed.

The whole
maner at the
interview com-
mitted to the
cardinall.

20 The tenour of the said instrument

made by the cardinall.



Thomas archbishop of Porke and
cardinall, &c. Albeit that by the
treatie and meeting of the right
high, and right puissant princes,
Henrie by the grace of God, king of Eng-
land, and of France, lord of Ireland, my so-
ueraigne lord: and Francis by the same
grace, K. of France right christened, made
and concluded at London the eight daie of
October, the yeare of our Lord one thou-
sand five hundred and eightene, be among
other things concluded and accorded, that
the same meeting shall be in place indiffe-
rent, and not subiect to any of the said prin-
ces. Neuerthelesse we, considering the ho-
nour, profit, and vtilitie, that shall redound
by the interuiew of the said two princes,
and not onelie to the said two princes, their
realmes and subiects, but also to all chris-
tendome, after declaration hereupon had
with the said princes.

Ab. Fl. ex Ed.
Hall in H.8.
fol. lxx.

Also considering that the said illustre
king of England my soueraigne lord, in pas-
sing the sea with his retinue, shall susteine
great costs and expences, and dispose him-
selfe to great labors and dangers, leauing
his realme and puissance for certeine time,
we haue thought & esteemed, that he should
not be wholie satisfied to the honour and
dignitie of the same, right illustre king of
England my soueraigne lord, and should
not haue in regard condigne of his labours
and dangers, if the said interuiew or mee-
ting after the first treatie shuld be in place
indifferent. Wherefore it is that we desi-
ring to weie equallie the honor and digni-
tie of the said two kings, by vertue and
power of the commissions to vs giuen, of
whom the tenours shall bee hereafter de-
clared: we haue made, declared, and orde-
ned certeine articles accepted & approved
by the same princes respectiuelie, which
they will obserue, and by these presents we
make, declare, and ordeine as followeth.

And first we declare and ordeine, that
before the end of the moneth of Maie next
comming, the said illustre king of England
shall come personallie to the castle of Guis-
nes, with his bedfellow the quene, and his
sister

The first ar-
ticle of the in-
terview of the
two kings &
their traine.

sister the Dowaresse of France : a sembla-
ble the right christened is. of France, shall
come in person to his castell of Arde with the
quene & his mother : and some day, houre,
and time, within foure daies at the most,
after the end of Maie, that shall be assign-
ed by the commissioners of the one and
the other partie, the said king of England
shall issue out of his castell of Guines half
a mile long, without that that he shall issue
out of the limits of his demaign of Guines,
and shall come towards the said castell of
Arde : and there within the territorie of the
said castell of Guines, he shall rest in some
place not fortified nor walled, and nere the
limits of France, that the said commissio-
ners shall assigne (as aboue said.)

The manner of
their meeting
and mutuall
greeting.

And the said right christened king, par-
ting from his castell of Arde, shall come to-
ward the said king of England the same
day, place, time, and houre, that shall tarie
him within the demaign of Guines, as is
said. In the which shall not be set or de-
scribed any pavilions or tents, and there the
said two kings being on horsebacke, with
their retinue shall see the one the other, and
salute each other, and speake together fa-
miliarly, and common in that sort and ma-
ner, and so long as shall seme to them good.
And after the said salutation and commu-
nication finished for that time, the said il-
lustre king of England shall returne to his
castell of Guines, and the said right chri-
stened king to his castell of Arde.

what both the
kings were to
do the mor-
row after the
first inter-
view.

Item, for so much that we thinke to be
satisfied touching the labours, dangers, &
honour of the said king of England, my so-
ueraigne lord of so much, that the said
right christened king at the first speaking,
he shall come forward unto, and within his
territorie of Guines, we will keepe the ho-
nour of the said kings : & therefore declare
and ordeine, that on the morrow after the
first interview, the same kings shall meet
together in some fit place, indifferent be-
twene Arde and Guines, that shall be as-
signed by the said commissioners.

And after the salutation made on the
one and the other partie, the said right il-
lustre king of England shall go to the castell
of Arde, to see, salute, and visit the quene of
France, and also the sister of the said chri-
stened king, with whome he shall dine pri-
uily. And likewise the said right christened
king shall go to the castell of Guines, to
visit and salute the quene of England, and
the Dowaresse of France, with whome he
shall dine. In the which places the said
princes shall be received familiarly and a-
miably, unto mutuall loue, and also to the
honour of the said princes.

Where for
feats of che-
ualrie and ac-
tuitie and the
place thereto
appointed.

Item, as the said serene princes of En-
gland & France, be like in force corporall,
beautie, & gift of nature, right expert & ha-
ving knowledge in the art militant, right
cheualrous in armes, & in the flower and
vigour of youth, wherby seemed to us a right
assemble, that for to adorne and honoz
the same assemble, and to shew their for-

ces in armes, they shall take counsell and
dispose themselves to do some faire feat of
armes, as well on foot as on horsebacke,
against all commers : we declare and or-
deine, that the place where shall be the said
fight and feat of armes, shall be chosen be-
twene Guines and Arde, and assigned by
the commissioners of the one and the other
partie.

And for a suertie of the persons of the
said kings & their companie, the said place
shall be apparelled, ditched, fortified, and
kept of the one and the other partie, by e-
quall number of men of armes, respectue-
lie committed and deputed that to do. And
during the time of the said iusts and feats
of warre, the same kings and quenes with
their retinue, shall see ech other familiarly,
and conuerse and speake together. And e-
uerie daie towards the evening, after the
iusts, triumphs, bankets, & familiar com-
munications done, the said kings with
their retinue shall returne into their cas-
tells, that is to say, the king of England
into his castell of Guines, & the said right
christened king into his castell of Arde, and
thus they shall doo daile, during the said
fight and feat of armes.

Item, we declare and ordeine, that when
the same king of England and the quene
his bedfellow, & the Dowaresse of France
his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the
territorie and entrie of the foresaid right
christened king, the superiortie and prehe-
minence shall be given to the said king of
England, to the quene his bedfellow, and
to their retinue respectue lie, during the
time that they shall tarie and be there : and
semblable when the said right christened
king, and the quene his bedfellow and his
right illustre ladie and mother, with their
retinue shall come to the territorie and en-
trie of the said illustre king of England, the
superiortie and preheminece shall be gi-
uen to the said right christened king, to the
quene his bedfellow, and to his mother,
and to their retinue during the time that
they shall continue and abide there.

Item, forsomuch as the castels and pla-
ces where the said interview shall be, be so
little and narrow, that if entrie and licence
to come thither be given to all them that
would go thither, diuers annoiances, trou-
bles & impechments should follow : wher-
fore it is so, that we the cardinall aboue
said, by these presents declare and ordeine,
that none of the retinue of the said kings,
quenes, or other lords and nobles, of what
estate, qualitie, or condition that he or they
be of, shall not come to the said assemble
with more great number of persons or
horse, than shall be writen by letters sub-
scribed by the said kings : the which shall
containe the estates and conditions of the
persons, as well men as women, and num-
ber of servants and horse, except the com-
mon consent and licence of the said kings.

Item, forsomuch as peradventure it
shall come that the said princes, lords, gen-
tlemen,

After the
perceives
be given to
the king of
England
the quene
his sister
French
retinue.

After the
retinue of
allowance
to the place
appointed to
the interview.

in Reg. II.

gentlemen, and household seruants, shall see and conuerse together familiarly, to the end that it maie ingender betwene them an amitie more firme and stable, for that cause, and that more suerlie and agréable they may be together, as well by day as by night without any danger or feare, which we desire to prouide: we declare and ordeine that two gentlemen, with sufficient companies of equall & like number, be committed and deputed, respectiuelie by the said kings for the keeping and suertie of the waies and marches, that shall be made continuallie during the assemble of the said kings. The which gentlemen, with their companies, shall ordeine and depute explozatores and spies in the bailies, forrests, woods, towngs, burrowes, villages, castels, passages, and waies: and other places dangerous and suspect: from time to time, and houre to houre, as well towards Flanders, as Picardie, Artois, & England, to exploit and watch there.

And if any be found suspect, them to re- pulle and take awaie, to the end that not onelie the said princes, their gentlemen, and household seruants, maie suerlie and without feare visit the one the other, as said is: but also those that shall bring bit- tels necessarie to the said assemble, maie without danger, trouble, impeachment, or noisance go and come: the which exploza- tores shall be bounden euerie daie in the morning and euening, to make report to the said princes or to their said counsellors respectiuelie, of that which they found, and in what estate the waies be. We declare further and ordeine, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other par- tie, shall not approach nether than two iour- nies, to the place where the said interuiew shall be, except the retinue and men of war that be committed and deputed to keepe Bullongne and Calis: and that the same men of warre nor none other, during the assemble of the said princes, shall not pre- sume to come nether, vnllesse by the consent, accord, and licence of the said princes.

Item, we cardinall aboue said, by ex- presse authoritie and power to vs giuen, by these presents, bind the said princes to do, fulfill, and accomplish, all and euerie things aboue said herein contened. final- lie, we declare and ordeine, that ech of the said kings on his partie, shall ratifie, con- firme, and approue all and euerie the chap- ters and articles aboue said, by their let- ters pattents sealed with their hands. And by the same letters of ratification they shall be bounden, to accomplish with good faith and word of a king, all and eue- rie the things aboue said: the which let- ters made, subscribed, and sealed, as is said, they shall giue the one the other, and shall change in the cite of London, within one moneth next after the date of these presents. Made the twelue of March, the yeare of our Lord a thousand five hun- dred and ninetene,

The paces of the realme receiuing letters to pre- pare themselves to attend the king in this iourne, and no apparant necessarie cause expessed, why nor wherefor: seemed to grudge, that such a costlie iour- nie should be taken in hand to their impotunate charges and expences, without consent of the whole boord of the counsell. But namelie the duke of Buc- kingham, being a man of a loftie courage, but not most liberall, fore repined that he should be at so great charges for his furniture forth at this time, saing; that he knew not for what cause so much monie should be spent about the sight of a vaine talke to be had, and communication to be ministred of things of no importance. Wherefore he sicked not to saie, that it was an intollerable matter to be- lieve such a vile and impotunate person.

The duke indeed could not abide the cardinall, and speciallie he had of late conceived an inward malice against him for sir William Bulmers cause, whose trouble was onelie procured by the cardinall; who first caused him to be cast in prison. Now such grie- uous words as the duke thus vttered against him, came to the cardinals eare; whereupon he cast before hand all waies possible to haue him in a trip, that he might cause him to leape headlesse. But bicause he doubted his friends, kinnesmen, and alics, and chiefe- lie the earle of Surrie lord admirall, which had mar- ried the dukes daughter, he thought good first to send him some whither out of the waie, least he might cast a trumpe in his waie. There was great enmitie be- twixt the cardinall and the earle, for that on a time, when the cardinall toke vpon him to checke the earle, he had like to haue thrust his dagger into the cardis- nall.

At length there was occasion offered him to com- passe his purpose, by occasion of the earle of Bil- dare his comming out of Ireland. For the cardinall knowing he was well prouided of monie, sought occasion to steere him of part thereof. The earle of BILDARE being unmarried, was desirous to haue an English woman to wife; and for that he was a suter to a widow contrarie to the cardinals mind, he ac- cused him to the king, of that he had not bozne him- selfe vprightlie in his office in Ireland, where he was the kings lieutenant. Such accusations were fra- med against him when no bittes would come, that he was committed to prison, and then by the cardinals good preferment the earle of Surrie was sent into Ireland as the kings deputie, in lieu of the said earle of BILDARE, there to remaine rather as an erile, than as lieutenant to the king, euen at the cardinals plea- sure, as he himselfe well perceiued.

In the beginning of Aprill, the said earle passed ouer into Ireland, and had with him diuerse gentle- men that had bene in the garrison of Tozmate, and one hundred yeomen of the kings gard, and others, to the number of a thousand men, where he by his manhood and policie brought the earle of Desmond and diuerse other rebels to good conformitie and or- der. He continued there two yeares, in which space he had manie bickerings and skirmishes with the wild Irish. There rested yet the earle of Northum- berland, whose the cardinall doubted also, least he might hinder his purpose, when he should go about to breake his malice against the duke of Bucking- ham: and therefore he picked a quarell to him, for that he had seized vpon certeine wards which the car- dinall said appertained of right to the king. And be- cause the earle would not giue over his title, he was also committed to prison, & after toke it for a great benefit at the cardinals hands, that he might be deli- uered out of his danger.

Now in this meane while, the cardinall ceased not to bying the duke out of the kings fauour, by such

Great hatred betwene the cardinall, and the duke of Buckings- ham.

The earle of BILDARE com- mitted to ward.

Edw. Hall.

God service done by the earle of Surrie.

Polydor.

The earle of Northumber- land commit- ted to prison.

such forged tales, and contrived surmises, as he daily put into the kings head: insomuch that (through the infelicite of his fate) diuerse accidents fell out to the aduantage of the cardinall; which he not omitting, atchiued the thing whereat he so studioulie (for the satisfieng of his cankered & malicious stomach) laid full ayme. Now it chanced that the duke coming to London with his traine of men, to attend the king into France, went before into Kent vnto a manor place which he had there. And whilest he staid in that countrie till the king set forward, greuous complaints were exhibited to him by his farmers and tenants against Charles Mancet his suriour, for such bybing as he had vied there amongst them. Whereupon the duke took such displeasure against him, that he depriued him of his office, not knowing how that in so doing he procured his owne destruction, as after appeared.

Anno Reg. 12.

The king set forth forward towards France.

The kings maiestie persecuering in purpose to meet with Francis the French king, remoued with the queene, and all his court, the one & twentieth day of Maie being mondaie, from his manor of Greenwich towards the sea side: and so on the fridaie the nine and twentieth of Maie, he arrived at the citie of Canturburie, intending there to keepe his Whit-suntide. On the morrow after, the emperor being on the sea returning out of Spaine, arrived with all his nante of ships roiall on the coast of Kent, direct to the port of Wieth the said daie by none, where he was saluted by the viceadmirall of England, Sir William Fitz William, with sir of the kings great ships well furnished, which late for the safegard of passage betwixt Calis and Douer. Towards evening the emperor departed from his ships, and entered into his bote, and comming towards land, was met and receiued of the lord cardinall of Borke with such reuerence as to so noble a prince appertained.

The emperor Charles the first landed in England.

Thus landed the emperor Charles the first at Douer, vnder his cloth of estate of the blacke eagle, all spread on rich cloth of gold. He had with him manie noble men, and manie faire ladies of his blood. When he was come on land, the lord cardinall conducted him to the castell of Douer, which was prepared for him in most roiall manner. In the morning, the king rode with all hault to the castell of Douer to welcome the emperor, and entering into the castell, alighted. Of whose coming the emperor hauing knowledge, came out of his chamber, and met him on the staires, where either of them embraced other in most louing manner, and then the king brought the emperor to his chamber. On Whit-sundaie earlie in the morning, they took their horses, and rode to the citie of Canturburie, the more to keepe solenne the feast of Pentecost: but speciallie to see the queene of England his aunt was the emperor his intent, of whome he may be sure he was most iustitie receiued and welcomed.

The meeting of the emperor and H. Henrie at Douer castell.

The emperor and H. Henrie keepe Whit-suntide at Canturburie.

Polydor.

Thus the emperor and his retinue, both of lords and ladies, kept their Whit-suntide with the king and queene of England, in the citie of Canturburie with all ioy and solace. The emperor yet himselfe seemed not so much to delight in pastime and pleasure, but that in respect of his youthfull yeares, there appeared in him a great shew of granitie: for they could by no means bring him to danse amongst the rest, due of the princes, but onelic was contented to be a looker on. Peradventure the sight of the ladie Marie troubled him, whome he had sometime loued, and yet through fortunes euill hap might not haue hir to wife. The chiefe cause that moued the emperor to come thus on land at this time, was to persuaade that by word of mouth, which he had before done most earnestlie by letters, which was, that the king should not meet with the French king at anie interuiew: for

he doubted least if the king of England & the French king should grow into some great friendship and faithfull bond of amitie, it might turne him to displeasure.

But now that he perceived how the king was forward on his iourne, he did what he could to procure, that no trust should be committed to the faire words of the Frenchmen: and that if it were possible, the great friendship that was now in breeding betwixt the two kings, might be dissolued. And so much as he knew the lord cardinall to be towarde with rewards, as a fish with a bait: he bestowed on him great gifts, and promised him much more, so that he would be his friend, and helpe to bring his purpose to passe. The cardinall not able to susteine the least assault by force of such rewards as he presentlie receiued, and of such large promises as on the emperours behalfe were made to him, promised to the emperor, that he would so vse the matter, as his purpose should be sped: onelic he required him not to disalew the kings intent for interuiew to be had, which he desired in anie wise to go forward, that he might shew his high magnificence in France, according to his first intention.

The emperor remained in Canturburie till the thursdaie, being the last of Maie, and then taking leaue of the king, and of his aunt the queene, departed to Sandwich, where he took his ships and sailed into Flanders. The same daie, the king made saile from the port of Douer, and landed at Calis about eleuen of the clocke, and with him the queene and ladies, & manie nobles of the realme. His grace was receiued into the chequer, and there rested. The fourth of June, the king and queene with all their traine remoued from Calis, to his princelie lodging newlie erected beside the towne of Guines, the most noble & roiall lodging that euer before was seene. For it was a palace, the which was quadrant, and euerie quadrant of the same palace was three hundred and twentie eight foot long of allise, which was in compass thirtene hundred and twelue foot about. This palace was set on stages by great cunning & sumptuous worke.

At the entering into the palace before the gate, on the plaine greene, was builded a fontaine of imbolued worke, gilt with fine gold, and vice, ingrailed with antique worke: the old god of wine called Bacchus burling the wine, which by the conduits in the earth ran to all people plentifullie with red, white, and claret wine, ouer whose head was written in letters of Romane in gold, Faicte bonne chere qui voudra. On the other hand of side of the gate was set a pillar, which was of ancient Romane worke, bove with foure lions of gold, the pillars wrapped in a wreath of gold curiously wrought and intrailed, and on the summit of the said pillar stood an image of the blind god Cupid, with his bow and arrowes of loue, ready by his seeming to strike the yong people to loue.

The foregate of the same palace or place with great and mightie masonrie by sight was arched, with a tower on euerie side of the same port, reered by great craft, and imbattelled was the gate and tower, and in the fenestres and windowes were images resembling men of warre, ready to cast great stones. Also the same gate or tower was set with compassed images of ancient princes, as Hercules, Alexander, and other by intrailed worke, richlie linned with gold and albine colours: and well and warlike was made ouer the gate loupes, and inforced with battlements, and in the same gate a lodge for the porter, which there appeared, and other sumptuous apparellled like vnto kings officers. By the same gate all people passed into a large court faire and beautifull,

small, for in this court appeared much of the outward beauty of this place, for from the first water table, to the ceiling of the roof, were baie windowes, on euerie side mired with cleare stonies curiouslie glazed, the posts or mounels of euerie window was gilt.

Thus the outward part of the place linned the eyes of the beholders, by real in of the sumptuous worke. Also the tower of the gate (as seemed) was builded by great masonrie, and by great engine of mans wit, for the sundrie countenances of euerie image that there appeared, some shooting, some casting, some ready to strike, and firing of gunnes, which shewed verie honozable. Also all the said quadrants, haies, and collicies, were roiallie intrailed, as there as unto the same court appertained. And direct against the gate was deuisid a halpas, and at the entrie of the faire, were images of soze and terrible countenances, all armed in curious worke of argentine. The baie of the same halpas pendant by craft of sunber, & under it antike images of gold in-
mouned with verdoz of olifs cast in compasse, moun-
fing their countenances toward the entring of the
place. The fauce of the said halpas was cast of pas-
sage by the wents of brode steps, so that from the
first water to the top of the step, any person might without
paine go into the highest place of the same halpas.

On euerie hand was their chamber doores and
enterings into the chambers of the same palace,
which were long and large, and well proportioned, to
receiue light and aire at pleasure: the roses of them
from place to place, and chamber to chamber were
sleed, and covered with cloth of silke, of the most
faire and quicke invention that before time was
seene. For the ground was white ingrailed, embowed,
and batoned with rich clothes of silkes, knit and firt
with cuts and braids, and sundrie new castes, that the
same clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fine
burned gold: and the roses in losenges, that in the
same rose were in kindlie course, furnished so to
mans sight, that no living creature might but loy in
the beholding thereof. For from the tapiece of the
said sleed (which peece was gilt with fine gold) were
workes in pane paled, all the walles to the cress in-
countering the cleare stonies, the same cress which
was of large deepnesse, the worke was antike knots
with bosses cast and wrought with more cunning
than I can write, all which workes and ouerages were
gilt, and to set it the more to the glozie, the scourt-
fing of silke was comparable to the rich amell.

Also at the foot of the same palace was another cress
all of fine set gold, whereon hanged rich & maruelous
clothes of arras wrought of gold and silke, compas-
sed of manie ancient stonies, with which clothes of ar-
ras euerie wall and chamber were hanged, & all the
windowes so richlie covered, that it passed all other
sights before seene. In euerie chamber and euerie
place convenient were clothes of estate, great and
large of cloth of gold, of tissue, and rich embroidery,
with chaires covered with like cloth, with pommels
of fine gold, and great cushions of rich worke of the
Turkie making, nothing lacked of honoutable fur-
nishment. Also to the same palace was reared a
chappell with two closetes, the quire of the said chap-
pell sleed with cloth of gold, and thereon firt ingrat-
led bent clothes of silke, all was then silke and gold.
The altars of this chappell were hanged with rich re-
vesture of cloth of gold and tissue, embroidered with
perles. Over the hie altar was hanged a rich canopie
of maruelous greatnesse, the altar was appareled
with fine paire of candlesticks of gold, and on the al-
tar an halpas, and thereon stood a crucifix all of fine
gold, and on the same halpas stood twelue images of
the bignes of foure peaces of age, all gold.

All the copes and vestments were so rich as might
be prepared or bought in the cite of Florens, for they
were all but of one peece, so woven for the purpose,
cloth of tissue and powdered with red roses purpled
with fine gold. The vestments set with pearles and pre-
cious stonies. And all the walles and desks of this
chappell were hanged with rich cloth of gold, & there
rich great crosses were there ready to be borne at
festiual times, and basons and censers, gospellers, pa-
res, cirewets, holie water vessels, and other orna-
ments all of gold. Also in the first closet was a tra-
uerse for the kings person of cloth of gold, & in it his
place & chaire, with cushions of cloth of gold: before the
trauerse was an altar of presence, which altar was
adorned with cloth of broderie, and rich pearles and
precious stonies, set in goldsmiths worke of fine gold.
On the altar was a deske or halpas, whereon stood a
patible of the crucifix of fine gold, with an image of
the Trinitie, an image of the virgine Marie, and
twelue other images, all fine gold & precious stonies,
two paire of candlesticks of fine gold, with the ba-
sons, cirewets, pares, and other ornaments.

The said closet was hanged with tapets embro-
dered with rich worke firt with pearles and stonies,
the rose of the same closet was sleed with worke of
inmoued, gilt with fine gold, and senoper, and bise.
The second closet was for the queens person, in which
was a trauerse of rich cloth of gold, the altar so richlie
appareled, that there lacked neither pearles nor
stonies of riches. On the altar were twelue great i-
mages of gold, the closet hanged with cloth of gold,
all other ietwels misall I suppose neuer such like
were seene, and the rose of the same closet was sleed
with like worke that the kings closet was, as is be-
fore rehearsed. And from this palace or place into the
mightie & strong fortreffe & castell roiall of Gulesnes,
was a gallerie for the secret passage of the kings
person into a secret lodging within the same castell,
the more for the king ease. Also to this palace was all
houses of offices, that to such an honourable court
should appertene, that is to wit, the lord chamberlein,
lord steward, lord treasurer of the household, for the
comptrolloz, the office of graine cloth, wardrobes,
sewell house, and office of household seruice, as chiefe,
pantrie, cellar, butterie, spicerie, pitcher house, larder
and poultrie, and all other offices so large and faue,
that the officers might & did maruell, as in the craft
of viands, by ouens, harthes, recedoses, chimnies,
ranges, & such instruments as there were ordeined.

In this palace (as ye haue heard) was the kings
grace lodged, and all the nobles after their degrees.
And for that the towne of Gulesnes was little, and
that all the noble men might not there be lodged,
they set up tents in the field, to the number of twen-
tie and eight hundred sundrie lodgings, which was a
goodlie sight. Thus was the king in his palace roiall
at Gulesnes. Francis the French king was with
all his nobles of the realme of France come to the
towne of Ard, which was prepared for his coming,
manie tents, halles, and paulions were set and pit-
ched in the field. On the French partie also there
was at the same towne of Ard builded the French
kings lodging full well, but not finished. Much was
the prouision in Picardie on euerie part thorough
all. The French king commanded his lodging to be
made a little out of the towne of Ard, in the territo-
rie of an old castell, which by the warre of old time
had bene beaten. On the same place was edified a
house of solace and sport, of large and mightie com-
passe, which was chieftie sustented by a great mightie
mast, whereby the great ropes and tackle streined
the same mast was staid. All the rose of the same
house hie on the same mast, and with tackle was
streined & bozne by the supporters of the same mast

Great cost had
popish crimi-
nall & super-
stitious trash.

The kings
closet.

The queens
closet.

A prime
gallerie.

Houses of of-
fices both ho-
nourable and
otherwise
necessarie.

Tents
erected.

A bancketing
house for so-
lace and dis-
port.

or tree, the colours of the same was all blew, set with
flawres of gold foile, and the o:bs of the heavens by
the craft of colours in the rose, were curiously
wrought in maner like the skie or firmament, and a
cressant strained some deale towards the towne of
Ard, this cressant was covered with frets and knots
made of iute bushes, and bor branches, and other
things that longest would be greene for pleasure.

Now like as diuerse of the French nobilitie had
visited the king of England while he laie in Calis,
so likewise the lord cardinall, as ambassadeur to
the king, rode with a noble repaire of lords, gentle-
men, and prelates, to the towne of Ard, where he was
of the French king highlie intertained, with great
thanks, for that by his meanes hee had ioined in
friendship with the king of England, to his high con-
tentation and pleasure, as hauing obtained the thing
which he had long desired. The noble port, sumptuous
shew, and great traine of gentlemen, knights, lords,
and number of seruants, in rich apparell & rates of li-
ueries attendant on the cardinall, made the French
men greatlie to wonder at his triumphant doings.

The great
pompe of car-
dinall waulde.

Great credit
committed to
the cardinall
by both the
kings.
The inter-
view of the
two kings in
the vale of
Andren.

The king of England had giuen vnto the said
cardinall full authoritie, power, and libertie, to af-
firme and confirme, bind and vnbind, whatsoeuer
should be in question betwene him and the French
king: and the like authoritie, power, and libertie, did
the French king by his sufficient letters patents,
grant to the same cardinall, which was accepted to
be a signe of great loue, that he should commit to
great a trust vnto the king of Englands subiect. The
date of the meeting was appointed to be on the thurs-
daie the seauenth of June, vpon which daie the two
kings met in the vale of Andren, accompanied with
such a number of the nobilitie of both realmes,
so richlie appointed in apparell, and costlie iewels, as
chaines, collars of SS, & other the like ornaments
to set forth their degrees and estates, that a wonder
it was to behold and view them in their order and
romes, which euerie man kept according to his ap-
pointment.

The two kings meeting in the field, either saluted
other in most louing wise, first on horsebacke, and
after alighting on foot estones embraced with cour-
teous words, to the great reioicing of the beholders:
and after they had thus saluted ech other, they went
both together into a rich tent of cloath of gold, there
set vp for the purpose, in the which they passed the time
in pleasant talke, banquetting, and louing deuises, till
it drew toward the euening, and then departed for
that night, the one to Guisnes, the other to Ard. At
this meeting of the two kings in open sight, & then
well perceived (saith Hall) the habillements roiall of
the French king. His garment was a chemise, of
cloath of siluer, culponed with cloath of gold, of da-
maske, cantell wise, and garded on the borders with
the Burgon bands.

Edw. Hall, in
H. 8. fol. lxxvij.
The French
kings roiall
ornaments.

The descrip-
tion of the
French kings
person.

ouer that he had a cloake of broched sattin, with
gold of purple colour, wrapped about his bodie tra-
uerse, beaded from the shoulder to the waist, fastned in
the loope of the first fould: this said cloake was richlie
set with pearles and pretious stones. This French
king had on his head a coife of damaske gold set with
diamonds, and his courser that he rode on was co-
uered with a trapper of tisse, bordered with de uise,
cut in fashion mantell wise, the skirts were embol-
ed and fret with frized wo:ke, and knit with cor-
belles & buttons tasseled of Turkie making, raines
and headstall answering of like wo:ke: and verelie
of his person the same Francis the French king, a
goodlie prince, statelie of countenance, merie of
chere, browne coloured, great eyes, high nosed, big
lipped, faire bearded, broad shoulders, small legges, &
long feet.

On saturday the ninth of June, in a place with-
in the English pale were set vp in a field called the
campe, two trees of much honour, the one called the
Aubessine, that is to saie, the haltheone in English,
for Henrie: and the other the Framboisier, which in
English signifieth the raspis berie, after the signi-
fication in French. These trees were curiously
wrought, the leaues of greene damaske, the bran-
ches, boughs, and withered leaues of cloath of gold;
and all the bodie and armes of the same cloath of
gold laid on timber: they were in height from the
foot to the top thirtie foure foot of assize, in compasse a-
bout an hundred twentie and nine foot, & from bough
to bough fortie three foot: on these trees were flowers
and fruits in kindlie wise, with siluer and Venice
gold: their beaultie shewed farre.

On the same daie the two kings came to those
trees of honour, noble accompanied, in such roiall
fozt as was requisit. The campe was in length nine
hundred foot, and in bredth three hundred and twentie
foot, ditched round about (sauiug at the entrie) with
broad and deepe ditches. Diuerse scaffolds were re-
ared about this campe for the ease of the nobles. On
the right side of the field stood the queene of England,
and the queene of France, with manie ladies. The
campe was stronglie railed and barred on euerie
end: in the entrie there were two lodgings prepared
for the two kings, wherein they might arme them-
selues, and take their ease. Also in the same compasse
there were two great cellars couched full of wine,
which was liberallie bestowed on all men. The two
kings, as byethen in armes, undertooke to deliuer
all persons at iusts, tournie, and barriers.

With these two kings were associate by the order
of armes, the duke of Glendoune, the duke of Suff-
olke, the countie saint Paule, the marquesse Dor-
set, monsieur de Roche, sir William Kingston, mon-
sieur Brian, sir Richard Jerningham, monsieur Ca-
naan, sir Giles Capell, monsieur Buccall, master
Nicholas Carew, monsieur Pontasillon, and mas-
ter Anthonic Kineuet. On mondaie the eleuenth of
June, the two queenes of England and of France
came to the campe, where either saluted other right
honourable, and went into a stage for them prepa-
red. At the houre assigned, the two kings armed at
all paces mounted on horsebacke, and with their
companies entered the field; the French king on a
courser barbed, couered with purple sattin, broched
with gold, & embodered with corbine fethers round
and buckled, the fether was blacke and hatched with
gold: on his head piece he bare a seneue. All the par-
teners of the French kings chalenge were in like ap-
parell, euerie thing correspondent in cloath of silke
embodered, on his person were attendant on horse-
backe noble persons, and on foot foure persons all ap-
parelled in purple sattin.

The king of England was vpon a fresh courser,
the trappers of cloth of gold, of tisse, the arson man-
tell wise, and on the hount of the trapper bard fashon,
cut in waues of water wo:ke, and euerie waue raw
wrought and frized with damaske gold: this wo:ke
was laid lose on russet beluet, and knit together with
points of gold, which waues signified the lordship
of the narrow seas. All the parteners of the kings
chalenge were in the same sute, their horses as well
as their persons. Attendant on the king on horse-
backe were sir Henrie Guilford master of the kings
horse, sir John Perchie deputie of Calis, sir Edward
Guilford master of the kings armie, and monsieur
Sporet of the French court. All these foure were appa-
relled in the kings luerie, which was white on the
right side, and the left side gold and russet both hose
and garment: on him were attendant on foot sir ho-
nourable knights, twentie squire, and officers to the

The length
of the campe

The two
kings met
challenge in
all comers
at iusts, &c.

The two
queenes sat
at the campe

The French
kings robes
were of silk
tulle.

The king's
English
sumptuous
furniture at
the same
iusts.

the number of an hundred and twelue persons, of the which number all the knights and gentlemen had coats, the one halfe siluer, and the other cloath of gold and russet velvet, and the other officers coats were of right sattin of the same colour, and all their hosen were of the same fute verie coslie.

Thus with honour and noble courage these two noble kings with their companies entered into the field, and then presented vnto the quenes. After reuerence done, they rode round about the tilt, and so toke their places appointed, abiding the answers: which was for the first the duke of Alanfon and ten men of armes on his band, on courfers barded, the bards covered with white and blacke velvet, fastened the one within the other, garded with Burgon bands of tinell sattin, as well their garments as their bards. Then entered on courfers barded twelue gentlemen of the band of the lord aduerall of France, their garments and bards were russet sattin, bryched with gold and white and purple sattin, after the deuise of their pleasure with great plumes. When these bands were entred the field, they shewed themselves about the tilt, and did reuerence vnto the quenes. The band of the duke of Alanfon toke first place, they made them prest on both sides, the French king was the first that ran, he did valiantlie and byake speares mightlie.

Then ran the king of England to monsieur Cranboule with great vigor; so that the speares byake in the kings hand to the vantage all to shivers. And at the second course he gaue the said monsieur Cranboule such a stroke, that the charnell of his headpiece, although the same was verie strong, was broken in such wise that he might run no more, where by the king wanted three courses. Then ran the duke de Glansone, & met his counter part right noble, and byake speares right valiantlie. The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course, and met right valiantlie his counter part, and furnished the five courses right noble together like good men of armes. And when all parties of the challenge had right valiantlie furnished their courses, then ran againe the two noble kings, who did so valiantlie, that the beholders had great ioy, after which courses the heralds cried Desamnee, and the trumpets sounded to leading.

On tuesdaye the twelue of June at houre conuenient the two quenes toke their flags, and the band of challenge in the field prest to answer and deliuer all comers, to whom came ten gentlemen armed on barded horses of the band of monsieur de Salons, their bards and apparell cloath of velvet full of friers knots siluer. After they had presented them vnto the quenes, then they toke the end of the tilt, and so course after course they ran to the challengers right egerlie, and the challengers of the partie of the two kings deliuered to the end of their articles of luffs. Then entered eleuen men of armes of the band of monsieur de Tremoiell, on horses barded with pelow velvet, losenged with friers knots of blacke velvet; and after they had saluted the quenes, they likewise toke the end of the tilt, and course after course ran untill they were deliuered of their challenges of luffs. Valiantlie this daie was finished.

On wednesdaye the thirtieth of June, the two hardie kings armed at all peeces, entered into the field right noble apparellled. The French king and all his parteners of challenge were arrayed in purple sattin, bryched with gold and purple velvet, embrodered with little rolles of white sattin, wherein was written, Quando their bards & garments were set full of the same, and the residue where was no rolles were powdered & set with the letter elle, as thus. L. which in French is she, which was interpreted to be, Quando

elle, when she: and insuing the deuise of the first daie, it signifieth together, that fastened in patine endles, when she. The king of England with all the band of parteners of his challenge were likewise on horsebacke, apparellled in trappers of losenges russet velvet and cloath of siluer of damaske, embrodered and set in euerie losenge a branch of eglantine of gold, the apparell of the persons were of the same correspondent to the trapper. This eglantine tree is sweet, pleasant and greene, if it be kindlie and frendlie handled; but if it be cruelie dealt with, it will picke and he that will pull by the whole tree by the top, his hands will be hurt.

The two kings with their companies thus apparellled, presented themselves to the quenes, and so toke the end of the tilt. Then entered into the field monsieur Leskelw called lord Leskin, with him came eleuen men of armes, himselfe the twelue on horses barded and richlie apparellled, and so rode about the tilt and saluted the quenes, and toke the end of the tilt. Monsieur de Leskelw and his eleuen companions had their bates and bards all of blacke cloath of gold of damaske all cut on blacke sattin, their garments had mantell sleeves on the left arme, to the waist behind fast to the shoulder, which was praised for the strangenesse. The French king ran to monsieur de Ambois, one of the band of monsieur Leskelw, and the king of England charged his course and ran to monsieur Leskelw, and so furnished their courses (as they saie) right noble and valiantlie in byaking speares that were strong. Thus course after course ech with other, his counter partie did right valiantlie: but the two kings furnished all the rest in prouesse and valiantnesse.

This band thus furnished, entered the marquess de Salons and his band, twelue persons all riding on courfers barded and apparellled in white sattin and blacke, bryched with gold and siluer, with cuts and culpirs much after taluie and blacke sattin billots: & after reuerence done to the quenes, they toke the end of the tilt. So the marquess de Salons ran the king of England, and the king of France to another of the same band, still course after course ran all the noble men, till the marques de Salons and his band were deliuered, who bare them right valiantlie: then blew the trumpets the retreat, & the two kings then unarmed and after departed, the French king vnto Ard, and the king of England to his castell of Cusnes.

On Thursdaye the thirtieth daie of June by the nonetide the two quenes met in the campe & toke their places, the people were come to behold the honour, and to see the two kings, who all readie armed entered the field, to receiue and deliuer all men by answer of luffs. Then entered the earle of Denonshire, on his band the lord Pontacate, lord Herbert, lord Leonard Greie, maister Arthur Pole, maister Francis Blant, maister Henrie Bozris, and foure other all richlie apparellled, the one side blew velvet embrodered with a mans heart burning in a ladies hand holding a garden pot filling with water on the heart: the other side was white sattin embrodered with letters of gold. This companie rode about the tilt, and did reuerence to the quenes, and so abode at the end of the same.

The earle of Denonshire charged his speare, and the French king likewise charged his course to meet the same earle, and ran so hard together, that both their speares byake, and so maintained their courses noble. Then ran the king of England to monsieur Amozancie, and him encountered, & both bare together and gaue great strokes; the kings most noble grace neuer disloozed nor breathed untill he ran the five courses & deliuered his counterpartie. Dukes, marquesses,

The king of England and the parteners of his challenge.

Monsieur Leskelw.

The marquess de Salons & his band.

The two kings armed enter the field.

A deuise of conceipt.

The lord Howard and his eleven companions in armes.

marquesses, knights, esquires, and others ran as fast as cuer they might, there was none that abode when the courtes came, untill the earle of Dononshire and his band were deliuered of demands. Then entered the lord Howard some to the duke of Norfolk and eleven companions apparelled and barbed in crimlin sattin full of flames of gold, the borders ribbed with crimlin veluet, and with much hono^r (after due reuerence done to the quenes) were brought with heralds of armes about the tilts; and so toke the place to them appointed: right rich was their apparell.

Then ran the French king and incountered the same lord Edmund, they brake both their stauces ballantlie course after course, the incounter ceased not till they had furnished their fine courtes; so was the lord Edmund deliuered by the French k^{ing}. Then ran the king of England to a strong gentleman named Rafe Brooke and brake his speare, and ran course after course, untill he had finished his courtes right noble and like a prince of most valiancie. The residue ceased not untill they had ech deliuered other of their chalenge. On fridaie the sixteenth daie of June the king of England mounted on a courser rosall, his person armed at all peeces, his apparell and trappers was the one side rich cloath of gold of tisse, the other side cloath of tisse of siluer, and cloath of gold of tisse entered ound the one with the other.

The ound is a worke wauing vp & dowe, and all the borders as well trappers as other was garded with letters of fine gold, and all the other side that was ound was set with signes called cifers of fine gold, the which were set with great and orientall pearles. The cifers signified letters knit together in a knot, which was to wit; God my friend, my realme and I maie. This was the deuise and reason thereof. All the kings band were apparelled in like apparell. The French k^{ing} likewise armed at all points mounted on a courser rosall, all his apparell as well bardes as garments were purple veluet entered the one with the other, emb^odered full of little booke of white sattin, & in the booke were written *Ame*. About the borders of the bardes and the borders of the garments a chaine of blew like iron, resembling the chaine of a well o^r prison chaine, which was interpreted to be *Libber*, a booke. Within this booke was written (as is said) *Ame*. Put these two together and it maketh *Libberame*. The chaine betokeneth prison o^r bonds, and so maketh together in English, Deliu^er me of bonds. Then they toke the end of the tilt.

Monsieur Flozengis and his companie.

Readie was monsieur Flozengis and with him twelue men of armes with coursers barbed: the bardes and apparell was crimlin veluet, tawnie veluet, and plunket veluet emb^odered borderwise with shepheardes hookes of cloath of siluer. When they with honour had passed about the tilt (due reuerence to the quenes and ladies done) the two kings had their speares readie, and then began the rushing of speares. The king of England this daie ran so freshly and so manie courses, that one of his best coursers was dead that night, this band was deliuered man after man of their pretense of iusts. Then entered bands of monsieur de Rameurs and monsieur de Puts, ech having eleuen persons in number, the one band all white sattin emb^odered with blacke, and the other all blacke dopped with siluer drops; who after reuerence done to the quenes, at the end of the tilt toke their places. Then began a new incounter hard and sore, manie of them bare great strokes of the kings, to their honour: and with such violence they ran, as they set their hories in a sweating heat, and themselves mating with full force made the fragments o^r broken peeces of their stauces mount aloft in the air like an arrow out of a bow, as the poet saith;

Hasta fridentis fracta petit ahera cuspis.

On saturdaye the seventeenth daie of June, the French king with a small number came to the castle of Guisnes about the houre of eight in the morning. The king being in his priue chamber had thereof knowledge, who with glad hart went to receive the same French king, and him met and welcomed in friendlie and honorable maner; and after communication betwene them had, the king of England departed, leauing the French king there in the famous place before named. Then was busie the lord chamberleine, the lord steward, and all other officers, to make readie feast and cheare. It were too long to rehearse all, for such a feast and banquet was then made, that of long time before the like had not bene scene. The king of England thus departing, he toke his horse, and with a companie of noblemen rode to Ard, where the French quene and other noble men receiued him with much honour.

After which receiuing, he was by the said quene and lords brought into a chamber hanged with blew veluet emb^odered with flowers delice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bed of like worke, from whence he was conueied to another chamber, in the which was a kings state. This chamber was hanged and sieled with cloth of gold, emb^odered with great cordels o^r friers knots of cloth of siluer. In the same chamber were two supboards, on either side one, furnished with great and goodlie plate gilt. Noble feasting and cheare was there made. After dinner the ladies dressed them to danse, and certeine yong honourable lords of England, apparelled after the maner of Rusland o^r farre Castland, whose hosen were of rich gold sattin called aureat sattin, ouerrolled to the knee with scarlet, and on their feet shoes with little pikes of white nasses after the Estland guise, their dublets of rich crimlin veluet and cloth of gold, with wide sleeves lined with cloth of gold: ouer this they had clokes of crimlin veluet short, lined with cloth of gold, on euerie side of the clokes rings of siluer, with laces of Venice gold, and on their heads they had hats made in the towne of Danke, and purses of scales skinned, and girdels of the same: all these yong lords had bisards on their faces, and their hats were dyalene with like hatbands full of damaske gold.

Other ten lords were apparelled in long gobones of blew sattin of the ancient fashion, emb^odered with reasons of gold that said *Adieu iunesse*, farewell youth: they had tippets of blacke veluet, & hats hanging thereby, & on their heads hie bloket standing caps, and girdels of silke, and purses of cloth of gold after the ancient maner, with bisards on their faces of like anciencie. After all these triumphs and haunteries, great store of spices, fruits, iellies, & banquetting viands were brought, which being done and ended, the king toke leaue of the French quene and ladies, to whome were brought thirtie horses trapped in damaske, white and yellow, and so passed he and his traine the towne of Ard into the field and campe. Right rosallie also was the French k^{ing} intertained, and all other after their degree and state. Now when all this solemnitie was ended, the French king toke leaue of the quene and ladies of the court. The lord cardinall in statelie attire, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and other great lords, conducted forward the French king, and in their way they incountered and met the king of England and his companie right in the ballie of Anderne, apparelled in their masking apparell, which gladdened the French king. After reuerence done, the said two kings departed for that night, the English to Guisnes, and the French to Ard.

On mondaie, the eighteenth of June, was such

an horrible storme of wind and weather, that manie conjectured it did prognosticate trouble and hatred hostile after to follow betwene princes. On tuesday the nineteenth of June, the two kings came to the campe againe armed at all peeces, and there abode them that would come, so that then began the iusts afield. On wednesday the twentieth of June, the two kings began to hold tournies with all the parteners of their chalenge armed at all peeces. The quene of France and the quene of England were in the places for them prepared, and there was manie a goodlie battell performed: the kings doing as well as the best, so that the beholders spake of them honoz. On thursdaie the one and twentieth of June, the two kings likewise kept the tournies, so that all those noble men that would proue their valiancies, were deliuered according to the articles of the tournies, which this daie took end. On fridaie the 22 of June, the two kings with their retinue did battell on foot at the barriers, and there deliuered all such as put forth themselves to trie their forces. On saturday the thirte and twentieth of June, the lord cardinall sang an high solemne masse by note, aloft vpon a pompous stage before the two kings & quenes, the which being finished, indulgence was giuen to all the hearers. The two kings dined in one chamber that daie, and the two quenes in another. After dinner the two kings with their band entered the field on foot before the barriers, & so began the fight, which continued battell after battell, till all the combiners were answered. There were deliuered this day thus at the barriers by battell, an hundred and six persons: the two last battells did the kings trie. And so that saturday the whole chalenge was performed, and all men deliuered of the articles of iusts, tournies, and battells on foot at the barriers, by the said two kings and their aids.

After this, there followed resall maskes, and on the saturday the foure and twentieth of June, the king of England with foure companies, in euerie companie ten, trinie appointed in masking apparell, rode to Ard: and likewise the French king accompanied with eight and thirtie persons as maskers repaired to Cusines. They met on the waie, & each companie passed by other without any countenance making or dissembling. They were honorablie received, as well at the one place as the other. And when they had ended their pastime, banketting, and dances, they returned and met againe on the way homeward, and then putting off their visards, they lounglie embraced: and after amiable communication together, they took leave each of other, & for a remembrance gaue gifts either to other verie rich and princelie.

During this triumph, much people of Flanders and west Flanders drew to Cusines, to see the king of England & his honoz, to whom vittels of the court were giuen in plentie, the conduit of the gate did run wine alwaies. There were vagabonds, plowmen, labourers, and of the bzagerie, wagoners and beggers, that for drunkenness laie in routs and heapes. So great resort came thither, that knights and ladies, who were come to see the noblenesse, were faine to lie in haie and straw, and held them thereof highlie pleased. From the court of the emperor, noz of the ladie Margarets court, noz of Flanders, Brabant, noz Burgognie came neuer a person to answer to the chalenge. By that it seemed that there was sin all loue betwene the emperor & the French king. Moreover, monsieur Fajot capitaine of Bullogne with monsieur Chastillon, did their deuoir to haue taken the towne of saint Omer, of which doing was thought no goodnesse to the emperor.

On mondaie the five and twentieth of June, the king with the quene removed from Cusines to Calis, where he remained till the tenth of Julie, on which daie he rode to Graueling, and was received on the waie by the emperor, and so by him conducted to Graueling, where not onlie the king, but also all his traine was cheered and feasted, with following manner, that the Englishmen highlie praised the emperours court. [When the French king and his lords had knowledge of the meeting of the emperor and the king of England in the towne of Graueling, they were therewith greatlie grieved, as by manie things appeared. For as the Englishmen were in France disdained, and in their sutes there greatlie deferred, and had little right, and much lesse fauour: so from day to day still more and more began hartburning, and in conclusion open warre did arise betwene the two realmes.]

On Wednesday the eleuenth of Julie, the emperor and his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Sauoy came with the king of England to the towne of Calis, and there continued in great ioy and solace, with feasting, banketting, dancing and masking untill the fouretenth of Julie. For the intertaining of these estates (the English lords and gentlemen displaced of their lodgings to serue the other and their traine) there was builded a banketting house eight hundred foot compasse, like a theatre, after a goodlie deuise, builded in such maner as (I thinke) was neuer seene, with firtene principals made of great masts, betwixt euerie mast foure and twentieth foot, and all the outsidcs closed with boyd and canvas.

Ouer it, and within round about by the sides, were made thre scaffolds or lofts one aboue another for men and women to stand vpon. And in the midst of the same banketting house, was set by a great pillar of timber made of eight great masts, bound together with iron bands, for to hold them together: for it was an hundred and foure and thirtie foot of length, and cost six pounds thirtene shillings and fourepence to set it vpright. The banketting house was couered ouer with canvas, fastened with ropes and iron as fast as might be deuised. And within the said house was painted the heauens, with starres, sunne, moone, and clouds, with diuerse other things made aboue our mens heads: and there were great images of wickers couered, and made like great men of diuerse strange nations: and diuerse reasons were written by them of the countries that they likened to be of, with the armes of those countries hanging by them.

Also there was made as it were manie ships vnder saile, and windmills going, and about the high pillar of timber that stood vpright in the midst, was made stages of timber for organs and other instruments to stand vpon, and men to plaie on them, & for other musicians & pageants to be plaied, when the king of England & the emperor should be at their banket. But in the morning of the same day, the wind began to rise, & at night blew off the canvas, and all the elements, with the starres, sunne, moone, and clouds, and the wind blew out aboue a thousand torches, and other lights of war, that were prepared to giue light to the banket, & all the kings seats that were made with great riches, besides all other things, were all dashed and lost.]

The same daie at night that the states were intertained, the king and hisseue persons were appailelled all in blacke velvet couered with cloth of gold, cut on the velvet, fastened with knots of gold, on the which knots hang spangles of gold like tuzs, and bonnets of the same, & clothes of crimlin sattin and cloth of gold wrapped trauctse, and their buskins of the same cloth of gold. All these lustie maskers went to the emperours lodging, and were received,

King Henrie departed from Cusines to Calis, & from thence to Graueling to visit the emperor. Ed Hall in 1584. May.

The emperor cometh to Calis to King Henrie.

Abr. Pl. ex l. 8. pag. 927. Banketting house without the towne of Calis. Ra. Turpin.

Goodlie workmanship without in the banketting house.

Banketting house defaced by tempest.

A statele mask to solace the emperor & his companie.

and in the chamber of presence danced and reuelled, the which at the emperours request, the king and other disordered themselves, whereby the king was knowne: then the king took his leaue, and departed for that night. On tuesday the twelfth of Julie, because the banquetting house could not be finished, the emperour and the ladie Margaret supped with the king & the queene at the chequer, where the same night after supper reuelled ninetie and six maskers: after the reuels was a banquet, after which banquet the king brought the emperour and the ladie Margaret to the stables, and after withdrew him.

French gentlemen in maskers apparel
knowing to them that bare rule in the reuels,

This night were eight companies of maskers, and in euery companie twelue persons all in gold, silver and velvet, richly appareled, but because the room was small, the shew was the lesse. In these reuels were put in maskers apparel diuerse gentlemen of the French court vnderwriting to the li. or anie other that bare rule. For diuerse young gentlemen of the French court fancied more the French partie, than the emperours partie; through which means they saw and much more heard than they should haue done. On freidate the thirtieth daie of Julie, the emperour did intend to haue departed from Calis, but the counsell was such that he departed not that night.

On saturday the fourteenth of Julie, the emperour took his leaue of the queene of England his aunt, and departed toward Graucing, being conducted on his waie by the king of England, to a village towards Flanders called Wlaek, and there they embraced and took their leaue either of other in most louing manner. They did not altogether spend the time thus while they were together, in vaine pleasures, and sporting reuels; for the charters before time concluded were read ouer, and all the articles of the league tripartite, agreed betwixt the emperour, the king of England, and the French king, were at full declared, to the which the French king had fullie consented. And for the more proofe thereof, and exemplification of the same, he sent monsieur de Noch with letters of credence to the emperour, that in the word of a prince he would obserue, fulfill, performe and keepe all the same articles, for him, his realme and subiects. Shortlie after that the emperour and the king had taken leaue each of other, and were departed, the king shipped, and with the queene and all other the nobilitie returned safelie into England.

The king returned into England.

The king kept his Christmas at Grantwith this yeare, with much noblenesse and open court. And the tenth daie of Februarie, in his owne person, inlisted with all commons. On Twelue daie his grace and the earle of Denonshire, with foure aids, answered at the tournaie all commons, which were sixtene persons: noble and rich was their apparell, but in feats of armes the king excelled the rest. About this time the king hauing regard to the common welth of his realme, considered how for the space of fiftie yeares past and more, the nobles and gentlemen of England, being giuen to graze of cattell, and keeping of sheepe, had inuented a meane how to increase their yearelie reuenues, to the great decaye and vnderdoing of husbandmen of the land. For the said nobles and gentlemen, after the manner of the Spaniards, more studying how to increase their pastures, than to mainteine tillage, began to decaye husband tacks & tenements, and to conuert arable ground into pasture, furnishing the same with beastes and sheepe, and also deere, so inclosing the field with hedges, ditches, and pales, which they held in their owne hands, ingrossing twelues, and selling the same, and also sheepe and beastes at their owne prices, and as might stand most with their owne private commodity.

1521

Polydor,

An inconuenience of turning arable ground into pasture.

Whereof a threefold euill chanced to the common wealth, as Polydor noteth. One, for that there by the number of husbandmen was sore diminished the which the prince bleth chieflie in his seruice for the warres: an other, for that manie towines and villages were left desolate, and became ruinous: the third, for that both wool and cloth made thereof, and the flesh of all maner beastes bred to be eaten, was sold at far higher prices than was accustomed. These enormities at the first beginning being not redressed, grew in short space to such force and vigour by euill custome, that afterwards they gathered to such a vntuned force, that hardly they could be remedied. Such like a disease, which in the beginning with little paine to the patient, and lesse labour to the surgeon maie be cured; whereas the same by delaye and negligence being suffered to putrifie, becommeth a desperate soze, and then are medicines nothing available, and not to be applied, according to his opinion that said:

Helloborum frustra (cum iam curis agitantur) Poscentes videmus: venient occurrere morbo.

The king therefore causing such good statutes as had bene deuised and established for reformation in this behalfe, to be reuised and called vpon, took order by directing forth his commissions vnto the iustices of peace, and other such magistrats, that presentment should be had and made of all such inclosures and decaye of husbandrie, as had chanced within the space of fiftie yeares before that present time. The iustices and other magistrats, according to their commission executed the same. And so commandment was giuen, that the decayed houses should be built by againe, that the husbandmen should be placed estates in the same, and that inclosed grounds should be laid open, and soze punishment appointed against them that disobeyed.

These so good and wholesome ordinances shoulde after were defeated by meanes of brieues giuen vnto the cardinal: for when the nobles and gentlemen, which had for their pleasures imparked the common fields, were loth to haue the same againe disparked, they redeemed their vexation with good summes of monie; and so had licence to keepe their parks and grounds inclosed as before. Thus the great expectation which men had conceiued of a generall redresse, proued void: holowbeit, some profit the husbandmen in some parts of the realme got by the mending of this matter, where inclosures were already laid open, yer misfresse monie could prevent them; and so they intoid their commons, which before had bene taken from them.

After that this matter for inclosures was thus dispatched, the cardinal boiling in hatred against the duke of Buckingham, & thirsting for his blood, deuised to make Charles Kaneuet, that had bene the dukes surueior, and put from him (as ye haue heard) an instrument to bring the duke to destruction. This Kaneuet being had in examination before the cardinal, disclosed all the dukes life. And first he bittered, that the duke was accustomed by waie of taile, to saie, how he meant to vse the matter, that he would attaine to the crowne, if king Henrie charged to die without issue: & that he had talke and conference of that matter on a time with George Nevill, lord of Abergauernie, vnto whom he had giuen his daughter in marriage; and also that he threatened to punish the cardinal for his manifold misdoings, being without cause his mortal enemy.

The cardinal hauing gotten that which he sought for, encouraged, comforted, and procured Kaneuet, with manie comfortable words and great promises, that he should with a bold spirit and countenance obiect and laie these things to the dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required. Then Kaneuet

The cardinal
encouraged
Kaneuet
with
comfortable
words
and
great
promises

12, 13.

partie prouoked with desire to be reuenged, and partie moued with hope of reward, openly confessed, that the duke had once fullie determined to deuise meanes how to make the king away, being brought into a full hope that he should be king, by a vaine prophesie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of an house of the Chartreux order beside Wyke, called Henton, sometime his confessor, had opened vnto him.

The cardinall hauing thus taken the examination of Keneuer, went vnto the king, and declared vnto him, that his person was in danger by such traitorous purpose, as the duke of Buckingham had conceived in his heart, and shewed how that now there is manifest tokens of his wicked pretence: wherefore, he exhorted the king to prouide for his owne safety with speed. The king hearing the accusation, enforced to the bittermost by the cardinall, made this answer: If the duke haue deserved to be punished, let him haue according to his deserts. The duke herupon was sent for by London, & at his coming thither, was straightwaies attached, and brought to the Tower by sir Henrie Harneie, capteine of the gard, the sixteenth of Aprill. There was also attached the foresaid Chartreux monke, maister John de la Car alias de la Court, the dukes confessor, and sir Gilbert Perle priest, the dukes chancellor.

After the apprehension of the duke, inquisitions were taken in diuerse shires of England of him; so that by the knights and gentlemen, he was indicted of high treason, for certaine words spoken (as before we haue heard) by the same duke at Blechingtie, to the lord of Aburgaunnie: and therewith was the same lord attached for concelement, and so likewise was the lord Pontacute, and both led to the Tower. Sir Edward Penell, brother to the said lord of Aburgaunnie, was forbidden the kings presence. Moreover, in the Guildhall, within the citie of London, before John Bugge knight, then lord maior of the same citie, by an inquest whereof one Miles Gerrard was foreman, the said duke was indicted of diuerse points of high treason, as by the same indictment it appeareth.

Finally, that the said duke intending to exalt himselfe, and to usurpe the crowne, the totall power, and dignitie of the realme of England, and to depriue the kings maiestie thereof, that he the said duke might take vpon him the same; against his allegiance, had the tenth daie of March, in the second yeere of the kings maiesties reigne, and at diuerse other times before and after, imagined and compassed the kings death and destruction at London, & at Thorneburie, in the countie of Gloucester. And for the accomplishment of his wicked intent and purpose (as in the indictment is alledged) the twentieth and fourth daie of Aprill, in the fourth yeere of the kings reigne he sent one of his chapleins called John de la Court, to the priorie of Henton in Summerfethshire, which was an house of the Chartreux monks. The effect of substance of whose message was, to vnderstand of one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of the same house (who was vaineley reputed by waie of reuelation to haue foreknowledge of things to come) what should happen concerning the matters which he had imagined. Which monke, causing the said de la Court first to sweare vnto him, not to disclose his words to any manner of person, but onlie to the duke his maister: therewith declared, that his maister the said duke should haue all, willing him for the accomplishment of his purpose, to seeke to win the fauour of the people. De la Court came backe with this answer, and told it to the duke at Thorneburie the morrow after, being the twentieth fift of Aprill.

Also the two and twentieth of Iulie in the same

fourth yeare, the duke sent the same de la Court with letters vnto the said monke, to vnderstand of him further of such matters: and the monke told him againe for answer, that the duke should haue all. And being asked as well now, as before at the first time, how he knew this to be true: he said, By the grace of God. And with this answer de la Court now also returning, declared the same vnto the duke, the twentieth fourth of Iulie at Thorneburie aforesaid. Moreover, the said duke sent the same de la Court againe to the said monke with his letters, the six and twentieth of Aprill, in the fift yeare of the kings reigne, when the king was to take his iournie into France; requiring to vnderstand what should become of these warres: and whether the Scottish king should in the kings absence invade the realme or not. The monke (among other things) for answer of these letters, sent the duke word, that the king should haue no issue male.

Again, the said duke the twentieth daie of Februarie, in the first yeare of the kings reigne, being at Thorneburie, spake these words vnto Kase earle of Westmerland; Well, there are two new dukes created here in England, but if ought but good come to the king, the duke of Buckingham should be next in blood to succeed to the crowne. After this, the said duke on the sixteenth daie of Aprill, in the said first yeare of the kings reigne, went in person vnto the priorie of Henton, and there had conference with the foresaid monke, Nicholas Hopkins, who told him, that he should be king. Wherevnto the duke said, that if it so chanced, he would shew himselfe a just and a righteous prince. The monke also told the duke, that he knew this by reuelation, and willed him in any wise to procure the loue of the commons, the better to attaine his purposed intention.

The duke at the same time gaue, and promised to giue yearelie vnto the said priorie, six pounds, therewith to buye a tun of wine. And further he promised to giue vnto the same priorie, in readie monie twentie pounds, whereof ten pounds he gaue in hand, towards the conueieng of water vnto the house by a conduit. And to the said monke Nicholas Hopkins he gaue at that present in reward thre pounds, and at an other time fortye shillings, at an other time a marke, and at an other time six shillings eight pence. After this, the twentieth daie of March, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne, he came to the same priorie, & with him had conference with the said monke, to be more fullie informed by him in the matters aboue specified. At what time the monke also told him, that he should be king. The duke in talke told the monke, that he had done verie well, to bind his chapleine John de la Court, vnder the scale of confession, to keepe secret such matter: for if the king should come to the knowledge thereof, it would be his destruction.

Likewise, the twentieth daie of October, in the seventh yeare of the kings reigne, and at diuerse other times, as well before as after, the said duke had sent his chancellor Robert Gilbert chapleine, vnto London, there to buye certaine cloathes of gold, silver, and beluets, euerie time so much as amounted to the worth of thre hundred pounds; to the intent the said duke might bestow the same, as well vpon knights, esquires, gentlemen of the kings house, and yeomen of his gard, as vpon other the kings subiects, to win their fauours and friendships to assist him in his euill purpose. Which cloathes the said Gilbert did buye, and brought the same vnto the said duke, who the twentieth daie of Januarie, in the said seventh yeare, & diuerse other daies and yeeres before and after, did distribute and giue the same vnto certaine of the kings subiects for the purpose aforesaid.

The monke reuelation was premyt to the duke.

But herein the monke lied.

The duke & the monke haue conference touch the indictment.

Robert Gilbert the dukes chapleine and chancellor has errand to London.

Meanes that
the duke used
to make him-
selfe strong a-
gainst the
king.

rected, as by the indictment it was inferred.

Furthermore, the said duke, the tenth of Julie, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne, and diuerse other daies and times, as well before as after, did constitute more severall and particular officers in his castles, honours, lordships, and lands than he was accustomed to haue, to the end they might be assistant to him, under colour of such offices, to bring his euill purpose to passe. Moreover, the same duke sent unto the king the tenth of Maie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, for licence to retaine anie of the kings subjects, whom it should please him, dwelling within the shires of Beresford, Gloucester, and Summersetshire; and also, that he might at his pleasure conueie diuerse armors, and habillements for warre into Wales, to the intent to use the same against the king as the indictment imported, for the accomplishing of his naughtie purpose, which was to destroye the king and to usurpe the roiall gouernement and potuer to himselfe.

Which saue for licence to haue reteiners, and to conueie such armors and habillements of warre, the said Gilbert, the twentieth daie of Maie, in the said ninth yeare, and diuerse other daies before and after, at London, and east Greenwich did sollovo, labouring earnestlie, both to the king and counsell, for obtaininge the same. On the twentieth daie of Julie in the said ninth yeare, the said duke sent the said Gilbert unto Henton aforesaid, to vnderstand of the said monke Nicholas Hopkins, what he heard of him: and the monke sent him word, that before Christmas next there should be a change, & that the duke should haue the rule and gouernement of all England. And moreover, the twentieth of February, in the eleuenth yeare of the kings reigne, at Blechingie in the countie of Surrie, the said duke said vnto the said Robert Gilbert his chancelor, that he did expect and tarie for a time more conuenient to atchieue his purpose, and that it might easlie be done, if the nobles of this realme would declare their minds together: but some of them mistrusted, and feared to shew their minds together: and that marred all.

He said further at the same time to the said Gilbert, that what so euer was done by the kings father, was done by wrong. And still he murmured against all that the king then presentlie reigning did. And further he said, that he knew himselfe to be so wicked a sinner, that he wanted Gods fauour: and therefore he knew, that what so euer he took in hand against the king had the worst successe. And furthermore, the said duke (to alienate the minds of the kings subjects from their dutifull obedience towards the said king and his heires) on the twentieth daie of September, in the first yeare of his reigne, being then at London, reported vnto the said Robert Gilbert, that he had a certaine writing sealed with the kings great seale, comprehending a certaine act of parlement, in the which it was enacted, that the duke of Summerset one of the kings progenitors was made legitimate: and further, that the said duke meant to haue deliuered the same writing vnto king Henrie the seuenth, but (said he) I would not that I had so done for ten thousand pounds.

And furthermore, the same duke on the fourth of September, in the eleuenth yeare of the kings reigne, at east Greenwich in the countie of Kent, said vnto one Charles Kneuet esquier, after that the king had reprimanded the duke for retaininge William Bulmer knight into his seruice, that if he had perceiued that he should haue bene committed to the Tower (as he doubted he should haue bene) hee would haue so wrought, that the principall doers therein should not haue had cause of great reioysing: for he would haue played the part which his father intended to haue put

in practise against king Richard the third at Southburie, who made earnest suite to haue come vnto the presence of the same king Richard: which suite if he might haue obtained, he hauing a knife secretlie about him, would haue thrust it into the bodie of king Richard, as he had made semblance to kinde before him. And in speaking these words, he maliciouslie laid his hand vpon his dagger, and said, that if he were so euill vsed, he would do his best to accomplish his pretended purpose, swearing to confirme his words by the blood of our Lord.

Beside all this, the same duke the tenth of Maie, in the twelfth yeare of the kings reigne, at London in a place called the Rose, within the parish of saint Laurence Poultie in Cantuarie street ward, demanded of the said Charles Kneuet esquier, what was the talke amongst the Londoners concerning the kings iourneie beyond the seas: And the said Charles told him, that manie stood in doubt of that iourneie, least the Frenchmen meant some deceit towards the king. Whereto the duke answered, that it was to be feared, least it would come to passe, according to the words of a certaine holie monke. For there is (saith he) a Chartreux monke, that diuers times hath sent to me, willing me to send vnto him my chancelor: and I did send vnto him John de la Court my chapleine, vnto whom he would not declare anie thing, till de la Court had sworn vnto him to keepe all things secret, and to tell no creature living what hee should heare of him, except it were to me.

And then the said monke told de la Court, that neither the king nor his heires should prosper, and that I should inducure my selfe to purchase the good wils of the communitie of England: for I the same duke and my blood should prosper, and haue the rule of the realme of England. Then said Charles Kneuet: The monke maie be deceived though the diuels illusion: and that it was euill to meddle with such matters. Well (said the duke) it cannot hurt me, and so (saith the indictment) the duke seemed to reioyse in the monks words. And further, at the same time, the duke told the said Charles, that if the king had miscaried now in his last sicknesse, he would haue chopped off the heads of the cardinall, of sir Thomas Louell knight, and of others; and also said, that he had rather die for it, than to be vsed as he had bene.

Moreover, on the tenth daie of September, in the said eleuenth yeare of this kings reigne, at Blechingie, in the countie of Surrie, walking in the gallerie there with George Penill knight, lord Aburgauennie, the duke murmuring against the kings counsellors, and there gouernement, said vnto the said George: that if the king died, he would haue the rule of the realme in spite of who so euer said the contrarie; and withall said, that if the said lord Aburgauennie would say, that the duke had spoken such words, he would fight with him, and lay his sword vpon his pate: & this he bound vpon with manie great othes. These were the speciall articles & points comprised in the indictment, and laid to his charge: but how true, or in what sort procured, I haue not further to say, either in accusing or excusing him, other than as I find in Hall and Polydor, whose words in effect, I haue thought to impart to the reader, and without anie partiall weighing of the same either to or fro.

Sauiug that (I trust) I maie without offense saie, that (as the rumour then went) the cardinall chieflic procured the death of this noble man, no lesse fauoured and beloued of the people of this realme in that season, than the cardinall himselfe was hated and enuied. Which thing caused the dukes fall the more to be pitied and lamented, sith he was the men of all other

A false prophesying monke.

He was in a deuillish mind at this secret true.

A certaine writing legitimating the duke of Summerset.

1st Reg. 13.

ether, that chiefie went about to crosse the cardinall in his lordlie demeanors, & headie proceedings. But to the purpose. Shortlie after that the duke had bene indicted (as before ye haue heard) he was arraigned in Westminster hall, before the duke of Northfolke, being made by the kings letters patents high steward of England, to accomplish the high cause of appeale of the peere or peeres of the realme, and to discerne and iudge the cause of the peeres.

There were also appointed to sit as peeres and iudges vpon the said duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dowset, the earls of Worcester, Devonshire, Essex, Hereford, Kent, Derby, and Derby, the lord of saint Johns, the lord de la Mare, the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Willoughby, the lord Brooke, the lord Cobham, the lord Herbert, and the lord Howse. There was made within the hall at Westminster a scaffold for these lords, and a pence for a iudge, railed and counterrailed about, and barred with degrees. When the lords had taken their place, the duke was brought to the barre, and vpon his arraignment pleaded not guiltie, and put himselfe vpon his peeres. Then was his indictment read, which the duke denied to be true, and (as he was an eloquent man) alledged reasons to falsifie the indictment; pleading the matter for his owne justification verie pitifully and earnestlie. The kings attourneie against the dukes reasons alledged the examinations, confessions, and proofes of witnesses.

The duke desired that the witnesses might be brought forth. And then came before him Charles Inceut, Perke, de la Court, & Hopkins the monke of the priorie of the Charterhouse beside Bath, which like a false hypocrite had induced the duke to the treason with his false forged prophesies. Diuerse presumptions and accusations were laid vnto him by Charles Inceut, which he would faine haue couered. The depositions were read, & the deponents deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower. Then spake the duke of Northfolke, and said: My lord, the king our soveraigne lord hath commanded that you shall haue his lawes ministered with fauour and right to you. Therefore if you haue anie other thing to say for your selfe, you shall be heard. Then he was commanded to withdraue him, and so was led into Paradise, a house so named. The lords went to counsell a great while, and after toke their places.

Then said the duke of Northfolke to the duke of Suffolke: What say you of sir Edward duke of Buckingham touching the high treasons? The duke of Suffolke answered: He is guiltie: & so said the marques and all the other earls and lords. Thus was this prince duke of Buckingham found guiltie of high treason, by a duke, a marques, seuen earls, & twelue barons. The duke was brought to the barre soe charging, and sweet marnellouslie; & after he had made his reuerence, he paused a while. The duke of Northfolke as iudge said: Sir Edward, you haue heard how you be indicted of high treason, you pleaded thereto not guiltie, putting your selfe to the peeres of the realme, which haue found you guiltie. Then the duke of Northfolke wept and said: You shall be led to the kings prison, and there laid on a hardle, and so drawne to the place of execution, and there be hanged, cut downe alive, your members cut off and cast into the fire, your bowels burnt before you, your head smitten off, and your bodie quartered and diuided at the kings will, and God haue mercie on your soule, Amen.

The duke of Buckingham said, My lord of Northfolke, you haue said as a traitor should be said vnto, but I was neuer anie: but my lords I nothing maligne for that you haue done to me, but the eternall God forgive you my death, and I do: I shall neuer sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious

prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you my lords and all my fellowes to pray for me. Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him, and he led into a barge. Sir Thomas Louell desired him to sit on the cushions and carpet ordeined for him. He said nay; for when I went to Westminster I was duke of Buckingham, now I am but Edward Bohune the most cattife of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receiued him sir Nicholas Watse & sir William Sands baronets, and led him through the citie, & desired euer the people to pray for him, of whom some wept and lamented, and said: This is the end of euill life, God forgive him, he was a proud prince, it is pitie that he behaued him so against his king and liege lord, whom God preferue. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

On fridaie the seuenteenth daie of Maie, about eleven of the clocke, this duke of Buckingham, earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, with a great power was deliuered to John Keime & John Sherington shirffes, who led him to the scaffold on Tower hill, where he said he had offended the kings grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noble men to beware by him, and all men to pray for him, and that he trusted to die the kings true man. Thus murthered with an axe he toke his death. Then the Augustine friers toke his bodie, and head, and buried them. Alas that euer the grace of truth was withdraue from so noble a man, that he was not to his king in allegiance as he ought to haue bene! Such is the end of ambition, the end of false prophesies, the end of euill life, and euill counsell; but speciallie the end of malice, which grew to so huge and monstrous a fire in the haucie hart of the proud cardinall, that nothing could alluage it, but the blood of this noble duke, against whom he had procured this proceesse in iudgement ended with the execution of death: the torments thereof were (as it seemeth by the sentence of the iudge) much diminished through the mercie of the king.

For though his offense was traitorous, and therefore deserued as law had prouided, and the iudge defined; yet in respect of the offenders person, the kings fauor dispensed with the rigor of iudgement, so that he was beheaded onelie, and his bodie not dismembred. This duke had begun a great and sumptuous building at his manor of Thornburie, but left the same unfinished. He made a faire parke hard by the same building, for the which he toke in much and fruitfull ground. Also another parke at Eastwood, one mile off, he enlarged at two times to the compasse of six miles, for the which deed, and such like, he had manie a curle of the poore tenants. At the time of his death (no doubt) his conscience (giuing in greater euidence than 10000 witnesses) told him whether he was iustlie condemned or no. for a mans dieng day is as a bill of information, putting him in mind of his life well or ill spent, as one saith:

*Pectora terribili cum mors ferit horrida telo,
Quomodo vita tibi sit prius acta fies.*

Abr. Fl. ex J. S.
pag. 929.
John Leland.

Gu. Ha. in eccl.
cap. 11.

A conuenient collection concerning
the high constables of England, which office
ceased and tooke end at the duke of
Buckingham above mentioned.



The death of this duke of Buckingham, being the last constable of England, doth present apt place to me wherein to insert the names of all such honorable persons as haue bene inuested with that title of the constableness of England, an office of great account, & such

The collection
of Fr. Thin in
this year 1585.

The duke of
Buckingham
beheaded on a
scaffold at
Tower hill.

as sometime was the chiefe place of a temporall subiect in the reline the (high steward excepted) whose power did extend to restraine some actions of the kings. Wherefore being now no such office (for there was neuer anie aduanced therunto since the beheading of this duke) I thinke it not vnnimēt to make some memorie of those persons possessing so high a place, least both they and their office might hereafter grow in vtter obliuion: these therefore they were.

Alfgarus
Stallere.

Alfgarus Stallere, constable to Edward the Confessor, of whome thus writeth the historie of Elie in the second booke written by Richard of Elie a monke of that house, in the time of Henrie the second, whose words although they be somewhat long, I shall not graue to set downe in this sort. *De famosa villa Efre, alio nomine Plafie vocata, dicendum est quam miser ab Elie est destruxa. Alfgarus quidem Stallere, quod Latine dux dicitur, eam inuasit, & vssus est. Abbas vero Wolfricus & fratres, cum sedulo frustrarequirerent, Edwardum Confessorem adiecit, cui rex mandauit, ut restitueret: sed ille regis iussu nequaquam obtemperauit. Fratres autem, cum nec prece nec precio eius animum flectere potuissent, anathematizant eum, nec sententiam super eum vltro die pretermittunt.*

Quod ille diutius paripendens, licet magnus & potens in regno esset (vix regis consiliarius) ab ecclesia eliminatus, & fiduciam consortio ad correptionem (vix iam cunctis destitutus effectus) compulsum peruenire, tandem plurimum oburgatus & correptus a rege) reuersus est in se, & prece tandem nititur obtinere quod iniqua manu cunctatus non est. Illi vero hoc cognoscentes, illi annunt, demiserunt, & ei quantum ad suum incommodum ita ut inuicemando postipsum vitam ab omni suorum inquietudine libera ad ecclesiam possessione rediret. Quod quidem factum est, & scripto Anglici sermonis designatum. Testes rex Edwardus & regina, &c. Which man (after the death of king Edward the Confessor, and Harold the usurper) was when the Normans entered England, as saith the said historie In ergastulo plurimum alij ferro ascriptus usque ad mortem.

Walter of
Gloucester.

Walter constable of England in the time of William the Conquerour, and of William Rufus succeeded Alfgarus. Here (before I saie anie more) I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat touching William Fitz Osberne, or Osbert earle of Hereford, whome manie will haue to be constable in the time of the Conquerour: which truelie I can not as yet be led to beleue. For although that this William was the onelie man, who both persuaded, incouraged, and procured aid of others to assist William Conquerour for the obtaining of England; and that this man was (as we commonlie saie) the onelie right hand, chiefe compeller, and disposer of the kingdome, after that William the Conquerour had obtained the same, being also *Tribunus militum* of all the armie that William Conquerour led into England, and the man that persuaded the bishop of Samborow to compound for the title of the king of Denmark made vnto England: yet I suppose him not to be constable, but onelie marshall of England; or at the least if he were, it could not be verie long. For that this earle was extreme old, departed the realme, and disposed all the affaires of the Norman bassard beyond the seas, and died about the yeare of our redemption 1072, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of William Conquerour.

Oslo of Here-
ford.

Oslo the sonne of the said Walter, an enimie to king Stephen (who yet confirmed him in his fathers inheritance) was aduanced first to great honors by Henrie the first: who meeting Malu the emperesse at Bristow, and taking hir for lawfull queene, did continually follow hir faction: for which she, in the first yeare of king Stephen, to honour him for his good seruice (as appeareth by the charter thereof) gaue him

the earldome of Hereford, constableshep of England, the castell of Wironell, & the forest of Deane. He was lord also of Breckenocke. He translated the canons of the monastrie of saint Johns of Lanthonie, in the yeare of our redemption 1103, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the first, to a place nere Gloucester, then called Wyde, and since Lanthonie; as Iohn Stow hath well noted out of other authors.

10 He married Sibilla the daughter of Bernard Newmarch, a nobleman of Normandie, who obtained by conquest the lordship of Breckenocke: by whome he had issue five sonnes and three daughters. The sonnes were Roger, Walter, Henrie, William and Osbaell. His three daughters were, Margaret, married to Humfrie Bohune; Bertha the second was married to Philip Buse, created by king Stephan lord of Buse, Colwer, Waul, & Wymbles, and in his wiues right lord of Breckenocke; Lucia married to Herebert the sonne of Herebert, base sonne to Henrie the first, who was (in his right) lord of the forest of Deane: he died in the eight or (as others haue) the ninth yeare of king Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption 1143.

William (the sonne of Walter Beauchampe) thirthe of Gloucester, was made high constable of England by king Stephan, in the first yeare of his reigne, being in the yeare of our redemption 1139, when the king was at Gloucester: which honour he toke from Miles of Gloucester, as saith that patrefull antiquarie Iohn Stow in his chronicle printed in the yeare of our Lord 1580, fol. 191.

30 Roger the sonne of Oslo succeeded his father in all his inheritance, as well of the earldome, as otherwise: whereby he was in time following also constable of England, and (as it is most probable) restored to that office by Henrie the second; for that he was a great enimie to king Stephan. He went amongest others with Henrie Fitz Empress to David king of Scots, who knighted the said Henrie in the fouretenth yeare of king Stephan: he married Cecilie the daughter of John Fitz Paine, and died without issue.

40 Walter second sonne to Oslo, after the death of his brother Roger was earle of Hereford, constable of England, and lord ouer Wenthie or Wenthie: he builded in the time of Henrie the first the castels of Gloucester, Bristow, and Rochester, with the Tower of London: he held the land of Wenthie by long time, who hauing no heire of his bodie gaue the same land to Henrie of Hereford, and for taking the world toke monastical habit on him at Lanthonie, where he was buried, dieng without issue.

Henrie of Hereford the sonne of Oslo, after the enterance of Walter his brother into religion, was earle of Hereford, constable of England, and lord of Breckenocke and Deane; who was in Wenthie at a conflict slaine by his owne men, and buried at Lanthonie with Walter the constable: after whose death Henrie the second deputed Jago ap Seifell to the custody of the land of Wenthie.

50 William the sonne of Oslo, and brother to Henrie of Hereford, was constable of England, after the death of his brother, and died without issue.

Osbaell the youngest sonne of Oslo, after the death of William, was constable of England, who died without issue: whome I feare not to place as constable, since all histories agree that all the sons of Oslo did successiuelie inioie that office, after whome the inheritance comming to their sister, where of the eldest called Margaret (or Margerie) was married to Humfrie Bohune, which line of the Bohunes became afterwards constables of England by inheritance.

Henrie

Humfrie de Bohune, steward to Henrie the first, (the sonne of Humfrie de Bohune, steward in house to William Rufus, sonne to Humfrie de Bohune that came in with the Conquerour) was (in the right of his wife Margerie one of the daughters and heire of the foresaid Hilo) constable of England, he had issue Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, constable of England, married Margaret sister to William king of Scots and daughter to the earle of Huntingdon, mother to Canon earle of Britaine: he had issue Henrie. This Margaret died the third of king John, being the yeare of Christ 1201. And this Humfrie also died in the time of king John, as some haue: or rather (as others haue) in the time of king Richard the first.

Henrie de Bohune, the sonne of the said Humfrie and Margaret, was the first earle of Hereford of that name of the Bohunes, contrarie to that received error, which hitherto hath made the other Bohunes earle of Hereford: and contrarie to the printed pedigree of the deceased father of the earle of Essex now living. For this man, being the first erle of the Bohunes, was made earle of Hereford in the first yeare of king John, as the charter doth witness. He was also constable of England, and married Matow, the daughter and heire of Cessie lord of Logarfall sometime earle of Essex, in whose right his husband was intituled to that honoz of the earldome of Essex, by whom he had issue Humfrie his heire. He died about the fourth yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1220, in his iourne as he went to Jerusalem with other noble men.

Humfrie de Bohune sonne of Henrie, being the second of that name that was erle of Hereford, was also earle of Essex and constable of England, being by all men termed La bone counte de Hereford. He married Matow the daughter of the earle of Erie in Normandis, he had issue Humfrie de Bohune that was taken in the yeare of Christ 1265, being the fourth and ninth of king Henrie the third at the battell of Evesham, and died in the life of his father, leaving behind him a sonne called Humfrie, heire to him and to his father, which Humfrie the father died in the yeare of our redemption 1275, being the third yeare of king Edward the first.

Humfrie de Bohune the third earle of Hereford of that name, the sonne of Humfrie Bohune slaine at the battell of Evesham, was after the death of his grandfather erle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England, he married Matow de Fereus, or Fremis, and had issue Humfrie, this earle died in the yeare of our redemption 1298, being the twentieth first of Edward the first, & was buried at Malden with his wife Matow.

Humfrie de Bohune the fourth erle of Hereford of that name, was earle of Hereford, Essex, and constable of England, he married Elizabeth the daughter to king Edward the first, and widow to John earle of Holland, he had issue John erle of Hereford, Humfrie earle of Hereford, and William earle of Northampton. This Humfrie taking part with Thomas earle of Lancaster was slaine at Worwode by a Welshman standing under a bridge that thrust him thorough with a spear, in the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1321.

John de Bohune the eldest sonne of this Humfrie, being the first earle of Hereford, was after the death of his father earle of Hereford, Essex, and constable of England, he married the daughter of Edmund Fitz Alen earle of Arundell, and died without issue in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of king Edward the third. He was buried in the ab-

beie of Stratford besides London.

Humfrie de Bohune first earle of Hereford, being brother to John de Bohune, whom he succeeded, was after the death of his brother earle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England, he died without issue in the yeare of our Lord 1361, being the thirtieth first of king Edward the third, and was buried at the Augustine friers in London.

William de Bohune seventh erle of Hereford of that surname, being the sonne of the other Humfrie and brother to the last Humfrie, was at a parlement holden in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our Lord 1336, created earle of Northampton, and after the death of his brother Humfrie, he was earle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England. He was in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the third, being the pere of Christ 1344, sent into Britaine as generall ouer the English armie, to restore John de Montfort to the dukedome of Britaine: which he did, putting Charles de Blois to flight. He married Elizabeth some late Cleane, one of the daughters and heires of Bartholomew Blafincure baron of Bedes in Kent, by whom he had issue Humfrie.

Humfrie de Bohune, the eighth last erle of Hereford of that surname of Bohune, was after the death of William his father earle of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, and constable of England. He augmented the castell of Brecknocke, first built by Bernard Selwarch. He in the eight and twentieth yeare of Edward the third (as John Stow noteth) being the yeare of Christ 1354, reedified the frier Augustines church in London, in which he was buried. He married Jone the daughter of Richard Fitz Alen erle of Arundell, by whom he had issue two daughters and heires, Cleane, the eldest, married to Thomas of Woodstocke; and Marie the second, married to Henrie of Bolingbroke, after king of England, by the name of king Henrie the fourth.

Thomas of Woodstocke the first sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, in the first yeare of Richard the second at his coronation, being the yeare of our Lord 1377, and after duke of Gloucester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second 1385. He married Cleane, eldest daughter of Humfrie Bohune (as before) in whose right he was earle of Essex, Northampton, and constable of England, besides which he was also lord of Brecknocke. He had issue one son & foure daughters: his sonne was Humfrie erle of Buckingham, whom R. Richard (after the murdering of his father at Calis) sent into Ireland, where he remained as prisoner untill the time of king Henrie the fourth; which called him home: who returning into England, died of the plague without issue at Chester: after whose his mother lived not long. Of whose death thus writeth that worthy poet Sir John Gower knight, living at that time, in his booke of the historie of Richard the second, and Henrie the fourth, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled & named, *Vox clamantis*:

*Interea transit moriens nec in orbe remansit.
Humfredus dictus reddidit ille Deo benedictum,
Defuncto nato cito post de sine beato,
Mater transiit dum nati funera sinit,
Primo decessit * Cignus, dolor unde repressit
Matrem cum pullo sibi mors nec paruit in villo.*

The foure daughters, heires to Thomas of Woodstocke & their brother Humfrie, were Anne the eldest, married to Edmund Stafford erle of Stafford, who had issue Humfrie erle of Stafford, Hereford, & Northampton, lord of Brecknocke, &c: which Anne after the death of erle Stafford, was the second time maried William vicount Southampton, created erle of Ewe in France: the second daughter was Phi-

Humfrie de Bohune.

William de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Thomas of Woodstocke.

*The duke of Gloucester, because the swan was his cogniance.

lip, which died without issue: the third Jone, was married to Gilbert lord Talbot: the fourth Isabell, was a religious person at the Monasties in London. The duke of Gloucester was murdered at Calis about the yeare of Christ 1398, being the 22 yeare of Richard the second, touching whose life and death, with the manner thereof, thus writeth the said sir John Gower, in the same booke intituled *Vox clamantis*:

*O quam fortuna subilis non permanet una,
Exemplum cuius fiat in ordine carminis huius,
Rex agit & Cygnus patitur de corde benignus,
Ille prostratus non est de rege letatus,
Ad plesye captus tunc est velut hostia raptus,
Rex iubet arma geri, nec eo voluit misereri,
Cum sponsa nati lugent quasi morte gravati,
Philisippo scuit rex dummodo famina stetit,
Nil pietas munit quem tunc manus invida punit,
Rex stetit obliquus nec erat tunc vnus amicus,
O regale genus, princeps quasi pauper egenus,
Iupiter attractus iacet & sine iure subactus,
Sunt ibi sanctores regis de sorte priores,
Qui Cygnum pendunt, ubi captum ducere tendent,
Sic ducendo ducem, perdit sine lumine lucem,
Anglia quae tota tenebrefcit luce remota,
Trans mare natauit, regnum qui semper amavit,
Fleunt centum mille, quia Cygnus praeterit ille,
Calisy portus petit unde dolus latet ortus,
Error quem regis genuit putredine legis,
Carcere conclusus subito fuit ille reclusus,
Nescit quo sine sit vita sine ruina,
Tunc rex elatum sumpsit quasi falco volutum,
Unde suas gentes peravit custode carentes.*

A little after which followeth these verses, touching the deniall of buriall to be granted unto him among the rest of his honourable and roiall ancestors:

*Sic nece deuictum, sic corpus ab hoste relictum,
Clam de conclauis, susceperat Anglia nati,
Per mare regreditur, corpus nec adhuc sepelitur,
Natum, sepulturam, defendit rex sibi priuam,
Desuper a latere, patris loca iussa tenere,
Dummodo quiescit, vix bassa sepulchra subivit.*

Of the manner also of whose death the said sir John Gower hath set downe these three following verses:

*Hec quam doctorem quidam de sorte malorum,
Sic ducis electi plumariam pendere lecti,
Corpus quassatum ingulgent, necans ingulatum.*

His wife Elenor died the third of October, in the yeare of our redemption 1399, being the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and was buried at Westminister on the south side of king Edward the third with this epitaph:

*Icy gist Elenor de Bohune aysne fille & vn des
heyres a honorable seigneur monseigneur Hum-
phrey de Bohune; countie de Hereford, & de Essex;
& de Northampton, & constable d'Angleterre, fem-
me a puisant & noble prince Thomas Woodstocke;
fitz a trefexcellent & trauaisant seigneur Edward
roy d'Angleterre plus le coquest tierce; duc de Glo-
cester; que moult tierce ioure de October lan du
grace 1399, de que alme Dieux fait mercy.*

Edward Plantagenet sonne to Edmund of Lancaster, was by Richard the second created earle of Rutland, and duke of Albemarle, who being constable of England arrived in the thre and twentieth yeare of Richard the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1399 in Ireland, to bring aid to the king being there in warre. Of this man is more liberall discourse in my following treatise of the dukes of England.

Henrie Percie

Henrie Percie lord Percie, the first lord, and the first earle of Northumberland of that name, was advanced to that honourable title of earle at the coronation of king Richard the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1377. He was made high constable

of England by Henrie the fourth, then elected but not crowned king of England, because the cardinals did give that ring to the king whereby he was crowned to the kingdom of England, to whom also the king gaue the Ile of man to beare the sword with which he entered the realme. He in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1403, rebelled against the king: but after coming to the king upon sending for, he was pardoned his life, but committed to safe custodie. After which, in the fifth yeare of that king, he was at a parlement held at London restored to his estate and dignitie, who the yeare following, being the first of Henrie the fourth, and the yeare of Christ 1405, againe rebelled, and after fled into Scotland, to David lord Fleming who receiued him, and in the seventh yeare of Henrie the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1506, as saith John Stow.

This David persuaded the erle to flee into Wales, for which cause the Scots slue the said David. After this, in the ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth, he came into England, raised the people, and was slaine at Bowneham nere to Haselewood, in a conflict had with him by Thomas Kockleie shiriffe of Yorkshire. He married two wiues, the first was Margaret daughter to Hase lord Penill, by whom he had issue Henrie Percie, surnamed Hotspurre (slaine at the battell of Shrewesburie in the fourth yeare of Henrie the fourth in his fathers life) Thomas and Hase. His second wife was Maud, daughter to Thomas lord Lucie, and sister and bettre to Anthonie lord Lucie baron of Cokermonth, being before the widow of Gilbert Humfrenill called the earle of Angus. This ladie Maud gaue to hir husband the lordship and castle of Cokermonth, whereby the earles of Northumberland are bound still to beare the armes of Lucie.

John duke of Bedford the sonne and brother of king Henrie the fourth, so he calleth himselfe in the precept to summon Reginald lord Greie, & sir Edward Hastings knight, to determine the controuersie for bearing of the armes of Hastings earle of Penbrooke in the marshals court) was earle of Richmond and Kendall, and constable of England, being advanced to that office about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth his father, being the yeare of our redemption 1406, of whom there is more mention in the following discourse of the protectors of England.

Humfrie earle of Stafford, Hereford, and Northampton, lord of Beconocke, Holdernesse, and of Cambridge, and constable of England, and of Dover castle, in the eight yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1430, went into France with Henrie the first to attend his coronation at Paris. He was created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentieth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1444. He was slaine at the battell of Northampton in the eight and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1460, he married Anne daughter to Hase Peul erle of Warke, merland: he had amongst manie other of his children Humfrie his eldest sonne earle of Stafford, but (as hath John Stow) with an arrow in the right hand at the battell of saint Albons in the thre and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1455, of which battell of saint Albons thus writeth John Whethamsted a learned abbat of that house:

*Deum nam madidiflos sapuit mirabilis arboris
et collibus & Zephyrus resouerat flatus arboris
Flora uelut regnans herba ditauerat bos
Post glacies inopes hos fecerat & locustae
Et eripidis strillon praedonibus undiq; regnum
Repleuerat nimis, sic lae & hostes ipsos
Et villam tandem sapientia peruenit istam*

florum numerus quod vix emaderet unus,
 quin spolum lueret spoliatus vel trepidaret.
 Accidit ex casu spoliatio tam gravis ista,
 Marsceli dominus fuerat tunc, & soror eius
 Intervi domina belli Bellona vocata,
 vnde multum multis signanter partibus ista
 contigit, & bellum fuit istuc grande peractum,
 sanguis & effusus multus, & est ingulatus
 illius pignus que fertur causam fuisse.
 Bello finito, strepitu quoq. pacificato,
 Indulgent est preda, predones quippe suere
 piores omnes, nulli quasi compatiētes.
 Tunc rex, tunc proceres, tunc villani quoq. plures,
 Ad alij curis fuerant rebus spoliati,
 Attamen ecclesia simul ecclesia bona cuncta
 Intra quas fuerant, sub clausuraq. iacebant,
 Manserunt salua nec ei res defuit ulla.
 Lessigitur domino, laus in specieg. patrisano,
 Cuius per media stabant su. singula salua,
 salua & in cunctis simul abbas frater & omnis.
 spiritus ille bonus sine fallo spiritus almus,
 Ad villam regem qui direxit venientem
 illius ad medium, nec tunc permisit ipsam
 Ecclesiam petere, conseruauit sua queque.
 Sed patronus erat qui pro monachis mediarat,
 A rapore locum suum seruauit, & omnem
 ipsius orationum fedari nec fuit ipsam.
 Srexit intrasset, sedum duem sociis set,
 valde ecclesia parussent cuncta rapine,
 Nec poterat fieri, is quicquam compeccere plebs.
 Lius igitur domino, rursus rursusq. patrono,
 Sed lucis se suo saluum munimine abij.
 saluaq. supposita sua salua localia cuncta.

John Tiptoth or Tiptoth knight, the son of John
 lord Tiptoth, and of Joyce his wife, second daughter
 to Edmund Charlton lord Doves, was treasurer
 of the realme in spichaelmasse tearme in the tenth
 yere of Henrie the fourth, after which he was againe
 admitted to that office in the one and thirtieth and two
 and thirtieth yere of Henrie the first, from which place
 being once more removed, he was the third time ad-
 uanced to the honoz of lord treasurer of England in
 the second of Edward the fourth, and continued the
 same in the third of the said king. He was created
 earle of Worcester in the time of king Henrie the
 first. This man in the yere 1470, being the tenth
 of king Edward the fourth, took his part against
 the duke of Clarence, and Richard Beuill earle of
 Warwick, at what time the said duke and earle be-
 ing discomfited, fled to the sea side, and thence sailed
 to Southhampton, where they thought to haue had
 the Trinittie a great ship of the earle of Warwickes;
 but the lord Seales the quenes brother fought with
 them, and enforced them to flee into France.

Whereupon king Edward the fourth came to
 Southhampton and caused Tiptoth earle of Worces-
 ter to sit in iudgement upon certeine gentlemen, as
 Clapham and others, taken at the same skirmish of
 Southhampton, where the earle caused the bodies of
 certeine condemned men, after that they were har-
 ged to be thrust thorough the fundament by to the
 head with stakes, for the which crueltie he and others
 fell into indignation of the common people. Before
 which in the eight yere of king Edward, he was
 with John Dudley made constable of the Tower,
 during their lines, and the longer liner of them two.

After this in the said yere 1470, being the tenth
 of Edward the fourth, in which Henrie the first
 readepted the crowne of England, which yere of
 Henrie the first is called in the late booke, the fourthie
 & ninth yere of the reigne of R. Henrie the first. This
 earle of Worcester was taken in the top of an high
 tree in the forest of Weibridge in Huntingdonshire,
 brought to London, and at a parlement arrested and

condemned to death, by sir John Here earle of Wor-
 cester. Whereupon he was beheaded at Tower hill, and
 buried in the blacke friers of London. He had thre
 wiues, wherof the first was called Cicilie the daugh-
 ter of Richard earle of Salisburie: the second Eliza-
 beth the daughter of Robert Greindoure: the third
 was Elizabeth, after married to sir William Stan-
 leiz; which John had by his third wife Edward lord
 Tiptoth who died without issue, & so the inheritance
 went to the sisters of the said earle John Tiptoth.

10 And here I thinke it not amisse to say somewhat
 of the lord Beaumont, who bring in our chronicles
 named constable of England (as may appeare in the
 five and twentieth yere of Henrie the first, in which
 yere he arrested Humfrie duke of Gloucester) that
 for any thing that I can yet see or learne, this Beau-
 mont was not constable by patent during his life,
 but for the present time to execute the princes plea-
 sure, and therefore not meet in this discourse to haue
 any speciall place amongst such as were constables
 of England, either by descent or patent.

20 Sir Richard Woodville knight, earle Rivers, was
 high constable of England in the fourth yere of king
 Edward the fourth, of whom is more large mention
 in the following discourse of the treasurers of Eng-
 land in the historie of the reigne of quene Elizabeth.

Lord Beau-
 mont.

Richard
 Woodville.

George Plantagenet, second sonne to Richard
 duke of Yorke, was created amongst other estates
 duke of Clarence, in the yere of our redemption
 1461, being the first yere of king Edward the
 fourth immediately upon his coronation, and was
 made constable of England in the time of Edward
 the fourth. He in the eight of Edward the fourth, a-
 bout the yere of Christ 1468, married Isabel the el-
 dest daughter of Richard Beuill earle of Warwick
 and Salisburie, by whom he had issue Edward earle
 of Warwick and Salisburie, borne upon the sea in
 the haven of Calis, who was in the time of Richard
 the third a continuall prisoner, and so having bene a
 prisoner, and thereto borne by a certeine fatal desti-
 nie, was in the yere of our redemption 1485, being
 the first of king Henrie the seventh committed to
 custodie in the Tower, where he continued all the
 rest of his life, & was beheaded at Tower hill in the
 fiftieth yere of king Henrie the seventh, being the
 yere of Christ 1499, & was buried at Wirham nere
 to his ancestors. Besides this Edward, this George
 duke of Clarence had issue a daughter called Mar-
 garet, created by king Henrie the eight countesse of
 Salisburie, who married sir Richard Pole knight
 of the garter, descended of the ancient familie of the
 Poles in Wales.

George
 Plantagenet.

30 Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne to Richard
 duke of Yorke, was aduanced to the title and honoz
 of the dukedome of Gloucester, in the yere of our re-
 demption 1461, being the first yere of king Ed-
 ward the fourth, soon after his coronation. He was
 high constable of England: he married Anne second
 daughter to Richard Beuill earle of Warwick and
 Salisburie. Which Richard after the death of his bro-
 ther king Edward the fourth, did by the murder of
 his nephues ascend to the highest gouernement of
 England, and was crowned king by the name of
 Richard the third.

Henrie Stafford, whome our chronicles doe in-
 manie places corruptlie terme Edward, was sonne
 to Humfrie earle Stafford, & was high constable of
 England, and duke of Buckingham. This man rais-
 ing warre against Richard the third usurping the
 crowne, was in the first yere of the reigne of the
 said Richard, being the yere of Christ 1483, betrayed
 by his man Humfrie Banaster (to whome being
 in distresse he fled for succour) and brought to Ri-
 chard the third then lieng at Salisburie, where the

Richard
 Plantagenet.

Henrie Staf-
 ford.

said duke confessing all the conspiracie, was beheaded without arraignment or iudgement, upon the second of Nouember, in the said yere of our redemption 1483, he married Katharine the daughter of Richard Woodville, sister to quene Elizabeth wife to Edward the fourth; & had issue, Edward duke of Buckingham, and Henrie earle of Wiltshire, with two daughters, which were, Anne married to George lord Hastings of whom is descended the erle of Huntingdon now liuing, and Elizabeth married to Richard Katcliffe lord Fitz Waters, of whome is issued sir Henrie Katcliffe knight, now earle of Sussex.

Edward
Stafford.

Edward Stafford sonne to Henrie duke of Buckingham, being also duke of Buckingham after the death of his father was constable of England, earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Southhampton, being in the first yere of Henrie the seventh, in the yere of our redemption 1485, restored to his fathers dignities and possessions. He is tearmed in the booke of the law in the said thirtieth yere of Henrie the eight (where his arraignment is liberallie set downe) to be the floure & mirore of all courtlesie. This man (as before is touched) was by Henrie the seventh restored to his fathers inheritance, in recompence of the losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is said) by the usurping king Richard the third. He married Elianor the daughter of Henrie earle of Northumberland, and had issue Henrie lord Stafford (father to Henrie lord Stafford now liuing) and three daughters, Elizabeth married to Thomas Howard earle of Surrie, Katharine married to Rafe Nevill earle of Westmerland, and Marie married to George Nevill lord of Abergauennie. And thus much by Francis Thin touching the succession of the constables of England.]

Cardinal
Wolfe sent
ouer to Calis.

Edw. Hall in
H. 8. fol. lxxxv.

The emperor
& the French
king their am-
bassadors
met at Calis,
to treat of a
peace.

In this meane while, were the emperor and the French king fallen at variance, so that the warre was renewed betwixt them; for the pacifying wherof, the cardinal of Porke was sent ouer to Calis, where the ambassadours of both those princes were appointed to come to him. He arrived there the second of August. There went ouer with him the erle of Worcester, then lord chamberleine, the lord of St. Johns, the lord Ferrers, the lord Herbert, the bishop of Dunelm, the bishop of Ely, the primate of Armacane, sir Thomas Bullen, sir John Dechie, sir John Husle, sir Richard Wingfield, sir Henrie Gullford, and manie other knights, esquires, gentlemen, doctors, and learned men. Thus honourable accompanied he rode thorough London the twentieth day of Iulie, and at Thomas Becketts house the maiors and aldermen took league of him, praiesing God to send him good speed. Thus passed he to Canturburie, where the archbishop of Canturburie and others receiued him in his stateliness, and brought him vnto his lodging vnder a canopie to the bishops palace. On the eighth day of Iulie he came to Douer. On the twentieth he & the other lords with their retinues took passage, and arrived at Calis in safetie, where the lord deputie and the counsell receiued them with much honour and lodged the cardinal in the Staple hall.

Shortlie after his arrivall at Calis, thither came the chancelor of France, and the countie de Palice, with foure hundred horses, as ambassadours from the French king; and likewise from the emperor came great ambassadours, either partie being furnished with sufficient commissions to treat and conclude of peace as should appeare. But yet when it came to the point, as the one partie seemed conformable to reasonable offers, so the other would not incline that waie; insomuch that they were neuer at one time agreeable to anie indifferent motion that could be made. There were also the popes ambassadours, wher

upon the cardinal would haue set the red league betwixt the emperor, the king of England, the king of France, and the pope: but the popes ambassadours wanted commission thereto, and therefore were letters sent to Rome in all haste, and the Frenchmen tarried still in Calis, till answer came from thence. The cardinal rode into Flanders to speake with the emperor, which as then late in Bruges. A mile without Bruges the emperor receiued him, and did to him as much honour as could be deuised. There chere was great which was made to the Englishmen, and of euerie thing there was such plenty, that there was no want of things necessarie, insomuch that of the fare, both for plentifulnesse, delicatnesse, and stateliness of seruice, a man might haue said:

De qua la magnorum diuises esse deorum.

The cardinal after he had solomed in Bruges the space of thirtene daies, and concluded diuerse matters with the emperor, and accomplished his commission, he took leaue of his maiestie, and by convenient forneis returned to Calis, where the ambassadours of France tarried his coming; and immediately after his returne to Calis, he treated with them of peace, but not so earnestlie as he did before. In fine, nothing was concluded, but onlie that fishermen of both the princes might freely fish on the seas without disturbance, till the second of Februarie next. When no conclusion of agreement could be accorded, the cardinal sent to the emperor the lord of St. Johns, and sir Thomas Bullen knight, to aduertise his maiestie what had bene done, and likewise to the French king, as then lieng in campe with a mightie armie in the marches about Cambzeie. The earle of Worcester and the bishop of Ely were sent to informe him of all things that had bene negotiated, exhorting him to incline to peace, but he gaue little care thereto: and then after they had bene a nineteene or twentie daies in his host they returned. During the continuance of the cardinal in Calis, all toits and patents were there by him sealed, and no shiriffes chosen for lacke of his presence, having there with him the great seals, & full power in things, as if the king had bene there in person. Ambassadours coming from the king of Hungarie towards the king of England, were receiued honourable of the Cardinal during his abode in Calis.

After the returne of the English ambassadours, which the cardinal had sent to the emperor, and to the French king, he returned into England, having (as some write) concluded a new league with the emperor, and signified by waie of indentment to the French king in the treatie with his ambassadours, that the king of England meant him not so much friendship as of late he had done, for diuerse causes. But speciallie this was bittered, that where it was concluded that the king of Scots should be included within the league (as before yee haue heard) contrary to that agreement, the said king refused to enter as a confederate into the same league: and this no doubt proceeded thorough counsell of the French king, by whom he was wholie guided. This quarrell was laid as an occasion, whie to moue the king of England (perceiuing himselfe to be dissembled with) to withdraw his good will from the French king.

Who when he vnderstood the drifts of the cardinal, and conclusion of the new league confirmed betwixt the king of England and the emperor, he condemned the cardinal of vntruth, accused him of dissimulation, abhorred his practices, as by the which he lost the fruition of the king of England his friendship, and might no longer inioy it. And here with he determined with himselfe neuer to put confidence in anie Englishman after, nor to be slow anie gifts or pensions vpon them. For he bled pœrelie to send

The emperor
receiued the
cardinal
with great
honour at
Bruges.

Cardinal
Wolfe ex-
actly the
great seals
with him to
Calis, either
sealed his
and patents

Polydor

1583.

to diuerse of the kings counsell after the manner of
the predecessors sundrie gifts and summes of monie:
because he had implied more on the cardinal than
on the residue, he was the more offended toward him
as the head of all this iniunctions doing. Yet he found
not himselfe so much grieved, as to bitter any bitter
words towards the king: but contrariwise within a
while after, directed his letters unto him, signifying
that he meant to continue the league as his friend:
but it maie be he did this after a dissembling sort, be-
cause he would not be at warres with two so mightie
princes at one time.

In this meane while, the warre was pursued be-
tween the emperor & the French king, as well on the
confinnes towards flanders, as beyond the moun-
tains in the parties of Lombardie. Lomane was be-
sieged by the lord Hugh de Spincada, a Spaniard, the
which coming upon the sudden, took manie abroad
in the fields, yet they knew of his approach, and after
this, coming before the citie, he inuited it with
a hope, to keepe the citizens from stirring forth, and
sent part of his armie with the light horsemen to for-
lose the streets and passages, that no succour should
come to them within. The French king assembled an
armie in hope to aid them of Lomane with men, inu-
entions, and vittells, the which armie assailed twice or
thrice with all endeour, to haue approached the citie: but
in vaine, for with no small losse the French were re-
pelled by the imperials, which neuertheless felt their
part of slaughter, losing sundrie of their captains, as
baptist Emier, and the capitaine of Saint. Finallie,
the French armie brake vp, & was dispersed into for-
tresses. Whereupon they of Lomane perceiving the
inconours which they hoped for, to faile them thus at
need, rendered the citie to the emperor the last of No-
uember, in this 13 yeare of king Henries reigne.

Pope Leo died this yeare suddentlie, on the first
of December, as he laie at the village of Magliana
whither he went oftentimes for his recreation. He
had heard the first report of the taking of Millan,
which stirred in him such an extreame passion of ioy,
that the same night he entered into a small feauer:
and for his better remedie he caused himselfe the next
day to be removed to Rome: where he died within
a verie few daies after, notwithstanding the physici-
ans in the beginning made no great reckoning of
his disease. There was great suspicion that he was
poisoned by Barnabie Spalefina his chamberleine,
whose office was alwaies to giue him drinke. And
yet though he was made prisoner through the suspici-
on of the fact: the vehement reasons of the same, yet
the matter was dashed and the examination thereof:
for that the cardinal de Medici as soone as he came
to Rome, set him at libertie, fearing to fall further in
disgrace of the French king, by whose practise it was
supposed that Barnabie gaue him the fatall drinke.
This was but whispered secretlie, the author being no
lesse doubtful than the coniectures vncertaine.

He died (if we consider the common opinion of
men) in verie great glorie and felicitie, not so much
for that by the surprising of Millan he saw himselfe
delivered of dangers & expences intollerable, which
hauing drained him of all store of monie and trea-
sure, he was constrained to aduance all meanes and
maners for his supplie and relieuing: but also that a
verie few daies afore his death he received aduertise-
ment of the taking of Milanca, and the verie daie
he died, newes came to him of the winning of Par-
ma: a matter so greatly desired by him, that at such
time as he debated to moue warre against the
Frenchmen, it is verie well remembered that he said
unto the cardinal de Medici labouring to dissuade
him, that as he was in nothing more caried to the de-
sire of that warre, than to recouer to the church those

two cities: so when so euer God should blesse him
with the effect of that desire, it would not grieve him
to die. He was a prince in whom were manie things
worthy to be commended & blamed, and in the estate
& discourse of his life he deceived greatly the expec-
tation that was had of him, when he was created
pope: for that in his gouernment was great discre-
tion, but farre lesse bountie than was looked for.]

After the death of the pope, doctor Richard Pace
was sent to Rome, to make friends in the behalfe of
the cardinal of Pothe, who was brought into a vaine
hope thorough the kings fauour and furtherance, to
be elected pope. But Adrian the first of that name
was chosen before doctor Pace could come to Rome;
and so that sute was dashed. This Adrian bishop of
Werdhus (after great contention in the college of
cardinals touching the election of a new pope) was
preferred to the custome of letting of voices in the
conclauie, without any affection or parcialitie of
voice: he was of nation a Fleming, & in his youth
hauing bene schoolmaister to Cesar, and by his
meane made cardinall vnder pope Leo, did at that
time gouerne Spaine in the absence of Cesar. And
as there began some voices to publish for him, so car-
dinall Rizzo one of that election, began vnder an or-
ation speciall, to recount and amplifie his vertues and
knowledge, by whose example certaine other card-
inals yielded, and the residue from hand to hand fol-
lowed, though more by constraint than counsell.

Thus was he chosen with the voices of all the car-
dinals, and had his creation perfected the same mo-
ning. Wherein this was to be wondered at, that e-
uen those that had elected him could giue no reason,
why amid so manie troubles & dangers in the estate
ecclesiastike, they had raised to the soueraigne see a
stranger, a forrener, and of long absence out of the
countrie, wherein were helping no respects of fauor,
no consideration of former merits, nor any conuer-
sation had with any of the other cardinals: yea they
scarcely knew his name, he had neuer bene in Ita-
lie, and had no hope nor cogitation to see it: of which
stranagant manner of dealing, being not able to ex-
cuse themselves, they attributed all to the working
of the holie-ghost, who is wont for so they alleged)
to inspire the hearts of the cardinals in the electing
of popes: he receiued newes of his election in the
towne of Vitoria in Biskaye, and would not haue
imposed vpon him any other name than his owne,
which he caused to be published vnder Adrian the first.

Now he made his entrie into Rome the nine and
twentieth of August, with a great concourse of the
commons and the whole court: of whome albeit his
comming was desired with an vniuersall gladnesse
(for that without the presence forth of the popes,
Rome beareth more a resemblance of a sauage de-
sert than of a citie) yet that spectacle wrought sun-
drie impressions and diuersities of thoughts in the
minds of all men, when they considered that they had
a pope for nation and language a stranger, and for
the affaires of Italie and the court altogether vner-
perenced: and also for that he was not of those re-
gions and countries, who by long conuersation were
alreadie made familiar with the customes of Italie.
The enuie that stirred vp in men this consideration
was redoubled by the accident of the plague, which
beginning in Rome at his arrivall, afflicted the citie
during the whole season of Autumne, to the great
calamitie and losse of the people: a matter which in
the fancies of men was construed to an enill progno-
stication of his pontificacie.]

Notwithstanding this election of Adrian (as you
heare) accomplished, yet doctor Pace kept his iour-
nie according to his commission. This Pace was a
right worthy man, and one that gaue in counsell
D o o o y.

Polydor.
Cardinall
waslic mas-
ketly meancs
to be elected
pope.

Guic. pag. 823.

The election
of Adrian to
the popedom
wondered at,
and why.

Pope Adrian
the first, come
meth to
Rome.

The descrip-
tion of doctor
Pace.

saith.

full of aduise. He learned he was also, and indued with many excellent god gifts of nature, courteous, pleasant, and delighting in musike, highlie in the kings fauour, and well heard in matters of weight. But the more the prince fauoured him, the more was he mistlike of the cardinall, who sought onelie to beare all the rule himselfe, and to haue no partener; so that he procured that this doctor Pace vnder color of ambassage, should be sent forth of the realme, that his presence about the king should not win him too much authoritie and fauour at the kings hands.

Edw. Hall.
Doctor Tunstall made bishop of London.

1523

This yere was a great death in London and other places of the realme. Many men of honour and great worship died, and amongst other, the bishop of London, doctor Fitz James, in whose place was doctor Tunstall elected. The earle of Surrie returned out of Ireland, and came to the court the five and twentieth of Ianuarie. Many complaints were made by the merchants to the king and his counsell of the Frenchmen, which spoiled them by sea of their goods. For by reason that the wars were open betwixt the emperour, and the French king, many ships of warre were abroad on both parts, and now and then the Englishmen fell into their hands, and were used as enemies; namely by the Frenchmen, which naturally hated the Englishmen. The French kings ambassadours promised restitution of euery thing, but little was restored. In this moneth of Ianuarie therefore, the king commanded all his ships to be rigged, and made readie, which was done with all diligence.

The title of Defendour of the faith given to the king. Henry VIII. and his successors for ever.
I. S. pag. 930.
King Henric wrote against Luther.
Abt. Flexamen.
A. G. ad Ang.
S. Ser. excol.
Gen. 1558. in fol. 69.

The king of England and the king of France at variance.

Christopher Columbus.

On the second daie of February, the king as then being at Greenwich, received a bull from the pope, whereby he was declared Defendour of the Christian faith, & likewise his successors for ever. The cardinall of Poike sang the high masse that daie with all the pompous solemnitie that might be, and gaue cleane remission of finnes to all that heard it. This title was ascribed vnto the king, because he had written a booke against Luther in Germanie; whereon to the said Luther answered verie sharpelie, nothing sparing his authoritie nor maiestie. Of which booke published by the king, I will not (for reuerence of his royaltie) though I durst, report what I haue read: because we are to iudge honourable of our rulers, and to forsake nothing but good of the princes of the people. Onelie this breife clause or fragment I will adde (least I might seeme to tell a tale of the man in the mone) that king Henric in his said booke is reported to rage against the diuell and antichrist, to cast out his name against Luther, to vexe out the name of the pope, and yet to allow his law, &c. I suppress the rest for shame, and returne to our historie.]

In this meane time, grudges and displeasures still grew and increased betwixt the king of England and the French king, so that their griefs rankled daile more and more, till at length the duke of Albanie returned into Scotland, contrarie to that which was couenanted by the league. The French king in deed alleaged, that he was not prync to his going thither; and wrote to the king, that the said duke was entered Scotland without his assent: but it was otherwise iudged & knowne, that he had commission of the French king to go thither. Whereupon, the king was sore offended, and prepared for wars. Shouters were made of able men, and a note taken of what substance men were. The king also sent six ships to the sea, well trimmed, manned, and victualled. The admerall was one Christopher Columbus, a expert sea man. His commission was, to seeke out the merchants, and other the kings subiects, that were greivously spoiled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scots, and other rousers.

The eight of February, the lord Dacres, warden

of the marches fore against Scotland, entered into Scotland with five hundred men, by the kings commandement, & there proclaimed, that the Scots should come in to the kings peace, by the first of March following, or else to stand at their perils; the duke of Albanie being then within five miles with a mightie power of Scots. The cleuenth of February, the lord of Aburgauennie was brought from the Tower to Westminster, and there in the kings bench confessed his indictment of mispicion. The lord Pontefract was about the same time restored vnto the kings fauour. On the second of March, certaine noble men of the empire, arrived in England, to passe into Spaine, who were honourable received; and in honour of them, great iusts and triumphs were made, which being finished and done, they took their leave and departed on their iourne.

Duncan Campbell, a Scottish rouser, after long fight, was taken on the sea by John Arundell an equier of Cornewall, who presented him to the king. He was committed to the Tower, & there remained prisoner a long season. All the kings ships were put in a readinesse, so that by the beginning of April, they were rigged and trimmed readie to make saile. This yere died the lord Brooke, sir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, sir John Peckie, and sir Edward Welknap, valiant capteins, which were suspected to be poisoned at a banquet made at Ard, when the two kings met last. Wheat was sold this yere in the cite of London, for twentie shillings a quarter, in other places for twentie six shillings eight pence.

In this yere Caluan Douglas, bishop of Dunelm, fled out of Scotland into England, because the duke of Albanie being come thither, had taken vpon him the whole gouernement of the king and realme there, the sequels of whose doings the bishop fore mistrusted. The king assigned vnto this bishop an honest pension to liue on. And shortly after, was Clarenceur the herald sent into Scotland, vnto the duke of Albanie, to command him to auoid that realme for diuerse considerations; & if he would not, then to besiege him, with contrarie to the articles of the league concluded betwixt France & England, he was entered Scotland without his licence. The duke refused to accomplish the kings commandement, and was therefore deied by the said Clarenceur. The first of March, the French king commanded all English mens goods being in Burdeaur, to be attacked, and put under arrest, and retained not onelie the monie due to be paid for the restitution of Tonnate, but also withheld the French quenes dowry.

The cardinall vnderstanding that he was enuill spoken of, for vsing his power legantine to such aduantage as he did, in selling graces & dispensations, he thought to bestow some part thereof amongst the people freele, without taking any thing for the same. Whereupon, when Lent drew nere, he appointed the preachers at Pauls crosse, to declare, that it should be lawfull to all persons for that Lent, to eat milke, butter, chese, & eggs. And to the end that none should haue any scrupulousnesse of conscience in so doing, he by his authoritie granted remission of sins to all those that did at white meats: knowing as it were afore hand, that the people giuen to the obseruance of their religious fast, would not easilie be brought to breake the same, contrarie to the ancient custome vsed in their countrie. Neither was he deceived therein, for so farre were the people from receiving or accounting this as a benefite, that they take it rather for a wicked & cursed deed in those that received it, & few or almost none could be indued to breake their order and scrupulous trade in that behalf.

The king, vnderstanding how his subiects were handled at Burdeaur by the French kings commandement,

14. Reg.

in andment in breach of the league, the French am-
bassadour was called before the councell, and the car-
dinal laid fore to his charge, that contrarie to his pro-
mise at all times on the French king his matters
behalf, affirming that he went nothing but peace
and amitie to be observed in all points with the
king of England: yet now the English merchants
had not onelic their goods staid at Burdeaur, but
also they and their factors were laid in prison, in full
breach of all peace and amitie afore time concluded.
The ambassadour in words so well as he could ex-
cused his matter, but in the end he was comman-
ded to keepe his house: and the French hostages
that were appointed here to remaine for the monie
to be paid for the deliuerie of Loznaie, were com-
mitted unto the safe keeping of the lord of Saint
Johns, sir Thomas Louell, sir Andrew Windsoz,
and sir Thomas Beuill, euerie of them to haue one.

Wherewith also, all the Frenchmen in London
were arrested, committed to prison, and put to their
fines: but they were more courteously used than the
Englishmen were in France. For after they had
bene in durance ten daies, they were set at libertie,
upon finding suerties to appeare before the maior, or
else before the councell at a certaine daie, and to paie
the fine upon them assessed, which fine the king par-
doned to diuerse of the poorest sort. But in compar-
son of the Scottish nation, you would haue said, the
Frenchmen were in small displeasure: for not one-
lie those that were boine in Scotland, but also diuers
northernmen boine, within English ground, for eni-
mous spite called Scots, were apprehended, impri-
soned, and grievously fined, although some of them by
strict inquirie tried to be Englishmen, escaped
without paieng the fine.

There were sent to the sea, vnder conduct of sir
William Fitz Williams viceadmirall, twentie &
eight goodlie ships well manned and trimmed for the
warres, & fower other ships were sent toward Scot-
land, which entered the Forth, and proffered to enter
the Scottish ships that late in the hauens: but the
Scots ran their ships aland, and the Englishmen
followed with boats, landed, and set the ships on fire,
& at length took certaine prisoners, which they brought
into England; and still the kings great naue kept
the narrow seas: for then was neither peace betwixt
England and France, nor open warres. The king
vnderstanding that the emperor would come to Ca-
lis, so to passe into England, as he went towards
Spaine, appointed the lord marquisse Dorset to go
to Calis, there to receiue him, and likewise the
lord cardinall was appointed to receiue him at Do-
uer.

The cardinall taking his iournie forward on the
twentieth of Maie, rode through London, accompa-
nied with two caries, six and thirtie knights, and an
hundred gentlemen, eight bishops, ten abbats, thir-
tie chaplains, all in velvet and sattin, and yeomen se-
uen hundred. The marquisse Dorset was gone ouer
before vnto Calis: and the fine and twentieth of Maie
being Sundaye, the said marquisse, with the bishop
of Chichester, the lord de la Ware, and diuerse other
at the water of Graueling, receiued the emperor
in the name of the king of England, and with all ho-
nour brought him to Calis, where he was receiued
with procession, by the lord Bernes lieutenant of the
towne, with the maior and merchants of the Staple,
in the best manner that might be deuised.

On the Mondaye he took ship at Calis, and lan-
ded at Douer, where the cardinall with thre hundred
lords, knights, and gentlemen of England was rea-
die to receiue him, and with all honour that might
be, brought him to the castell, where he was lodged.
On Wednesdaye, being the Ascension euen, the king

came to Douer, and there with great ioy and glad-
nesse, the emperor and he met. On the Fridaye in the
after none they departed from Douer, & came that
night to Canturburie, so from thence by easie iour-
nies to Greenwich, where the queene receiued hir
nephew with all the ioy that might be. Here the em-
peror taried certaine daies in great solace and plea-
sure, and the more to hono: his presence, rotall iustes
and tourneys were appointed, the which were furni-
shed in most triumphant manner: the king, and the
earle of Denonshire, and ten aids with them, keeping
the place against the duke of Suffolke: the marquisse
Dorset, and other ten aids vpon their part.

On Fridaye being the first of June, the king
and the emperor with all their companies, marched
toward London, where the citie was prepared for
their entrie, after the manner as is used at a corona-
tion, so that nothing was forgotten that might set
forth the citie. For the rich citizens well appareled
stood within railles set on the left side of the streetes,
and the cleargie on the right side in rich copes, which
censured the princes as they passed, and all the streetes
were richlie hanged with clothes of gold, siluer, vel-
uet, and arras, and in euerie house almost minstrel-
lie: and in euerie street were these two verses writ-
ten in letters of gold, both Latine and English:

Carolus, Henricus, vniuersi, defensor vtriusq;

Henricus fidei, Carolus ecclesie. That is,

Long prosperitie, The one of the faith,
To Charles and Henrie, The other of the church,
Princes most puissant: Chosen defendant.

Sundrie pageants were deuised, and stages verie
faire and excellent to behold, with such melodie of in-
struments, and other tokens of ioy and gladnesse,
that wonder it was to consider the manner thereof.
The emperor was lodged at the Blacke friers, and
all his nobles in the new palace of Whitehall. On
Whitundaye being the eight of June, the emperor
and the king rode to the cathedrall church of saint
Paule, and there heard masse, which was song by the
cardinall that had his traucte, and cupbord. Before
masse, two barons gaue him water, and after the
gospell two carles; and at the last lauatorie, two
dukes: which pise the Spaniards sore disdaind. The
emperor thus remained with the king certaine
daies and rode to diuerse places with him, being still
feasted & banketted, and had all the pleasure shewed
to him that might be imagined. At Windsoz they
taried a whole weeke and more, where on Corpus
Christi daie, the emperor wore his mantell of the
garter, and sate in his owne stall. On the same daie
both the princes receiued the sacrament, and after
that seruice was ended, they took their corporall
othes to keepe and obserue the league, which was
concluded betwixt them. On the morrow after, they
departed from Windsoz, and by soft and easie iour-
nies they came to Winchester, on the two & twen-
tith of June.

Now before the emperor was thus come to
Winchester, the earle of Surrie being high admi-
rall of England, was come to Hampton with all
the kings naue, & with him the lord Fitz Walter,
the baron Curslon, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Richard
Wingfield, sir Richard Feringham, Francis Bi-
an, sir William Barentine, sir Adrian Folskew, sir
Edward Donne, sir Edward Chamberleine, sir
Richard Coynwall, sir Anthoine Poinces, sir Henrie
Shirborne, and the viceadmirall sir William Fitz
Williams, sir Edmund Beie, sir Giles Capell, sir
William Birton, John Coynwallis, sir John Mal-
lop, sir Edward Chingham, sir William Sidneie,
Anthonie Broborne, Giles Husse, Thomas More,
John Kussel, Edward Bray, Henrie Owen, George
Cobham, Thomas Oldhall, Thomas Louell, Robert
Doo.ig. Feringe.

Justes and
tourneys at
Greenwich.

Edw. Hall. l. iij.
H. 8. fol. xcvij.

Ed. Hall
in H. 8. fol. xcvj.
& deinceps.

Note the
pride of cardin-
all wolfe.

The emperor
and the king
of England
swore each to
other to ob-
serue the
league made
betwixt them.

Earle of Sur-
rie high admi-
rall of Eng-
land.

Birmingham, Anthoine Bneuet, sir John Tremaille, and sir William Skevington the maister of the kings ordinance, & John Fabian sergant at armes, by whome this enterprise was chiefly moued, with diuerse others, which in the end of June departed from Hampton, noising that they should onelie scowre the seas for safegard of the emperor and his nanie.

The emperor departeth out of England towards Spaine.

On the first of Iulie, the emperours nanie came before Hampton, containing an hundred and foure score goodlie ships. Then the emperor took leaue of the king, of whome he had manie great gifts, and notable summes of monie by waite of lone; & so the first of Iulie he took his ship, and made saile to Spaine, where he arriued in safetie the tenth daie after. The king borrowed of the citie of London twentie thousand pounds, and deliuered priuie seales for warrant of the repaiment. None were charged but men of god wealth. The like lone was practised through all the realme, not without grudge of manie persons that were called vpon for the same. The earle of Surrie haniug waisted the emperor ouer to the coast of Wiscaie, vpon his returne finding the wind fauourable, according to his instructions, made to the coast of Britaine, and landing with his people in number seuen thousand, about fise miles from Pozeis, marched thither, and assaulling the towne, wan it.

The manner of the winning of Pozeis in Britaine by the earle of Surrie.

For the maister gunner Christopher Porreis hauing there certeine falcons, with the shot of one of them, stroke the Locke of the wicket in the gate, so that it flew open: and then the same Christopher and other gentlemen, with their soldiers, in the smoke of the gunnes pressed to the gates, and finding the wicket open, entered, and so finally was the towne of Pozeis wone, and put to sacke. The soldiers gained much by the pillage, for the towne was exceeding rich, and spectallie of linnen cloth. When they had rifled the towne thoroughlie, and taken their pleasure of all things therein, the earle caused them by sound of trumpet to resort to their standards, and after they had set fire in the towne, and burned a great part thereof, the earle retreated with his armie towards his ships, burning the villages by the waite, and all that night lay on land. On the morrow after they took their ships, and when they were beset on board, the earle commanded sixtene or seventene ships small and great, lying there in the haven, to be burnt.

Diuerse gentlemen knighted by the erle of Surrie vpon the winning of Pozeis.

When the lord admerall had thus wone the towne of Pozeis, he called to him certeine esquiers, and made them knights, as sir Francis Brian, sir Anthoine Woloue, sir Richard Cornwell, sir Thomas Hore, sir Giles Huseie, sir John Russell, sir John Reinford, sir George Cobham, sir John Cornwellis, sir Edward Kigleie, and diuerse other. After this they continued a while on the coast of Britaine, and disquieted the Britains by entering their haues, and sometimes landing and doing diuerse displeasures to the inhabitants about the coast. After that the earle had lien a while thus on the coast of Britaine, he was countermanded by the kings letters, who thereupon brought backe his whole fleet vnto a place called the Colu, vnder the Ile of Wight, and then went on land himselfe, discharging the more part of his people, and leauing the residue with certeine ships vnder the gouernance of the viceadmerall sir William Fitz Williams, to keepe the seas against the French.

Polydor.

In this meane while, diuerse exploits were achieved betwixt them of the garrisons in the marches of Calis, & the Frenchmen of Bullongne and Bullongnois: but still the losser an for the most part on the French side. For the English frontiers were well and stronglie furnished with good numbers of

men of warre, and gouerned by right sage and halant capteins, which dailye made inuasions vpon the French confines, and namelie sir William Sands Gilford marshall, were two that did the Frenchmen most displeasure. On the third of Iulie, three hundred French horsemen comming nere to the castell of Guisnes, kept themselves in court, appointing eight or ten of their companie to shew themselves in fight to the Englishmen within. Whereupon there went forth eight archers, and fell in skirmish with those horsemen, till there came thre other to the rescue of the Frenchmen, and skirmished with the archers on foot.

Her eloth issued out of Guisnes twelue demi-lances all Welshmen, in rescue of the footmen, and then all the troope of the French horsemen brake forth and set on the Welshmen. The footmen, so long as they had anie arrowes to bestow, shot lustilie, and in the end were dzien to defend themselves with their swords. The Welshmen keeping together, entered into the band of the Frenchmen, brake their speares, and after fought and laid about them with their swords, so that they made a waite, and escaped from those three hundred French horsemen. Of the French side were slaine thre men and fise horses, the English archers on foot selling their liues dearelie, were all slaine, for the Frenchmen would not take anie of them prisoners, they were so angrie for losse of their fellows.

On the fise and twentieth of Iulie, the treasure and marshall of Calis, with fourtene hundred footmen, entered the French pale: and finding not monsieur de Foat for whome they sought, they went to Whitland baie, set the towne on fire, and assaulling the church, into which the people were withdrawing, wan it, and afterwards set fire on the temple, because that diuerse, hauing shut by themselves therein, through counsell of a priest that was with them, refused to yeld, till the fire caused them to leape downe and so manie of them perished, and the rest were taken prisoners, and led to Calis. About two daies before this, to wit, the thre and twentieth daie of Iulie, one Thwaites a capteine of an English ship, with sir scoze men, archers and others, took land beside Bullongne, and passing by into the countrie thre miles to a towne called Jhebecassell, forraied all the parts as he went, and in his returne set fire on that towne, and burnt a great part thereof, and came againe to his ship in safetie, notwithstanding fourscore bagbutters, and thre hundred other men of warre of the countrie came forth, and pursued the Englishmen verie fiercelie: but the Englishmen putting them backe, got to their ship, and lost not a man.

Moreover, whilst the warres were thus followed in France, the lord Rosse, and the lord Dacres of the north, which were appointed to keepe the borders against Scotland, burnt the towne of Kelsie, and fourescore villages, & ouerthrew eightene towers of stone, with all their barnelinkes. Also the king appointed the earle of Shrewesburie to be his lieutenant generall of the north parts, against the inuasion which was intended by the duke of Albanie, which earle directed his letters to all the shires lying from Trent northward, that all men should be in a readinesse. Order was taken by the cardinall, that the true value of all mens substance might be knowen, and he would haue had euerie man sworne to haue uttered the true valuation of that they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof to be granted towards the kings charges now in his warres, in like case as the spirituallie had granted a fourth part, and were content to lue on the other thre parts.

His

This demand was thought gréuous to them of the citie of London, where the cardinall first moued it; so that manie reasons were alleaged by them why they iudged themselves fore dealt with. In the end they brought in their billes, which were receiued vpon their honesties. The king in this meane time, being now entered into wars with France, thought not to suffer his enemies to rest in quiet: and therefore leaued an armie which he sent ouer to Calis, appointing the earle of Surrie to be generall of the same. When the earle was come to Calis, and had taken order in his businesse for that iournie, he set forward with his armie, being diuided into three battels or wards, of the which, the first was led by sir Robert Kitchiffe, lord Fitz Water, the middle ward or battell the earle himselfe guided, and with him his brother the lord Edmund Howard. The reere ward was gouerned by sir William Sands, and sir Richard Wingfield, both being knights of the garter. Capteine of the horsemen was sir Edward Guilford.

They entered into the French ground the second of September, being tuesday, and toke their iournie toward Hedding. By the way there came to them a great polver of Burgognians from the ladie Margaret, as then regent of Flanders, according to the articles of the league. All the townes, villages, and castles in the countrie thorough the which they marched, were burned, wasted, and destroyed on euerie side of their waie: as the towne and castell of Secklois, the townes of Bzume bridge, Senekerke, Botingham, & Hansfier, the towne and castell of Perbins, the towne of Dauerne, the castles of Columberge, and Kelo, the towne and church fortified of Boards, saint Marie de Bois, the towne of Claus, the towne and castell of Fringes. On the sixteenth daie of September, the earle of Surrie with his armie of Englishmen and Burgognians, came before the castell of Hedding, and planted his siege before it. The towne was entered, and part thereof burned by the Burgognians.

Within the castell was capteine monsieur de Biez, hauing provided for defense of the place all things necessarie; so that the earle of Surrie, and other the captaines of the host, perceiving they could not within anie short time win it, after they had bin before it eleven daies, they raised their siege, because they had no great battering peeces to ouerthrow the walles. For the weather was such, and the waies wared so deepe towards the latter end of that summer, that they could not conueie with them anie great ordinance. From Hedding they passed forward, and coming to Dozens, burned the towne, and raised the castell. From thence they came vnto the towne of Darter, which they burnt also and spoiled. Thus they burned and spoiled all the waie as they passed. But the weather still wared worse and worse, so that manie fell sicke through intemperance thereof, and the Burgognians and Spaniards which were in the armie returned into Flanders.

When the earle of Surrie, perceiving that he could no longer keepe the field in that season of the yeare, turned backe towards Calis in good order of battell, and came thither the sixteenth of October. He would gladlie in deed (before the departure of the Burgognians and Spaniards) haue passed the water of Somme: but other captaines considering the time of the yeare to be past, and that the whole armie contained not aboue eightene thousand men, iudged it more wisdom to returne, and so in the end their opinions were followed. After that the English armie was returned to Calis, the earle of Surrie sent forth sir William Sands, sir Maurice Berkeleye, sir William Fitz Williams, and with them three thou-

sand men, which burned Marguison, the towne of saint Jehans rode, and also Temple towne, with manie villages.

They also brought a marvellous great bootie of goods out of the countrie, which they got at this rode, as foureteene thousand sheepe, a thousand foure hundred oron and kine, and other great cattell, a thousand three hundred hogs, and eight hundred mares and horses, besides prisoners. When the earle of Surrie had set things in order, and appointed such such as he would haue remaine in the garrisons, on that side the sea; he returned, and all the residue of the armie (sauing those that were commanded to tarie) came ouer also with the nauie, and arrived in the Thames; and so euerte man into his countrie at his pleasure. There remained also behind a companie of men of warre called aduenturers, which serued without wages, liuing onelie on that which they could catch & win of the enemies. There were foure hundred of them that went with the armie now this last time into France, and did much hurt vnto the Frenchmen: for they were by practise become expert and skillfull in the points of warre, and daily employed one enterprise or other, to their owne aduantage, and hinderance of the enemy.

The duke of Albanie being in this meane while established gouernour of Scotland, raised an armie of fourescore thousand men and aboue, with the which he approached to the English borders: but made no invasion. The mistrust that he had in the Scots caused him to staie, and therefore he sent to the French king for sir thousand Germans, the which he ballie looking for (that in vaine) doue off time till the end of summer was now at hand, and then requirring a truce for certeine moneths, obtained it at the kings hand. The earle of Shrewesburie had in a readinesse eight and twentie thousand men to haue resisted him, if he had entered vpon the English confines. After that an abstinence of warre was taken betwixt England and Scotland, then in October following there came into England three personages of small behauiour (as it seemed) ambassadors out of Scotland: they were smallie regarded, and shortly departed.

Their commission was onelie to vnderstand, whether the king had assented to the truce or not. Wherevpon it was thought that they were sent rather for a countenance onelie of fulfilling the promise made by the duke of Albanie at that present, when the truce was granted, than for anie true meaning to accomplish that which was promised; that is to saie, to agree vnto some vnfeined and perfect conclusion of peace. The king herevpon doubting their old pranks, ordered the earle of Northumberland and Henrie Percie the first of that name, warden of the whole marches, who thankfullie receiued the honoz thereof, and so he departed. But whatsoeuer matter it was that moued him, shortly after he began to make sute to the king, and ceased not, till he was of that office discharged: and then the earle of Surrie lord admirall of England was made generall warden, and the lord Marquesse Dorset was made warden of the east and middle marches, and the lord Dacres of the west marches.

The earle of Northumberland was for this refusal of exercising the office of lord warden, greatly blamed of his owne tenants, and accounted of all men to be bold of the loue and desire that noblemen ought to haue to honoz and chualrie. The lord Marquesse Dorset accompanied with sir William Bulmer, and sir Arthur Darcie, with manie other of the nobilitie, the second of Aprill then being thursdaie before Easter, entered into Luidale, and so passing forward ten miles into Gallowaie, burnt on euerie side the townes and villages. All the night he tarried within

A great bootie
spoone by the
Englishmen.

The earle of
Surrie retur-
neth with his
armie into
England.

Aduenturers

The duke of
Albanie leu-
eth an armie
of Scots to
invade Eng-
land.
Polydor.

Truce be-
twixt Eng-
land & Scot-
land.
Edw. Hall.

A meane em-
bassage out of
Scotland.

The earle of
Northumber-
land warden
of the whole
marches.
1523

The Mar-
quesse Dorset
entereth into
Scotland and
burneth di-
uerse townes
there.

within the Scottish ground, and on the morrow being goodfridaye, he withdrew backe into England with foure thousand men, having burned Grimstie, Polwarth, Doniford, Spiles, Ackforth, Crowling, Polves manour, Spidder, Crowling, Harbottell, Lowbogh, Seforth manor, Spiddell right, Primsed, Broket, Shalwes, Hartwell, Wilde open haugh, with others.

The parliament holden at the Blackefriers in London. Idw. Hall. in H. 8. fol. Cvj.

On the fifteenth daie of Aprill began the parliament, which was holden as then at the Blackefriers, and that daie the masse of the Holie-ghost was sung, all the lords being present in their parliament robes. ¶ Now when masse was finished, the k. came to the parliament chamber, and there sat downe in the seat of roll of throne, and at his feet on the right side sat the cardinall of Poike and the archbishop of Canturburie, and at the raine behind stood doctor Tunstall bishop of London, which made to the whole parliament an eloquent oration, declaring to the people the office of a king. First he must be a man of iudgement, according to the saying of the prophet David, *Domus illorum tuum regi da, &c.* Also he must be a man of great learning, according to the saying of the prophet, *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.* According to which sayings he said, that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgement, of great learning, and great experience: which according to his princelie dutie, forgot not to studie to set forward all things which might be profitable to his people and realme, least might be laid to his charge the saying of Seneca; *Es rex & non habes tempus esse rex?* Art thou a king and hast no time to be a king? Which is as much to saie, as; Art thou a king, and dost nothing profitable to thy people? Art thou a king, and seest the people haue an insufficient law? Art thou a king, and wilt not provide remedie for the mischance of thy people?

The oration of doctor Tunstall bishop of London.

These things haue moued the kings most excellent maiestie to call this his high court of parliament, both for the remedie of mischances which be in the common law, as recoveries, foreyn vouchers & corrupt trials, and for making and ordering of new statutes, which maie be to the high aduancement of the common-wealth. Therefore he willett his commons to repaire to the common house, and there to elect them a speaker, or their common mouth, and to certifie the lord chancelor of the same, who should thereof make report to the kings most noble grace, and should declare his pleasure when he would haue him presented to his person. This was the cause of the parliament, as he said. But suerlie of these things no word was spoken in the whole parliament, and in effect no good act made, except the grant of a great subsidie were one. But according to this instruction the commons departed to the common house, & chose for their speaker sir Thomas More knight, & presented him on the saturday after in the parliament chamber, where he (according to the old vsage) disabled himselfe both in wit, learning, & discretion, to speake before the king, and brought in for his purpose how one Thormio desired Hannibal to come to his reading, which thereto assented, and when Hannibal was come he began to read *De re militari*, that is, of cheualrie. When Hannibal perceived him, he called him arrogant foole: because he would presume to teach him which was maister of cheualrie, in the feats of warre. So the speaker said, if he should speake before the king, of learning and ordering of a common-wealth and such other like, the king so well learned and of such prudence and experience might saie to him as Hannibal said to Thormio. Wherefore he desired his grace that the commons might chose an other speaker.

The oration of sir Thomas More speaker for commons.

The cardinall answered, that the king knewe his wit, learning, and discretion by long experience in

his seruice: wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the most merest of all; and so he did admit him. Then sir Thomas More gaue to the king his most humble thanks, and desired of him two petitions: the one, if he should be sent from the commons to the king on message and mislike their intent, that he might with the kings pleasure resort againe vnto the commons for the knowledge of their true meaning. The other was, if in communication and reasoning, any man in the common house should speake more largelie than of dutie he ought to doe, that all such offenses should be pardoned, and that to be entered of record. Which two petitions were granted; and so thus began the parliament and continued as you shall heare.]

This yeare was the citie and the whole Ile of the Rhodes conquered by the Turke, and all the christians displaced: whereof Guicciardin hath discoursed as followeth. ¶ The end of this yeare (saith he) was made no lesse wretched and unhappie, than dangerous to all christian princes for the losse of the Ile of Rhodes: which Soliman Ottoman took by violence, notwithstanding it was defended by the knights of Rhodes, called in other times more ancient the knights of saint John of Jerusalem. And abiding in that place since they were chased out of Jerusalem, notwithstanding they laie betwixen two so mightie princes as the Turke & the Soldan; yet their valour had preferred it of long time, and to the right worthie glorie of their order, they had remained as an assured rampie christian religion in those seas: & yet they were not without their imputations & notes of infamie, for that hauing a continuall custome for the better defending of those shores, to spoile the vessels of the infidels, they were thought sometimes to make pillage of christian ships.

The Turke sent into the Yland a wonderfull great armie, which remaining there manie months with no lesse horrour to good men for their cruelties, than terrour to all men for their huge numbers, at last he came thither in person. And drawing to his desire of conquest and glorie, the respect of profit and riches which the victorie would yeld, he lost not one minute of time to ver them. Wherein his industrie was nothing inferiour to his valour, for sometimes he cast monstrous mines and trenches, sometimes he raised platformes of earth and wood, whose height overtopped the walls of the towne, and sometimes he afflicted them with most furious and bloudie assaults: insomuch that as these works and engines were not performed without a wonderfull butcherie & slaughter of his souldiours; so also the defense of them was so dangerous to the liues of them within, that manie numbers were diminished, manie bodies maimed and made vnseruiceable, & the residue sore terrified by the calamitie of their companions and friends, to whom they could giue no other propertie of compassion, than to mourne with them in their common miserie.

The Turke great armie there continued for manie months.

Their aduersitie was so much the more intollerable, by how much their trauels were without fruit, their words without comfort, and their valour disfauoured of fortune, & lastlie their store of gunpowder was consumed, which is not the least necessitie for the defense of a place. They saw before their eyes huge breaches made into their walls with the artilleries of their enemies, they discerned severall mines wrought into manie parts of the towne, and they found by lamentable experience, that the lesse god they did, the more painfullie they laboured, for that their fortune had reduced them to these termes of extremitie, that in abandoning one place to relieue another, they put both in danger, not hauing numbers sufficient to furnish the seruice, and lesse expectation

The manner of the calamities & ruines wrought by this warre.

expectation of rescue and perils so raging and desperate: so that, what for that their necessities were greater than their hopes, & their offense lesse able by the continuall diminution of their numbers, & lastly holding it no breach of honour to preserve by wisdom and composition, that they could no longer defend by their valour and prowess, they gave place to their destinie, and capitulated with the Turke as followeth. That the great maister of their order should leane the towne to him: that as well he as all his knights should depart in safetie, with libertie to carie with them as much of their goods as they could. And for assurance of this capitulation, the Turke should withdraw out of those seas, his fleet or naue, and retire his armie by land five miles from Rhodes. By vertue of which capitulation Rhodes remained to the Turkes, and the christians passed into Sicilie, and so into Italie, keeping their faith and profession unviolated. They found in Sicilie an armie by sea compounded of a certeine number of vessels, with great reliefe of vittells and munitions, and readie to hoist saile at the next wind to reuente Rhodes. The stoutnesse of this rescue was laud to the popes fault.

After they were departed, Soliman for a more contempt of christian religion, made his entrie into the citie upon the daie of the birth of the sonne of God: which daie being celebrated in the churches of christians with noise of musike & holie inuocations, he converted all the churches of Rhodes dedicated to the service of Iesus Christ, into Mosques (so they call their temples) which after all the christian rites and ceremonies were abolished, they made dedicate to Mahomet. Gods cause had the christians hereupon with heauie hearts to make their complaint to God by the psalms of the psalmist, lamenting the libertie of the enemies exercising the vehemencie of his rage against Gods people; & full well with swolne ries testifying the sorrow of their soules might (saying) he bowing the dampes of their threnomina saie:

perde funditus

Holles proteruos, qui tuum sacrum

Mam non sancta polluant,

Clangunt sonora buccina, non que tuus

Laudes canat, ludibrio

Sed fusta acerbo que profanet; in tuis

Vexilla figunt turribus, &c.

To vnderstand more of this historie touching the taking of Rhodes, what moued the Turke to couet the same, his letter comminatorie to Philip de Villiers who took part against him, with other accidents and circumstances belonging to this martiall action; read the report of Edward Hall, which is verie copious and plentifull in this behalfe. And now will we returne to our owne affaires here in England. About this time the bishop of Durham departed this life, & the king gaue that bishopricke to the cardinall, who resigned the bishopricke of Bath to doctor John Clerke maister of the rolles, and sir Henrie Parre that was vicechamberleine, was made lord pynne scale, and shortly after was created lord Marne. In the end of this yeare, doctor Blith bishop of Chester was attached for treason, but he acquitted himselfe. About this time the cardinall exercised his authoritie (which he pretended by his power legantine) verie largelie, not onelie in prouiding of testaments in his court, calling the executors and administrators before him, of what diocesse soeuer they were, but also by prouisions he gaue all benefices belonging to spirituall persons, and ran thereby with in danger of the preiunite, as after ward was laid to his charge.

But after that he perceived his owne follie and rash doing herein, contrarie to the lawes, which should not permit that anie such things as were now

used within the prouince of Cantuarbie, might be concluded without the authoritie of the archbishop, he sent them againe to Poules, and saie himselfe at Westminster with his cleargie of the prouince of Yorke. And euen as there was much adoe amongst them of the common house about their agreement to the subsidie, so was there as hard hold for a while amongst them of the clergie in the conuocation house. Pamelie Richard bishop of Winchester, & John bishop of Rochester held fore against it, but most of all sir Roland Philips vicar of Croidon, and one of the canons of Poules, being reputed a notable preacher in those daies, spake most against that payment.

But the cardinall taking him asse, so handled the matter with him, that he came no more into the house, willinglie absenting himselfe to his great infamie, and losse of that estimation which men had of his innocencie. Thus the belwedder giuing ouer his hold, the other yielded, and so was granted the halfe of all their spirituall reuenues for one yeare, to be paid in five yerres following, that the burthen might the more easilie be borne. The parliament being begun (as ye haue heard) the cardinall on the nine and twentieth day of Aprill came into the common house, and there shewing the great charges that the king necessarilie was at, and daile must be at in maintenance of his warres against the frenche and Scots, demanded the summes of eight hundred thousand pounds to be raised of the fif part of euerie mans goods and lands, that is to wit, foure shillings of euerie pound.

This demand was enforced on the morrow after, by sir Thomas More then speaker of the parliament: but he spake not so much in perswading the house to grant it, but other spake as earnestlie against it, so that the matter was argued to and fro, and handled to the vttermost. There were that proued how it was not possible to haue it leuied in monie, for men of lands and great substance had not the fif part of the same in coine. And sith the king by the lawe had received two shillings of the pound, which by this rate amounted to 400000 pounds: and now to haue foure shillings of the pound, it would amount in the whole vnto twelue hundred thousand pounds, which is first and last six shillings of the pound, being almost a third part of euerie mans goods, which in coine might not be had within this realme.

For the profe whereof was alledged, that if there were in England but twentie thousand parishes, and euerie parish should giue an hundred markes, that were but fiftene hundred thousand markes, which is but an hundred thousand pounds; and there be not verie manie parishes in England one with another, able to spare an hundred markes, out of cities and townes. And where it is written, that in England there be fortie thousand parish churches, it was proued that there were not thirtene thousand at this daie. Hard hold there was about this demand, and certeine wise and discret persons were sent to the cardinall, to moue him to be a meane to the king, that a lesse summe might be accepted: but he answered that he would rather haue his tounge plucked out of his head with a paire of pinfers, than to moue the king to take anie lesse summe: and so with that answer they departed, reporting to the house the cardinals words. Then euerie daie was reasoning, but nothing concluded.

Whereupon the cardinall came againe into the lower house, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand: but he was answered that the order of that house was to heare, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. There he began to shew arguments of the great wealth of the realme,

The cleargie grant halfe of all their spirituall reuenues for one yeare.

Anno Reg. 15.

A great subsidie demanded by the cardinall in the common house.

Hard hold about grant of the great subsidie.

There are not 10000 parishes in England as Stow hath trauely noted.

The obstinate answer of the cardinall to the motion of the common house in the parliament.

Sir John
Huske.

Polydor.

Cardinall
woulde reprove
me by the
king.

Edw. Hall in
H. 8. fol. Cx.

The cardinall
displeased the
archbishop of
Canterburie
with his com-
munion.

Arthur Plaine
tagnier created
viscount
Lille.

The king of
Denmarke
arrived in
England.

Edw. Hall
in H. 8. fol. Cxj.

realme, so that it might be thought, that he repined and disdained that anie man should be wealthe but himselfe. After he was gone, the commons debated the matter according to their former maner, and so in the end concluded of two shillings in the pound, from twentie pounds upwards, and from fortie shillings to twentie pounds, of euery twentie shillings twelue pence, and under fortie shillings of euery head of sixtene pences and upward foure pence to be paid in two yeares. When this was notified to the cardinall, he was much therewith offended, so that to please him, at length, the gentlemen of fiftie pounds land and upward, by the liberrall motion of sir John Huske, a knight of Lincolnshire, were burdened with twelue pence more of the pound of the same lands, to be paid in three yeares.

The cardinall to moue them thereto, bare them in hand that the lords had agreed to foure shillings of the pound, which was untrue: for they had granted nothing, but said till they might vnderstand what the commons would doe. The king therefore hauing knowledge of this, and such other notable lies uttered by the cardinall, reproued him therefore verie sharpe, and said that yet it were long he would looke to things himselfe without anie substitute. A marvellous matter to consider how much the cardinall was cooled herewith, and how lowlie for a while he bare himselfe, so that thereby it well appeared how the matters sharpenesse now and then, doth much to reframe the euill nature of the servant. But the cardinall within a few daies after, pacifying the kings displeasure toward him, became nothing the better.

After that the foresaid grant was passed and recorded, the parliament was prorogued till the tenth of June. During which prorogation, the common people said to the burgeses, Sirs, we heare say you will grant foure shillings of the pound, we aduise you to doe so that you may go home: with manie euill words and threatenings. In this season the cardinall by his power legantine dissolved the conuocation at Doules called by the archbishop of Cantuarburie, calling him and all the cleergie to his conuocation at Westminster, which was neuer done before in England (saith Hall) thereof maister Whelton a merrie poet wrote: Gentle Paule lay downe thy sword,

For Peter of Westminster hath shauen thy beard.

Then the parliament was begun againe, the gentlemen that saw themselves charged with twelue pence more of the pound for their lands, did so much, that it was granted, that men of fiftie pounds and upward in goods, should also pay twelue pence of euery pound in the fourth yeare: which could not be brought about but with great adoe, and much grudging of the burgeses and commons. The one and thirtieth of Iulie, the parliament was adiourned: Westminster, & there continuing till the thirteenth of August, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolved. During the time of this parliament, the seven and twentieth of Aprill, was sir Arthur Plaignet, bassard sonne to king Edward the fourth, at Wyndesore created viscount Lille, in right of his wife, which was wife to Edmund Dudley beheaded.

In this yeare the sixteenth of June, Christierne king of Denmarke, with his wife, and a small traine with them, landed at Dover, where he was noblely received by the earle of Deuonshire, the bishops of Exeter and Rochester, and diuerse knights and esquieres which brought them to Greenwich, where the king and queene received them with all honor. Now after he had remained at the court certaine daies, he was brought to London, & lodged at Bath place. He saw the watch on saint Peters euen, being brought vnto the kings head in Cheape, accompanied with the duke of Suffolke, the earles of Orford,

Essex, and Kent, and diuerse other lords and ladies. The citie made to him and to his wife a collicke banquet that night, and after he had passed the time a while in London, he resorted againe to the king, and had of him great gifts, and so likewise had his wife of the queene his aunt, & then taking their leave they departed, and were conueied to Dover. And thus after this king had bene in England two and twentie daies, he toke shipping, and sailed againe into Flanders, where he remained as a banished man out of his owne countrie.

About the same time, the earle of Hilbare being restored to the cardinals fauour, and taking to wife the ladie Elizabeth Graie, was sent ouer againe into Ireland to occupie his former office, where by the assistance of his faithfull friend Hugh Hynke archbishop of Dublin, and chancellour of that land, he brought the countrie into reasonable good order, so far as the rebellious doings of the wild Irish would permit. In this meane while, the warre was earnestly pursued betwene England & France, & England and Scotland, in such sort that each part did what in them lay to hurt other. On the borders toward Scotland lay the earle of Surrie high admerall of England, and the marques Dorset, with his brethren, sir William Compton, & sir William Kingston, with diuerse other knights and esquieres sent to them by the king, which daile invaded the realme of Scotland, and threw downe the castell of Wedderburne, the castell of west Pelgate, the castell of Blackater, the tower of Backwalles, the tower of east Pelgate, & manie other, and burnt to the number of thirtie and seven villages, and haried the countrie from the east marches to the west, and neuer had skirmish.

For the Scots, albeit they sheld themselves in plumps, waiting some aduantage, they durst not yet approach to the maine battell of the Englishmen, so that in all this iourne there were but few Englishmen lost. When the lords perceived that the Scots ment not to make anye inuasion into England this yeare, they toke order for the fortifying of the frontiers, and so returned. It was thought that the cardinall perceiving in what fauour sir William Compton was with the king, and doubting least the same might diminish his authoritie, desired to send him thus into the warres against the Scots. For the said sir William could not well brooke the cardinals presumption, in taking vpon him so highlie, to the derogation of the kings supreme gouernment, and therefore the cardinall in his absence thought to waite him out of fauour: but it would not be. For shortly after was sir William Compton called home to the court againe.

The Frenchmen burned a ship fraught with ston in the haven of Calis, upon hope to haue destroyed the haven; but they missed the chanell in bringing in the ship, and so after that the ship was consumed with fire, the stoncs were recovered out of the water, and brought into Calis, which serued the Englishmen to good vse. Diuerse enterprises were atchieued betwixt them of the garrisons French and English in those marches. In Iulie the lord Sands treasurer of Calis, with other capitaine & souldiours, to the number of twelue hundred, entered into the confines of their enemies, and came before Bullongne, where they had a great skirmish, & put their enemies to the worse; and after marching into the countrie, toke diuerse churches and other places which the Frenchmen had fortified, as the church of Ouerfall, the temple of Dingham, and the castell of Harboringham, and so after they had bene within the enemies countrie almost two nights and two daies, they came backe to Calis, hauing not lost past a dozen of their men.

The king of England being aduertised that the

The cardinall
woulde reprove
me by the
king.

The cardinall
displeased the
archbishop of
Canterburie
with his com-
munion.

The French
men meaning
to destroye
the haven
missed the
chanell.

The French
men meaning
to destroye
the haven
missed the
chanell.

The French
men meaning
to destroye
the haven
missed the
chanell.

duke of Albanie would returne shortly into Scotland by sea, and bring with him a power of Frenchmen, prepared a fleet of tall and strong ships meet to encounter with the same duke and his power, and appointed for admerall, sir William Fitz Williams, with him sir Francis Brian, sir Anthony Poyntes, sargeant Kot, John Hopton, William Gantson, Anthony Knevet, Thomas West, and other, which used great diligence to have met with the said duke of Albanie. And as they laie on the French coast, the foure and twentieth of August being sundaie, at season of the clocke in the morning, they landed in the haven of Trepoist, and assaulted the Frenchmen that were in certeine bulwarks on the shore, and did what they could to impeach the Englishmens landing.

But the Englishmen encouraged by their captains, did so valiantlie (although they were but an hundred men in comparison of their enemies, as seven hundred to six thousand) that in the end they repelled the Frenchmen, and wan their bulwarks of them, and in the same found diuerse peeces of ordinance, which they seized. And perceiuing that the Frenchmen fled to the towne of Trepoist, they followed, and shot at them right egerlie, so that manie of the Frenchmen were slaine and wounded, yet they could get to the towne. The Englishmen assaulted the gates but could not breake them open: yet they set fire on the suburbs, & also burnt seven ships which laie in the haven. The English captains perceiuing how the people of the countrie came downe in great numbers to the rescue of the towne, caused their men to get together such spoiles as they might bring awaie in that sudden: and then after they had bene on land five houres, with like speed as they came, they retired backe againe to their ships, not without some losse and damage of men both hurt & slaine: as it often hapneth, when those be not found vnprouided which a man vnadvisedlie assaulteth.

In this season the king hauing put an armie of men in a readinesse, caused the same to be transported ouer to Calis, & appointed the duke of Suffolke to haue the leading thereof, and to make a iourneie into France. The duke (according to his commission) came to Calis the foure and twentieth of August, and there abiding the armie, caused all things to be prepared necessarie for the same, as vittells, munition, and such like. There were appointed to attend him in this iourneie, the lord Pontacut, and his brother sir Arthur Pole, the lord Herbert sonne to the earle of Worcester, the lord Ferrers, the lord Harneie, the lord Sands, the lord Warbleie, the lord Polwes, and the baron Curson: of knights sir Richard Wingfield chancelour of the duchie of Lancaster, sir John Uar, sir Edward Penill, sir William Kingston, sir Richard Weston, sir Andrew Winton, sir Robert Wingfield, sir Anthony Wingfield, sir Edward Guilford, sir Edward Greuile, sir Edward Chamberleine, sir Thomas Lucie, sir Cueraud Digbie, sir Adrian Folcelw, sir Richard Cornwell, sir William Courtneie, sir William Somerie, sir Henrie Owen, and manie others.

The whole armie (as appeared by the musters taken thereof) consisted in six hundred demilancers, two hundred archers on horsebacke, three thousand archers on foot, and five thousand bill men. To these also were adioined seuentene hundred, which were taken out of the garrisons and crewes of Hammes, Guines, & Calis, so that in all they were ten thousand and five hundred, well armed and appointed for the warre. Beside them, there were also two thousand six hundred labourers and pioners. When this armie was come ouer to Calis, and all things readie for the iourneie, they issued out of Calis

and toke the fields. The vant-gard was led by the lord Sands. Capteine of the right wing was sir William Kingston, & on the left sir Cueraud Digbie. The marshall of Calis sir Edward Guilford was capteine of all the horsemen. The duke himselfe governed the battell, and sir Richard Wingfield was capteine of the reere-ward.

While the armie laie without Calis, they dallie came into the towne. And so it happened that a simple fellow cut a pursle, as he made to buie apples, which incontinent was taken, and brought to the maiors house to ward. Which thing diuerse Welshmen perceiuing, and not knowing what appertained to iustice, ran in great companies to the maiors house, & would haue broken the house. The officers of the towne intreated, but the Welshmen more & more approached. The number of the Welshmen was so great, that the watch of Calis strake alarm. Then the lord deputie and the lord Sands did all that in them laie, to bring them to conformitie. But they were so rude, that they nothing them regarded: the priests brought forth the sacrament, which also was not regarded. Wherefore the lord Ferrers was straightlie commanded to appease their rage, for with him they came thither, which with great paine and intreatie them appeased. And then all the Welshmen were commanded to the field, and to depart the towne, and so were all other captains: and after wards diuerse of the head rioters were apprehended and soe punished for example.

The first enterprize that the duke attempted, was the winning of a castell called Bell castell, to which the lord Sands, and the lord Ferrers being sent, did so much by the power of battrie, that after the walls were beaten, those that were appointed to giue the assault, prepared them thereto. Which when the Frenchmen within perceiued, they yielded the place into the Englishmens hands, and themselves to the mercie of the duke, which receiued them as prisoners, and deliuered the castell to sir William Skeuington, the which he caused to be rased downe to the ground the seauen and twentieth of September. In this season was the duke of Bourbon high constable of France reuolted from seruice of the French king to the seruice of the emperor and the king of England. For after it was knowne that this duke had his mind alienated from the French king, sir John Russell (that was after ward created erle of Bedford) was sent into France vnto the said duke.

This gentleman being verie faire spoken, & well languaged, in disguised apparell, ordered himselfe to wiffelic and fortunatlie in his iourneie, that in covert manner he came to the duke, and so persuaded him, that he continued in his former determination, and avoided the realme of France, as in the French his storie ye maie more at large perceiue. The more to encourage the English soldiers, there was a proclamation made in the host the eight and twentieth of September, how the said duke of Bourbon was become enemy to the French king, and friend to the king of England; so that hauing in his wages ten thousand Almans, he was readie to invade France in another part, the more to let & disturb the French kings purposes. For the accomplishing whereof there was sent to him monie in no small summes. After this proclamation the nine and twentieth of September, the duke of Suffolke remoued to Ard, and so forward into Picardie. At Coydes betwene Teruine and saint Omers, there came to him the lord of Hillein, and with him of Spaniards, Almans, Cleueners, and others, three thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen.

The duke being thus furnished with new aid, marched forward in wet weather, and made bridges, and

A riot at Calis.
Edw. Hall,
pag. Caxim.

Bell castell
assaulted.

Bell castell
yielded by to
the English
men.

Sir John
Russell created
afterward
erle of Bedford.

The Spaniards
come
with the
English
armie.

and mended the waies where he passed as well as he might, sending out diuers companies of his men of warre, to take towne, and fetch in boties on ene-
ric side. The frenchmen were so afraid of the Eng-
lishmen, that they fled out of their houses, and left
the towne and villages void, conueying such goods
as they could auaile with them, but oftentimes they
left good store behind them, so that the Englishmen
gained greatlie, and namely at Anchor, which was a
rich towne, and upon the Englishmens approach the
inhabitants fled out of it, and then the Englishmen
entred. They took also the castell of Bounegard, and
put therein a garison, whereof was captaine the lord
Leonard Greie, brother to the marquisse Dorset, to
conduct vittelliers to the armie, which now was farre
from any succours of the English part.

The castell of
Bounegard
manned by
the English-
men.

The towne of
Bzate besie-
ged.

The duke passed forward till he came to the towne
of Bzate, in the which were sixtane hundred men of
warre, under the gouernance of captaine Adrian,
and beside his retinue, there came to the succours of
the towne, monsieur Pontdornie, the vicount La-
uerdam, the vicount Courraie, monsieur Applin-
court, and monsieur Dampneie, with five hundred
horsemen, so that in the towne beside the inhabi-
tants were two thousand good men of warre. This
towne standeth on the river of Some fourre and
twentie English miles from Arras, and fouretene
of the same miles about Amiens. On the twentieth
of October, the duke caused his ordinance to be
brought afore it by foure of the clocke in the morn-
ing, the which was so well applied in making bat-
terie to the walles of the towne, that by nine of the
clocke the towne was made assailable; and then the
Englishmen, Flemings & Burgognians made
forward, and by the good comfort of the lord Sandes
and other captaine, they got the ditches, and after en-
tered vpon the walles. The frenchmen stood at de-
fense with pikes, crossebowes, handguns, and hal-
berds, but they were too weakie, for on all parts en-
tered the Englishmen, and suddenly the frenchmen
fled, and the Englishmen followed.

Bzate won
by assault.

On the further side of the towne there was a bul-
worke fortified with ordinance verie stronglie to de-
fend the passage ouer the water of Some, which
is there diuided into diuers branches. The french
horsemen being withdraue to the passage, defend-
ed it till the footmen were got ouer the bridge, and
then they plucked awaie the planks of the bridge, so
that no man should follow: but the Englishmen
cast planks on the bridge and got ouer, in which pas-
sing diuers were drowned: but such diligence and
inforcement was used, that they all passed both hor-
men and footmen. Then was the bulworke fiercelie
assaulted, and finally taken by the Englishmen,
with all the ordinance. There was also taken cap-
taine Adrian and captaine Utterlieu. The English
horsemen followed the frenchmen, and slew & took
manie of them. Sir Robert Ferringham brake a
spear on the lord Pontdornie. The lord Leonard
Greie did valiantlie that day, which was come from
the castell of Bounegard, and was here at the win-
ning of Bzate, which was taken in maner aboute
rehearsed the twentieth of October.

A traine of
gunpowder
laid.

The frenchmen when they perceived that they
should not be able to defend, had laid a traine of gun-
powder to set it on fire, in hope to haue destroyed
manie of the Englishmen as they should be occupi-
ed in gathering the spoile; but by reason that they fol-
lowed their entines, and got ouer the passage, the
fire take and set the towne on fire yer the English-
men returned. Yet much wine was saved which lay
in cellers, and stood the Englishmen in good stead.
The one and twentieth day of October the armie and
all the ordinance passed ouer the river, and came to a

towne called Bappe. All the inhabitants were fled,
but they had left good plenty of wine & other viands
behind them. The garison that lay at anchor know-
ing that the duke was passed the water of Some,
raied the towne and castell there called Bounegard,
and came to the armie now being lodged at Bappe.

The duke sent to them of Roie, requiring to haue
the towne deliuered to him, which they granted to
do, because they had no garison of souldiers within
to defend the towne. Thither was sent sir Richard
Cornelwall, with foure hundred men, which received
the towne and kept it in good quiet, till the duke came
thither with his whole armie. On the five and twen-
tith daie of October, the duke remoued to a village
called Lihome where the souldiers had great pillage.
The next daie they went to Daenker, and the fol-
lowen and twentieth daie they came before the towne
of Pontdiedier, in the which were a thousand foot-
men, and five hundred horsemen under the gouer-
nance of monsieur de Roch baron, purposing to de-
fend the towne to the bittermost. But after that sir
William Skevington had made batterie from
foure of the clocke in the next morning till eight in
the same forenone, with such force that the walls
were ouerthrowne and made assailable, they with-
in yelued the towne into the dukes hands, which con-
dition they might go with bag and baggage.

The frenchmen made such hast, and were so glad
to be gone, that they left much household stuffe be-
hind them, and great plenty of wine. The English-
men also would not suffer them to beare their stan-
dards vnspred, but rent the same in peces: where-
with the lord Roch baron was highlie displeased, but
he could not amend it. The duke remained in Pont-
diedier till the last of October, and then remoued to
Roie, where he rested a while with all his armie. On
Allhalloves daie, the duke of Suffolke in the chiefe
church of Roie made knights, the lord Herbert, the
lord Holmes, Oliver Denerre, Arthur Dale, Ri-
chard Sandes, Robert Ferringham, Robert Dabie, Ro-
bert Burje, Edmund Weningale, Richard Corbet, Tho-
mas Wentworth, William Storton, Walter
Spaxell, George Warram, Edward Seimo, that
was after duke of Summerset. The morow after the
armie remoued to a place called Patele.

The souldiers being thus led from place to place,
began to murmur among themselves & to grudge,
because of the winter season, being nothing mar-
sh, their purpose to keepe the fields: it grieved them that
the Burgognians being provided of wagons, made
shift to send the spoile and pillage home into their
countrie being at hand, & they to want such meanes
to make the best of those things which they got, so
that (as they took it) they beat the bush: others had
the birds. This grudge was yet by gentle words
ceased for a time. On the first daie of Nouember
the whole armie came to a village called Cleane, and
there rested for that night, and on the morow after
they returned againe ouer the water of Some, and
came to a place called Beauford. At this passage
the duke made John Dabie and Robert Alwright
knights.

On the eight of Nouember the duke remoued
to a place called Pont saint Martine, and from
thence was sent the lord Sandes to the king in post,
to aduertise him in what case the armie stood, and the
armie remoued to Permont, and there rested for a
time. The Welshmen still murmured that they
might not returne home now that the winter was
thus farre entered. But there were a sort of men of
warre, to the number of a thousand persons vnder
the leading of sir John Mallop, which had little wa-
ges or none, liuing only on their adventures, & were
therefore called aduenturers, and of some they were
called

15. Reg.

called Brakers, which had as good will to be still abroad, as the Welshmen had desire to returne home. For these Brakers by spoiling of townes, taking of prisoners, & other such practises of warlike exploits, made their haunts, and daile brought to the campe, horses, mares, bittels, cloth, coine, and other necessaries, which might not have bene missed.

After great raines and winds which had chanced in that season, there followed a soze frost, which was so extreame, that manie died for cold, and some lost fingers, some lost toes, and manie lost nailes betwixt their fingers, so extreame was the rigour of that frost. The thirteenth daie of November the duke remanent to a place within two miles of Bogan castle, and still it froze. The Welshmen in the morning set out a shout, and cried; Home, home. The Brakers hearing that, cried; Hang, hang. Hereof businesse was like to have ensued, but by policie it was ceased. Sir Edward Guilford capitaine of the horsemen viewing the castell of Bogan, perceived that the marishes (wherewith it was environed) were so hard frozen, that great ordinance might passe over the same. Which he signified to the duke, & therewith the duke was contented that he should trie what successe would come of giuing the attempt to win it. So was the ordinance brought over the marshy ground, where they within being aduertised, immediatlie after three shots of canon discharged against them, they yielded the castell, and all the artillerie within it, of the which there was good store, as three score & sixtene pieces great and small. The keeping of this castell was deliuered to the seneschall of Henegow.

In this meane while the lord Sands was come to the court, and informed the king of the state of the armie. The king had before his comming heard that his people in the said armie were in great miserie, both by reason of the intemperat weather, & unreasonable time of the yeare, the lacke of bittels, & such other discommodities: wherefore he caused a new powder of six thousand men to be prepared and sent unto the duke of Suffolke for a reliefe, under the leading of the lord Pontfote. But per this powder could be put in order to passe the sea, and before the duke could have knowledge againe from the king of his further pleasure, he was constrained to breake vp his armie, and returned by Valencennes, and so through Flanders into Calis. He left at Valencennes all the great artillerie. The king was somewhat displeased with the breaking vp of the armie thus contrarie to his mind, but hearing the reasonable excuses which the duke & the capitaine had to alleage, he was shortly after pacified. And so after they had remained in Calis a certaine time, untill their friends had asswaged the kings displeasure, they returned, and all things were well taken, and they receiued into as much fauour as before.

But now to returne to the doings in other parts, as betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, which chanced in this meane while that the duke of Suffolke was thus in France. Ye shall vnderstand, that the Scots hearing that the warre was thus turned into France, thought that nothing should be attempted against them, and therefore wared more bold, and began to rob and spoile on the marches of England. Wherefore the king sent againe thither the earle of Surrie treasurer and high admerall of England, the which with all speed comming to the west borders, sent for an armie of six thousand men, with the which entering Scotland by the drie marishes, he overthrew certaine castles, piles, and small holds, till he came through the dales to Jedworth, wherein laie a great garrison of Scots, which skirmished with the Englishmen right sharpelie at their first comming, but got at length the towne, abbey, and castell were

wone, spoiled, and burned.

After this the earle incamped within the Scottish ground from the two and twentieth of September till the five and twentieth of the same moneth, & then returned backe againe into England. During which time the lord Dacres was the castell of Fernherst. The French king perceluing that the Scots did not worke anie notable trouble to the Englishmen to staie them from the inuading of France (& the cause was (as he took it) for that they lacked the duke of Albanie, whome they named their gouernour) he therefore prouided a nauie of ships to haue transported him ouer into Scotland; so that all things were redie for his iourne. But the Englishmen were redie on the sea under the conduct of sir William Fitz Williams to stop his passage if he had set forward; wherefore he caused his ships to be brought into West haue, and bruted it abroad, that he would not go into Scotland that yeare.

The king of England being certified that the duke meant not to depart out of France of all that yeare, about the middelt of September, commanded that his ships should be laid by in hauens till the next spring. The duke of Albanie being thereof aduertised, boldie then took his ships, and sailed into Scotland with all conuenient speed, as in the Scottish historie ye maie read more at large. Shortly after his arriual there, he wrought so with the Scots, that an armie was leauied, with the which he approached to the borders of England, & lodged at Calwestreame, readie to enter into England. The king of England hauing aduertisement giuen to him from time to time of the proceedings of his aduersaries, with all diligence caused to be assembled the people of the North parts beyond Trent, in such numbers that there were three thousand gentlemen bearing coats of armes with their powers and strength, which were all commanded to repaire to the erle of Surrie with speed. The noble marquesse Dorset was appointed with six thousand men to keepe Berwik, lest the Scots should laie siege thereto.

The duke of Albanie hearing of the preparatton which the earle of Surrie made against him, sent to him an herald, promising him of his honour to giue him battell; and if he took him prisoner, he would put him to courteous ransome, & his bodie to be safe. To whom the earle answered, that much he thanked the duke of his offer, promising him to abide battell if he durst giue it; & that if the said duke chanced to be taken by him or his, he would strike off his head, and send it for a present to his maister the king of England, and bade him that he should trust to none other. At this answer the duke and the Scots took great despite. The earle of Surrie being at Alnewiche, there came to him the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, Lumley, Dgle, & Darcie, with manie knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other soldiers and men of warre, to the number of fourte thousand. And from the court there came the maister of the horse, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Francis Brian, sir Edward Maitton, and others.

The last of October being saturday, in the night before the same daie, the duke of Albanie sent two or three thousand men ouer the water to besiege the castell of Marke, which comming thither with their great ordinance, beat the castell drie soze, and won the uttermost ward called the Barnekins. On Sunday and monday being the first and second of November, they continued their batterie, and then thinking that the place was assailable, courageously set on the castell, and by strength entered the second ward. Sir William Lisle that was capitaine of this castell, perceluing the enemies to haue wone the

The castell of Fernherst won by the lord Dacres.

See the historie of Scotland, pag. 309. & sic deinceps.

Berwik cheefe regarded.

The castell of Marke assaulted by the Scots.

The Scots & French driven backe from warke castell.

false byzies, and that nothing remained but onlie the inner ward or dungeon, encouraged his men to the best of his power, with words of great comfort and manhood, and therewith issued forth with those few that he had left about him (for he had left manie at other assaults) and what with courageous shewing, and manfull fighting, the enemies were driven out of the place, and of them were slaine, and namedlic of those Frenchmen which the duke had brought forth of France, to the number of thye hundred, which laie there dead in fight when the earle of Surrie came thither, besides such as died of wounds, and were drowned.

Then the Scots and Frenchmen removed their ordinance ouer the water in all hast, and by that time that they were got ouer, the earle of Surrie was come with five thousand horsemen, and all his great armie followed. He was soze that his enemies were gone, and much praised sir William Lisle for his valiance. The earle would gladlie haue followed his enemies into their owne borders, but his commission was onelic to defend the realme, and not to invade Scotland; and therefore he staid, not onelic vnto the great displeasure of himselfe, but also of manie a lustie gentleman, that would gladlie haue seene further proofe of the Scottish mens manhood. Shortly after, the quene of Scots, mother to the king, sent to hir brother the king of England, for an abstinence of warre, vntill further communication might be had about the conclusion of some good agreement betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, which request to hir was granted; and so the English armie brake vp, and the earle of Surrie returned to the court.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxvj. A present sent by the emperor to the king.

In this season the emperor Charles sent to the king of England two mules trapped in crimson velvet curiously embroidered, all the buckles, stirrups and all such other garnishings were silver and gilt of marvellous cunning worke. He sent also eleven gennets full goodlie to behold trapped with russet velvet richlie wrought, and foure speares, and two iavelins of strange timber & worke richlie garnished, and five brace of greihounds: and to the quene he sent two mules with rich trappers, and high chaires after the Spanish fashion. All these presents were thankesfullie receiued both of the king and quene.

An anticipa- tion.

Whilist the earle of Surrie was in the marches of Scotland, and the duke of Suffolke in France (as before ye haue heard) the cardinall sent out commissions in the moneth of October, that euerie man being worth fortie pounds, should paie the whole subsidy before granted, out of hand, not tarieng till the dates of payment limited. This was called an anticipation, that is to meane, a thing taken before the time appointed, and was a new tearme not knowne before those dates; but they paid swetelie for their learning. In December were taken certeine traitors in Couentrie, one called Francis Philip, scholemaster to the kings henchmen, and one Christopher Pickering cleerke of the larder, and one Anthonie Spainville gentleman, which by the persuation of the said Francis Philip, intended to haue taken the kings treasure of his subsidy, as the collectors of the same came towards London, and then to haue raised men and taken the castell of Bellingworth, and to haue arreared warre against the king. The said Francis, Christopher, and Anthonie, were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Wyborne the eleuenth of Februarie, and the other were sent to Couentrie, and there executed.

The archduke of Austria made knight of the garter.

In this yeare the king sent the lord Dorsie, sir William Dorsie knight, & doctor Leé his almoner to don Ferdinando the archduke of Austria, with the order of the garter, which in the towe of Au-

remberge receiued the same, where all the princes of Germanie were then assembled at a diet or council. In this meane while, diuerse enterprises and feats of warre were practised and atchieved by them of the garrisons in the marches of Calis, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne; and the borders thereabouts: but the Frenchmen commonlie were put to the waste. Amongest other exploits, it chanced that one Breerton a gentleman, and capteine of a number of the aduenturers, as he went about to spoile the towne of Wall, was taken by the French horsemen, and sold vnto the pezants of the countie, the which vnnmercifullie due him and sirteene more that were taken with him; after that the men of warre had deliuered them, and were departed. But this murder was reuenged shortly by other of the aduenturers, which comming vnto the same towne of Wall, took thirtie eight prisoners of the inhabitants, & due of them thirtie & six, & burned the towne.

In this yeare thorough books of chemonides, and prognostications, foretelling much hurt to come by waters & floods, many persons bittelled themselves, and went to high grounds for feare of drowning. Speciallie one Bolton prior of saint Bartholomewes in Smithfield, builded him an house vpon Harol on the hill, onelic for feare of this flood, and thither he went and made prouision of all things necessarie for the space of two moneths. This great raine and waters should haue fallen in Februarie, but no such thing happened, whereby the follie of men was shewed. The astronomers for their excuse did saie, that in their computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred yeares. A legat was sent from the pope to the king to moue him to peace: but the king declared to him the whole circumstance of his title, for the which he made wars against the Frenchmen, and thereof deliuered notes to the said legat, the which departed with the same backe to Rome in post. He had bene first with the French king, and with the emperor, but could not bring them to anie good conformitie, as his desire was to haue done; so that his trauell was without frute in manner, as it appeared.

Manie enterprises, skirmishes, forreins, and other feats of warre were attempted and put in we betwixt the Englishmen of Calis, Guisnes, and other fortresses there in those marches, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and other of the garrisons in the frontiers of Picardie, and still sir William Fitz Williams as then capteine of Guisnes, sir Robert Feringham capteine of Fletnam bridge, sir John Mallop, and sir John Cage were those that did to the Frenchmen most damage. Also monsieur de Bæes being capteine of Bullogne, did for his part what he could to defend the frontiers there, and to annoy his enemies. Yet one daie in Maie, sir William Fitz Williams, and sir Robert Feringham, with seven hundred men (accounting in that number the Brekers) went to Bullogne, and there skirmished with the Frenchmen, whilst Christopher Co a capteine of foure English ships took land, and fought with them of base Bullogne on the one side, as the Brekers assailed them on an other.

There was a sharpe bickering, and in the end the Frenchmen were driven backe, and diuerse of them slaine & taken, speciallie by the Brekers, that won the barriers of them, & so when the tide was turned, Christopher Co with his men withdrew to his ships, the Brekers returned to sir William Fitz Williams, who staid for them, and then gathering his men together by sound of a trumpet, sent forth such as might fetch the drifts of brass and cattell in the countie neere adioning, & with the same returned backe in safetie. On the eight of August monsieur de Bæes accompanied

Reg. 16.

accompanied with diuerse French lords and men of war, to the number of eight hundred footmen, and as manie horsemen, came verie earlie in a morning to a village called Bonnings, within the English pale, and leauing there three hundred horsemen in ambush, roode to Balkerwell, and there appointed to tarrie with other three hundred men, and the residue of the horsemen and footmen with banner displayed went forth and forraied all the countrie.

Sir Robert Feringham also with foure score horsemen issued forth of Calis, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Frenchmen: but being not able to resist the great number of the Frenchmen, he was chased, and saued himselfe by flight. But this displeasure was thowles after reuenged by the said Robert, the which comming to Marguison the twelue of August with three hundred footmen, and three score horsemen, he skirmished with the Frenchmen that stood at defence, chased them into the church, and fired them out of the same, so that the Frenchmen leapt out of the church to their destruction, for of three hundred there were saued but three score aloue. On the one and twentieth of Maie being Trinitie sondaie, five hundred Scottishmen in the morning verie earlie, entred by seuerall fords into England, and late conuertly by the high wales, in purpose to haue surprised such market incert as came to the faire that day kept at Berwikke. They toke diuerse, but finally being spied, the alarme rose, and they were fought with right sharple, who defended themselves with such manhood in bialwing backe to their aduantage, that if the young lord of Shalberie had not come to the succours of the Englishmen, the Scots had gone a waie with their bottie. Notwithstanding in the end they were glad to seeke refuge by flight, losing 200 of their number, which were taken in the chase.

On the fift of Iulie next ensuing, sir John a Fenwikke, Leonard Pusgrau, and bassard Heron, with diuerse other English captieins, hauing with them nine hundred men of war, entred the Pers, minding to fetch out of the same some bottie, and encountering with the Scots being in number two thousand, after long and long fight, caused them to leaue their ground and to flie, so that in the chase were taken two hundred Scots, and manie saine, & amongst them were diuerse gentlemen. But sir Rafe a Fenwikke, Leonard Pusgrau, and the bassard Heron, with thirtie other Englishmen well horsed, followed so faere in the chase, that they were past rescues of their companie, whereof the Scots being aduised, suddenly returned, and set on the Englishmen, which oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, were sone overcome, and there was taken sir Rafe a Fenwikke, Leonard Pusgrau, and sir other: and bassard Heron, with seauen other were saine. The residue by chance escaped. The other Englishmen with their 200 prisoners returned safelie into England.

On the seuenth of Iulie, the Englishmen fought with like fortune against the Scots that were entered England at the west marches, for in the beginning they put the Scots to the worse, and toke three hundred of them prisoners: but afterwards, because the Englishmen that had taken those prisoners, withdrew out of the field with the same prisoners, the Scots perceiving the number of the Englishmen to be diminished, gaue a new onset on the Englishmen, and then distressed. After this, the Scots sued for a truce, and had it granted to indure till the feast of saint Andrew. This yeare the first of September was doctor Thomas Haniball maister of the rolles receiued into London with earles, and bishops, and diuerse other nobles and gentlemen, as ambassadors from pope Clement, which brought with him a rose of gold for a token to the king. And

on the daie of the natiuitie of our ladie, after a solemne masse song by the cardinal of York, the said present was deliuered to the king: which was a tree forged of fine gold, & wrought with branches, leaues, and floures resembling roses. This tree was set in a pot of gold which had three set of antike fashion. The pot was of measure halfe a pint, in the vpper most rose was a faire saphire lounge perled, the bignesse of an acorne, the tree was of heighth halfe an English yard, and a foot in bredth.

This yeare in Iulie the lord Archembald Douglas earle of Angus, which had married the queene of Scots sister to the king of England, escaped out of France (where he had remained for a season, in manner as a banished man) and came into England to the king, as then being at Crēnewich, and was of him courteously receiued. Sir Anthonie Fitz Herbert one of the Iustices of the common ples, sir Rafe Egerton knight, and doctor Denton deane of Lichfield, being sent in the beginning of this yeare into Ireland as commissioners, behaued themselves so sagelie, that they reformed diuers wrongs, brought sundrie of the wild Irish by false means vnto obedience, and made (by the kings authoritie) the earle of Kildare deputie of the land; before whome the great Onele bare the sword. And the lord Piers Butler earle of Ormond, which before was deputie, was now made high treasurer of Ireland. In September the said commissioners returned.

During all this season, there were daillie attempts made and praadised by the Englishmen in the lobe countries, namelie the English horsemen; & the aduenturers rested not, but daillie made inuasions vpon the French confines. But the aduenturers about the beginning of winter made an enterprisse to fetch some bottie from a village lieng towards Pontrell. They were not fullie two hundred men, and of those there were five and twentie horsemen. The Frenchmen by chance the same time were abroad vnder the conduct of the earle of Dammartine, which was going to S. Omers with fiftene hundred horsemen, and eight hundred footmen, and perceiuing where the aduenturers were comming, made towards them, and after long & cruell fight overcame them, and sone most part of them, for that in defending themselves most stoutly, they had saine and wounded a great number of the Frenchmen per they could be overcome, keeping themselves close together, and might not be broken so long as they had anie arrowes to shot. This was the end of the aduenturers otherwise called Breckers, being as hardie men as euer serued prince.

In December there came to London diuerse ambassadors out of Scotland, about a peace to be had, and a marriage concluded betwene the king of Scots, and the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, as in the Scottish historie yee shall find more at large expressed. Before the feast of Christmasse, the lord Leonard Craie, and the lord John Craie, brethren to the marquesse Dorset, sir George Cobham, sonne to the lord Cobham, William Carie, sir John Dundleie, Thomas Wiat, Francis Pointz, Francis Sidoneie, sir Anthonie Browne, sir Edward Selmor, Oliuer Hanners, Percinall Hart, Sebastian Rudigate, and Thomas Calen, esquires of the kings houshold, enterprised a challenge of seats of armes against the feast of Christmas, which was proclaimed by Winsoze the herald, and performed at the time appointed after the best manner, both at tilt, tourneie, barriers, and assault of a castell erected for that purpose in the tiltyard at Crēnewich, where the king held a roiall Christmasse that yeare, with great mirth and princelie pastime.

In the moneth of Iannarie, the cardinall by his power

Commissioners sent into Ireland to reforme the countrie.

The earle of Kildare made deputie of Ireland.

The end of the Breckers.

See the historie of Scotland, pag. 312.

See these triumphs in Edw. Hall pag. Cxxxij.

1525

The friers
obedience
impugne the
cardinals au-
thoritie.

power Legantine, would have visited the friers ob-
servants, but they in no wise would thereto condes-
cend, wherefore nineteen of the same religion were
accursed at Pauls crosse, by one of their owne reli-
gion, called frer Forrest. John Jokin Steward of
household to the French kings mother, this yere whil-
est the French king was in Italie, came into Eng-
land, & was received in secret maner into the house
of one doctor Larke, a prebendarie of St. Stephans,
and oftentimes talked with the cardinall about the
affaires betwixt the kings of England and France,
motioning waies for a peace to be concluded. When
this was knowne abroad, as at the length it was,
monseigneur de Prate the emperours ambassado: mis-
liked such covert doings, and soze grudged thereat.
The foure and twentieth of Januarie, the president of
Rome called monseigneur Binion, came to London as
ambassado: from the French king, and was lodged
with the said John Jokin.

Ambassadors
from the em-
perour and
their request.

On sundae the fift of March were received in-
to London monseigneur de Bener lord of Campher, ad-
mirall of Flanders, and maister John de la Cose,
president of Walins, & maister John de la Cache, as
ambassadors from the ladie Margaret in the name
of the emperour. These ambassadors required thre
things in their suit. First they demanded the ladie
Marie the kings onelie daughter to be deliuered out
of hand, and she to be named emperesse, and to take
possession of all the love countries, and to be gover-
nour of the same. Also that all such sums of monie as
the king should giue with hir in mariage for a dow-
er to be made to hir, should be paid incontinentlie.
Thirdlie, that the king of England himselfe should
passe the sea, and make warre in France the next
summer. The two first demands were not agreed to
for certeine causes, and as to this last, the king said
he would take aduise.

News of the
siege of Pavia
& the taking
of the French
king prisoner.

On thursdae the ninth of March, at seauen of the
clocke in the morning, there came a gentleman in
post from the ladie Margaret gouvernelle of Flan-
ders, which brought letters containing how that the
four and twentieth of Februarie, the siege of Pavia
(where the French king had lien long) was raised by
force of battell, and the French king himselfe taken
prisoner. The same day the president of Rome, & John
Jokin were going to the court (for they had not yet
spoken with the king) and in Wolborne in their waie
heard these tidings, whereupon they returned to their
lodging right sozo full, and within short space after
returned to the regent of France. It was thought
the king would haue agreed with the French king, if
this chance had not hapned, for all the people of Eng-
land grudged against Flanders, for the euill deman-
dour of the Flemings in time of the warre. Also the
king was displeased with them for enhancing his
coine there, which caused much monie to be conueied
out of this realme dailie ouer into that countrie.
Boundries and great triumph was made in London
for the taking of the French king, on saturday the
eleventh of March; and on the morow after being
sundae the twelke of March, the king came to
Pauls, and there heard a solemne masse, and after
the same was ended, the quere sang *Te Deum*, and the
minstrels plaid on euerie side.

Abi. Fl. ex
Guicciard. 902.
& sic deinceps.
The battell
of Pavia,
wherein the
French king
is taken pri-
soner.

Here it is convenient to adde the battell of Pa-
uia, wherein the French king was taken prisoner,
most notable discoursed by Guicciardine, in the fif-
teenth booke of his historie: the principall matter
therof, to make the report of Pavia and the French
king more perspicuous, it were good to inferre. On
the night (saith mine author) before the five and twen-
tith of Februarie, a daie dedicated by the christians
to the apostle saint Matthias, and also the daie of the
natiuitie of the emperour, the imperiales determi-

ned to march to Spirabell, where late incamped cer-
teine companies of horsemen and footmen. In this
march they stood vpon this intention, that if the
French men moued, then they had set at libertie the
siege of Pavia: and if they moued not, then to ad-
uenture the fortune of the battell. Therefore the bet-
ter to aduance this determination, all the beginning
of the night they gaue manie alarmes, the more to
keepe travelled and wearie the French men, making
semblance as though they would charge them on
that side towards Pato, Thelin, and saint Lazarus.

About midnight euerie souldior, by the comman-
dement of the capitaine, put on a white cassakin ouer
his armoz, to be knowne from the Frenchmen. They
were cast into two squadrons of horsemen, & foure
of footmen. In the first were six thousand footmen
equallie compounded of lanceknights, Spaniards,
and Italians: this squadron was led by the mar-
quesse of Guast: the second stood onelie vpon cer-
teine bands of Spanish footmen under the charge of
the marquesse of Bisquairo: the third and fourth
squadron were of lanceknights, commanded by the
vicerey and the duke of Wurbon. They arrived
at the parke walles certeine houres before daie, and
by the working of their malons, and readie willes
of their souldiers, they cast downe to the earth thre
score sadome of wall: by which breach, being entred
within the parke, the first squadron drew towards
Spirabell, and the residue of the armie toke the waie
to the campe.

As soone as the king understood that they were
entred into the parke, thinking they would draw to
Spirabell, he issued out of his lodging to fight in
plaine and open field, desiring to draw the battell
rather to that place than to anie other, for the ad-
uantages which it gaue to the horsemen: he com-
manded to turne the artilleries toward the enemies,
which beating them in flanke, brought great da-
mage to the reregard. But in the meane while, the
battell of the imperiales gaue a furious charge vpon
the kings squadron, which ordinarie was the
battell: but as the Spaniards went, it was the
reregard. The king fought valiantlie, & abode with
great courage the violence of his enemies, who with
the furie of their harquebuziers forced his men to
giue ground, till the rescue of the Switzers came,
when the Spaniards were repelled, as well by them
as by the horsemen that charged them in flanke.
But the vicerey being called in by the marquesse of
Bisquairo, who brought to the fight his lanceknights,
they were easilie broken, not without great slaugh-
ter of the Switzers, who that daie did nothing an-
swer the opinion of valor which aforesayes they had
wont so honorablie to expresse in battelles.

The king kept alwaies the middle of the battell,
being instructed with a great gard of men at armes.
And albeit he did what he could to conteine and con-
firme his people: yet after he had fought long with
his owne hands, his horse being slaine vnder him,
him selfe lightlie hurt in the face and in the hand, he
was stricken downe to the earth, and taken pri-
soner by five souldiers that knew not what he was. In
which misfortune the vicerey pressing into the
throng his maiestie disclosed him selfe to him, who
with great reuerence kissed his hand, and receiued
him prisoner in the emperours name. At the same
time the marquesse of Guast with the first squadron
had defeated the horsemen that were at Spirabell.
And Anthoine de Leua, who (as was said) had to that
end cast downe to the earth so great a quantitie and
space of wall, as an hundred and fiftie horsemen
might sallie forth in front, issued out of Pavia, & so
charged the French behind, that he put them to flight
And in that feare they were almost all strip-
ped

where the
French
king desired
to fight in
plaine and
open field.

The mar-
shall
how the
French king
was taken
prisoner.

ged and trusted, except the reregard of the horsemen, which being led by monsieur de Alançon from the beginning of the battell, retired almost whole.

It is holden for certaine, that in this battell were slain more than eight thousand men of the French campe, part by sword, and part of bodies drowned in the river of Thesin, seeking their safetie by swimming. Of this generall number were about twentie of the most noble and apparant lords of France, as the admirall, the lord James Chebanes, the lord Palissa, and Trimoille, the master of the horse, monsieur de Aubignie, monsieur de Boille, and monsieur de la Escud, who being taken greivously wounded by his enemies, gave to them his life in stead of a ranfome. The prisoners that were taken were the king of Navarre, the bastard of Savoie, the lord Montmerancie, Saint Paule, Bizon, Anall, monsieur de Chandon, monsieur de Imbercourt, Galeas Alconte, Frederike Boscolo, Barnabie Alconte, Cuidanes, with manie gentlemen, and almost all the capteins that escaped the slaughter of the sword. There was also taken prisoner Jerome Landro bishop of Brundiso the popes nuncio, but by commandement of the viceroy, he was estones set at libertie: as also monsieur Saint Paule and Frederike Boscolo committed to the castell of Pania, yake prison a little after, by the corruption of the Spaniards that had them in charge.

Of the imperialles side the vntersall slaughter creaded not seauen hundred bodies; and not one capteine of name except Ferrand Castriot marquisse of Angen, the marquesse of Pilsquairo was wounded in two places, a Anthonie de Lena lightlie hurt in the leg. The preie and spoile of this battell was so great, as there had not bene scene in Italie more rich souldiours.

Of so great an armie there was preserved but the reregard of foure hundred lances, commanded by monsieur de Alançon, they neuer came to the fight, neuer suffered charge, nor neuer were followed, but leaving behind them their baggage, they retired whole to Piemont, their feare making them more hasty to fle, than carefull of their honoz. And as one calamitie followeth another, so the losse of the battell was no soner reappoyed at Millaine, than Theodor Erieulce, who laie there in garrison with foure hundred lances, departed and toke his waie to Anlocquo, all the souldiours folowing him by tropps: insomuch as the same daie that the king lost the battell, all the dutchie of Millaine was made free from the iurisdiction of the French. The daie after

the victorie, the king was led prisoner to the rocke of Bisqueton, for that the duke of Millaine, in regard of his proper suretie, consented hardlie that the person of the king should be kept within the castell of Millaine: he was garded with great gelousie and watch; but in all other things (except his libertie) he was used and honozed as appertained to the state and maiestie of a king.

Now saith mine author, speaking to the readers of his historie you haue scene set downe the overthrow of the French armie in the battell of Paula: a twetthed successe, where was so great expectation of victorie. You haue scene a mightie king delivered by prisoner into the hands of him, with whom he contended for glorie and emperie: a spectacle most tragicall amongst all the calamities that fortune bringeth vpon mans mortalitie. You haue scene the most part of the nobilitie, and honozable capteins of France, slaine in the seruice and presence of their king: a matter that made more lamentable his owne condition and aduersitie. You haue scene the residue of that armie, so vniuersallie perplexed with feare and confusion, that the same thing that should

haue retained them in so great affliction, made them the lesse assured, and further off from confidence.

When word came to the emperour of all the former accidents, the eies of euerie man were set to behold with what proprietie of affection he would receiue his glad some news, and to what ends his thoughts were disposed: who so farre as exterior demonstrations made shew, expressed great tokens of a mind much moderated, and verie apt to resist easilie the prosperitie of fortune: yea the signes and inclinations appering so much the more incredible, by how much he was a prince mightie & yong, and as yet had neuer tasted but of felicitie. For after he was informed truelie of so great a victorie, whereof he had the reappoyntment of March, together with letters of the French kings owne hand, written rather in the spirit and condition of a prisoner, than with the courage of a king, he went forthwith to the church to make his holie oblations to God with manie solemnities. And the morning folowing he receiued with signes of right great deuotion the sacrament of the eucharist, and so went in procession to our ladies church out of Madrid, where was his court at that time.

His temperance and moderation was about the expectation of his estate, and farre contrarie to the course of the time in matters of that nature: for he would not suffer ante bels to be rung, nor boundfires to be made, nor anie other manner of publike demonstrations, such as are used for glorie or gladnesse, alledging with a mind more vertuous than insolent, that such proprietie of feasting and reioicing was due to victories obtained against infidels, but ought to haue no shew where one christian ouercame another. Neither were the actions and gestures of his person and speeches differing from so great a temperance and continencie of mind, which he well expressed in the answers he made to the congratulations of the ambassadours and great men that were about him: to whom he said he was not glad of the accident according to the glorious operation of flesh and blond, but his reioicing was in that God had so manifestlie aided him: which he interpreted to be an assured signe that he stood in his grace and fauour, though not through his owne merit, yet by his celestial election. The French king being in the custodie of the viceroy of Naples (who much comforted him, and praised his valiantnesse, and praised him to be content, for he should haue a gentle end) desired to write to his mother, which was to him granted. His verie words were these.

The French kings letter to his mother the regent of France.

Adauertise you of my infortunat chance: nothing is left but the honour and the life that is saued. And seeing some other news shall recomfort you, I haue desired to write to you this letter, the which liberallie hath bene granted to me: beseeching you to regard the extremitie of your selfe, in insuring your accustomed wisdom. For I hope that at length God will not forget me, to you recommending your little infants and mine, supplieng you to giue safe conduct, to passe and returne from Spaine, to this braver that goeth toward the emperoz, to know in what wise I shall be intreated. And thus right humbly to your good grace I haue me recommended. This subscribed
Ppp. iij. bed

Guic. pag. 914. The moderation and temperance of the emperour upon the news of the victorie.

A most excellent conceipt and saying of the emperour.

Ed. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxxxvj.

This he wrote being the emperors prisoner.

bed by your humble and obedient sonne
Francis.

Quic. pag. 625.
The manifold
passions of
perplexities
of the people
in generall.

In this estate of aduersitie the people set before
their eyes all that feare and despaire could imagine:
they doubted least so great a calamitie were not the
beginning of a further ruine & subuersion: they saw
their king prisoner, and with him either taken or
slaine in the battell the chieftains of the kingdome,
which in the imagination of their sorowes they held
a losse irreparable: they beheld their capteins dis-
comfited, and their souldiers discouraged: a calamitie
which stopped in them all hope to be readressed or re-
assured: they saw the realme made naked of mo-
nie and treasure, and inuironed with most mightie
enemies: an affliction which most of all caried their
thoughts into the last cogitation of desperat ruine:
for the king of England, notwithstanding that he
had holben manie parties and treaties, and shewed
in manie things a variation of mind, yet not manie
daies before the battell, he had cut off all the nego-
ciations which he had interteined with the king, and
had published that he would descend into France, if
the things of Italie took anie good successe.

So that the Frenchmen feared least in so great
an opportunitie, the emperor and he would not le-
aue warre against France, either for that there was
no other head or gouernour than a woman, and the
little children of the king, of whom the eldest had not
yet run eight yeares accomplished: or else because
the enemies had with them the duke of Burbon, for
his otone particular a puissant prince, and for his
authoritie in the realme of France verie popular
and strong in opinion, a mightie instrument to stirre
up most dangerous emotions. Besides, the ladie re-
gent, as well for the loue she bare to the king, as for
the dangers of the realme was not without hir pas-
sions both proper and particular: for being full of
ambition, and most greedy of the gouernment, she
feared that if the kings deliuerie drew any long tract
of time, or if anie new difficultie hapned in France,
she should be constrained to yield by the administra-
tion of the crowne to such as should be delegate and
assigned by the voices of the kingdome. Fewer the-
lesse amid so manie astonishments and confusions,
she drew hir spirits to hir, and by hir example were
recomforted the nobles that were of counsell with
hir, who took speedie order to man the frontiers of
the realme, and with diligence to leaue a good provi-
sion of monie.

The ladie regent, in whose name all expeditions
and dispatches went out, wrote to the emperor let-
ters full of humilitie and compassion, wherein the for-
gat not by degrees vehement and inducing to solicit
a negotiation of accord: by vertue whereof, hauing
a litle after deliuered don Hugo de Boncado, she
sent him to the emperor, to offer him that hir sonne
should renounce and disclaime from all rights of the
kingdome of Naples, and the estate of Millan, with
contentment to refer to the censure and arbitration
of the law, the titles and rights of Burgundie, which
if it appertained to the emperor, he should acknow-
ledge it for the dowrie of his sister: that he should
render to monsieur Burbon his estate together with
his manors, and such which were of great valour,
and also the fruits and revenues which had bene le-
uied by the commissioners sent out of the regall
chamber: that he should giue to him his sister in ma-
riage, and deliuer vp to him Provence, if iudgement
of the interest and right were made of his side.

And for the more facilitie and speedie passage of
this negotiation, rather than for anie desire he had
to nourish hir inclination to the warre, the dispat-
ched immediatlie ambassadours into Italie, to re-

commend to the pope and the Venetians the safete
of hir sonne. To whom she offered, that if for their
proper securitie they would contract with hir, and
raise armes against the emperor, she would for hir
particular aduance giue hundred lances, together
with a great contribution of monie. But amid these
trauels and astonishments, the principall desire as
well of hir, as of the whole realme of France, was, to
appease and assure the mind of the king of England,
iudging trulie that if they could reduce him to amitie
and reconciliation, the crowne of France should re-
maine without quarrell or molestation. Where, if he
on the one side, and the emperor on the other, should
rise in one ioint force, hauing concurrent with them
the person of the duke of Burbon, and manie other
opportunities and occasions, it could not be but all
things would be full of difficulties and dangers.

Of this the ladie regent began to discern manie
tokens and apparances of good hope: for notwith-
standing the king of England immediatlie after the
first reappoynts of the victorie, had not onelie expresse
great tokens of gladnesse and reioysing, but also pub-
lished that he would in person passe into France:
and withall had sent ambassadours to the emperor
to solicit and treat of the moving of warre iointlie
together: yet proceeding in deed with more mildnesse
than was expected of so furious selves and tokens,
he dispatched a messenger to the ladie regent, to send
to him an expresse ambassadour: which accom-
plished, and that with fulnesse of authori-
tie and commission, such as brought with it also all
sorts of submitions & implorations which the thought
apt to reduce to appeasement the mind of that king
so highlie displeased. He reposed himselfe altogether
upon the will and counsell of the cardinall of Poisie,
who seemed to restraine the king and his thoughts
to this principall end, that bearing such a hand upon
the controuersies and quartels that ran betwene o-
ther princes, all the world might acknowledge to de-
pend upon him and his authoritie the resolution and
expectation of all affaires.

And for this cause he offered to the emperor at
the same time to descend into France with a puis-
sant armie, both to giue perfection vnto the alliance
concluded betwene them before, and also to remoue
all scruple and gelousie, he offered presentlie to con-
signe vnto him his daughter, who was not as yet in
an age and disposition able for marriage. But in these
matters were very great difficulties, partlie depen-
ding upon himselfe, and partlie deriuing from the
emperor, who now shewed nothing of that readi-
nesse to contract with him which he had shewed before:
for the king of England demanded almost all the
rewards of the victorie, as Normandie, Cusen, and
Gascoigne, with the title of king of France. And
that the emperor, notwithstanding the inequalitye
of the conditions should passe likewise into France,
and communicate equalie in the expences and
dangers. The inequalitye of these demands troubled
not a litle the emperor, to whom they were by so
much the more grievous, by how much he remem-
bered that in the yeares next before, he had alwaies
deferred to make warre euen in the greatest dan-
gers of the French king. So that he perswaded him-
selfe that he should not be able to make anie founda-
tion vpon that confederation.

And standing in a state no lesse impouerished for
monie and treasure, than made wearie with labours
and perils, he hoped to draw more commodities
from the French king by the meane of peace, than
by the violence of armes and warres, spectallie for
ning with the king of England. Besides, he made
not that accompt which he was wont to doe of the
marriage of his daughter, both for hir minoritye in
age,

The ladie re-
gent hir selfe
was partaker
of these griefs
and feares.

The ladie re-
gents offer to
the emperor
for the deliue-
rie of hir sonne

Note how
loosen these
natures and
reports of the
king's will
are.

The em-
peror's hope
to receive
more profit
by the French
king's peace
than by warre

15. 16.

age, and also for the dotage for the which he should stand accountable for so much as the emperor had received by waite of loan of the king of England: he seemed by manie tokens in nature to nourish a wonderfull desire to haue children, and by the necessity of his condition he was caried with great contentment of monie: vpon which two reasons he took a great desire to marie the sister of the house of Portugal, which was both in an age able for marriage, and with whom he hoped to receiue a plentiful portion in gold and treasure, besides the liberalities of his owne people offered by waite of beneuolence in case the marriage went forward: such was their desire to haue a queene of the same nation and language, and of hope to procreate children.

For these causes the negociation became euerie waie more hard and desperat betwene both those princes, wherein was also concurrent the ordinarie inclination of the cardinall of Porke towards the French king, together with the open complaints he made of the emperor, as well for the interests and respects of his king, as for the small reputation the emperor began to hold of him. He considered that afore the battell of Pavia, the emperor neuer sent letters vnto him which were not written with his owne hand, and subscribed, your sonne and cousin Charles: but after the battell, he vsed the seruice of secretaries in all the letters he wrote to him, insiring nothing of his owne hand but the subscription, not with titles of so great reuerence and submission, but onelie with this bare word Charles. In this alteration of affection in the emperor, the king of England took occasion to receiue with gracious words and demonstrations, the ambassadour sent by the ladie regent, to whome he gaue comfort to hope well in things to come. And a little afterward, estranging his mind wholie from the affaires which were in negociation betwene him and the emperor, he made a confederation with the ladie regent, contracting in the name of hir sonne, wherein he would haue inserted this expresse condition, that for the kings ransom and deliuerie, should not be deliuered to the emperor anie thing that at that time should be vnder the power or possession of the crowne of France.

Shortlie after, the viceroy & the other capitaine imperiall were induced vpon vrgent reasons to transport the person of the French king into a surer hold, than where presentlie he was kept, iudging that for the ill disposition of others, they could not without perill keepe him garded in the duchie of Milan: in which feare ioined to their continuall desire so to doe, they resolved to conuie the king to Genes, and from thence by sea to Naples, where his lodging was prepared within the new castell. This determination brought no little grieue to the king, who from the beginning of his captiuitie, had vehementlie desired to be carried into Spaine: perhaps he had opinion (measuring happie an other man by his owne nature, or else running with the common error of mortall men being easlie beguiled in things they desire) that if once he were brought to the presence of the emperor, he doubted not of some easie passage for his libertie, either through the emperours benigne, or by the conditions he meant to offer. The viceroy was of the same desire for the augmentation of his owne glorie.

But being retained for feare of the French armie by sea, they dispatched by common consent monsieur Pontmerancie to the ladie regent: who granted to him six light gallies of those that lay in the port of Marseilles vpon promise to haue them restored as soon as the king was arriued in Spaine. With these gallies, he returned to Portofino, where the kings person was alreadie arriued, and ioining them to six

teene gallies of the emperor, which was the manie appointed at first to conduct him to Naples, he reduced them all into one fleet, and armed them all with footmen of the Spanish. The capitaine imperiall and the duke of Bourbon were persuaded, that the kings person should be led to Naples: but of the contrarie, setting vp sail the seventh of June, they took such course, that the eight daie they arriued with a happie voyage at Rosas a haven of Catalogna: there coming brought no small ioy to the emperor, who vntill that daie had vnderstood nothing at all of that resolution.

Now as soon as he was made assured of the kings being there, he dispatched commandments vnto all places where he should passe, to receiue him with great honours: onelie till it should be otherwise determined, he gave order to keepe him in the castell of Sciatua nere to Valence, a castell ancientlie bled by the kings of Aragon for the garding of great personages; and wherein had bene kept prisoner for manie yeares the duke of Calabria. But the deliberation to keepe him in that place, seeming farre too rigorous to the viceroy, and nothing agreeable to the promises he had made to the king in Italie, he toome so much of the emperor, that till he had taken an other counsell, the kings person might remaine nere Valence in a place apt for hunting and other delights of the field. Where he left him lodged with sufficient gard vnder the charge of capitaine Alarcon, in whose custodie he had alwaies remained since his unfortunate daie.

From thence the viceroy, together with Pontmerancie, went to the emperor to make reappoynt of the state of Italie, and the discourse of things which till that daie had bene debated with the king, with whome he perswaded the emperor with manie reasons to draw to accord, for that he could not haue a faithfull amitie and coniunction with the Italians. The emperor after he had heard the viceroy and Pontmerancie, determined to conuie the king into Castilla to the castell of Madrid, a place farre removed from the sea and the confines of France, where being honored with ceremonies & reuerences agreeable to so great a prince, he should neuertheless be kept vnder carefull and strait gard, with libertie to take the aire abroad certeine times of the daie, mounted onelie vpon a mule. The emperor could neuer be brought to admit the king to his presence, if first the accord were not either established, or at least in an assured hope of resolution.

And to the end there might be interposed in the negociation a personage honorable, & almost equall with the king, Pontmerancie was sent in great diligence into France, to bring the duchesse of Alanson the kings sister and a widow, with fullnesse of authority to debate and contract. And to the end this negociation of accord were not hindered by new difficulties, there was made a little afterwards a truce vntill the end of December, betwene the emperor and such as administered the government of France. Whereover the emperor gaue order that one part of those gallies which were come with the viceroy, should returne into Italie to bring the duke of Bourbon into Spaine, without whose presence and priuatie he gaue out that he would make no conuention: and yet the gallies what for want of monie, and other impediments, were prepared but with slow diligence.

Whiles the case of the French king was in demand, but not yet determined, by means of sundrie ouerthwarts that ouerthrew the foundation of euerie purpose tending to his deliuerance: it fortuned that the French king falling sicke in the castell of Madrid, and having in vaine desired the presence of

The emperor commanded that the French king should be receiued with honour in all places where he should passe.

A truce for a time betwene the emperor and the gouernors of France.

The French king extremelie sicke in the castell of Madrid. Guic. pag. 277.

the emperor, was caried by his discontentment and melancholie into such extremitie and danger of his life, that the physicians appointed for his cure, told the emperor that they stood desperate of his recovery, if himselfe in person came not to comfort him with some hope of his deliuerie. The emperor obteyneng more compassion than the reason of things, was not curious to condescend to perforce so good an office, and as he prepared to visit him accordingly, his high chancelloz seeking to turne him from the issue, told him with manie strong reasons, that he could not go to him in honour, but with intention to deliuer him presentlie and without anie covenant: otherwise as it would be a humanitie not roiall but mercenarie, so it would disclose a desire to recover him, not moued of charitie, but pushed on by his proper interest, as not to lose by his death the occasion of the profit hoped for by the victorie.

The emperor
visitech the
French king
in durance.

This counsell assuredlie was graue and honourable touching the man that gaue it, and no lesse worthy to be followed by so great a prince as the emperor: and yet being more caried by the reasons of others, he took post to go to him. But for the danger of the king being almost at the extremitie, the visitation was short, and yet for the time accompanied with gracious words full of hope that he would deliuer him immediatlie upon his returning to health: in so much that whether it was by the comfort that he breathed into him (in the sickness of captiuitie the promise of libertie creaketh all medicines) or by the benefit of his youth, which with the fauour of nature was stronger than the maladie, he began after this visitation to resume so good disposition, that within few daies he was out of danger, notwithstanding he could not recover his former health but with verie slowe time.

And now neither the difficulties that were shewed on the emperours side, nor the hopes which were given by the Italians, nor anie other nature of impediments whatsoever, could staie the volage of the ladie Alanson into Spaine. For that as nothing was more hard or heauie to the Frenchmen than to leane off the practises and negotiations of accord, begun with those that had power to restore their king: so nothing was more easie to the emperor, than feeding the French with hopes, to draw their minds from taking armes; and by that meane so to keepe the Italians in suspence, as not to dare to enter into new deliberations. And in that cunning manner, sometimes vsing delaies, and sometimes pressing forward the affaires, he thought to keepe the minds of all men confused and intangled. The ladie Alanson was receiued by the emperor with verie gracious demonstrations and hopes: but the effects fell out both hard and heauie. For when she ministred speech to him for the mariage of his sister the widowe with the king: he made answer, that it was a matter which could not be done without the consent of the duke of Burbon.

The ladie Alanson
treated with the
emperor for
the kings deliuerie.

The other particularities were debated by deputies of both parts, wherein, as the emperor insisted obstinatlie to haue the dutchie of Burgognie restored as appertaining to him: so the French refused to consent, unless he would accept it for dowrie; or else to referre it to the sentence of the law and iustice to decide the true title. And albeit they could easilie haue condescended to the residue, yet for that they were so farre off for the demand of Burgognie, the ladie Alanson returned at last into France, without winning anie other grace, than a fauour to see the king his brother; who growing more and more into distrust of his deliuerie, desired him at his departing to admonish his mother, and all the counsell from him, to looke carefullie to the profit of the crowne of

The French
king is care-
full ouer the

France, without hauing anie consideration of him, as if he liued not. But notwithstanding the departure of the ladie Alanson, the solicitations for the kings deliuerie did not cease, for that there remained behind the president of Paris, and the bishops of Ambrun and Tarbe, who had till then followed the negotiation but with verie little hope, with the emperor would not harken to anie condition, if first Burgognie were not restored, which the king would not be brought to restore, but in a last necessitie.

After this unfortunate accident of the French king ensued manie troublesome and intricate matters, among which the case of the French king was descanted upon, and a solicitation of peace resolved, which contained these covenants following. That betwene the emperor and the French king should be a peace perpetuall, in which should be comprehended all such as should be named by their common consent. That the French king by the first daie of the next moneth of March, should be set at libertie upon the marches in the coast of Fontarabie. That within six weeks after he should consign to the emperor the dutchie of Burgognie, the countie of Charrolois, the iurisdiction of Roiers, the castell Chaintro, dependancies of the said dutchie, the countie of Fladonna, the resort of St. Laurence de la Roche, a dependant of French countie, together with all the appurtenances as well of the said dutchie as vicountie, all which for hereafter should be separate and exempted from the souereigntie of the realme of France. That at the same and verie instant that the king should be deliuered, there should be put into the emperours hands the Dolphin of France, and with him either the duke of Orleans the kings second sonne, or else twelue principall lords of France, whom the emperor did name.

It was left to the election of the ladie regent, whether to deliuer the kings second sonne, or the twelue barons, and they to remaine as hostages until restitution were made of the lands and places aforesaid, and the peace sworn and ratified, together with all the articles by the estates generall of France, and integritie in all the courts of parlement of the kingdome with forme and solemnities necessarie. For the accomplishing wherof, there was set downe a terme of foure moneths: at which time returning the hostages, there should be put into the emperours hands the duke de Angoulême the kings third son, to the end to traine him by with the emperor, the better to intertaine and assure the peace. That the French king should renounce and giue vp to the emperor all his rights to the realme of Naples, together with all such titles and preeminences as were to come to him by the inuention of the church. That he should doe the like touching his interest in the state of Millaine, of Genes, of Ast, and likewise of Arras, Tourneie, of the Ile, and of Dobate. That he should render by the towne and castell of Hedin as a member of the countie of Artois, with all the munitions, artilleries, and munneables that were in it when it was last taken. That he should disclaime and yield vp all souereigntie in Flanders and Artois, and all other places or peeces which the emperor possessed.

That on the other side, the emperor should resign and giue vp to him all the right title, and quarrell which he pretended to anie place possessed by the Frenchmen, and especiallie the townes and castles, domes of Perone, Montdidier, Roie, the counties of Bullongne, Guines, & Donshieu, with other townes standing upon the one and other shore of the river of Some. That there should be betwene them a league and confederation perpetuall for the defense of their estates, with obligation to aid one another when

Comments
concerning
the emperor
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he kept and
particulars.

when need required, with 500 men at armes, and ten thousand footmen: that the emperor should promise to giue in marriage to the king the ladie Cleane, his sister, whom, as soon as the dispensation should be obtained from the pope, he should contract or handfast with words obligatorie for the present, and afterwards she should be led into France, to consummate the marriage at the same time that according to the capitulations the hostages were to be deliuered: that she should haue for her portion two hundred thousand crowns, with iewels according to her estate, the one moiety of the monie to be paid within sixtene moneths, and the other halfe in one yeare after.

Furthermore, that a marriage should be made betweene the Dolphin & the daughter of the la. of Portugal, daughter to the ladie Cleane, at such time as their age will suffer: that the French king should doe all that he could to induce the ancient la. of Spaurre to giue up to the emperor the rights of that kingdom, which in case he would not performe, then the king not to aid him with any succours. That the duke of Guelders, and the countie of Zulle, and the principall townes of those estates, should promise with sufficient securitie, to giue themselves to the emperor, after his death. That the king should giue no succour to the duke of Wittenberge, nor likewise to Robert de la March. That he should furnish and rigge for the emperor, both when he should passe into Italie, and two moneths after being so required, twelve gallies, foure ships, & foure gallions, all well munitioned and appointed, except men of war, & the said vessels to be rendezed three moneths after accompting from the daie of his imbarcking: that in place of the armie by land which the king offered for Italie, he should paie him two hundred thousand crownes in monie, the one halfe within sixtene moneths, and the other halfe within a yeare after.

Again, that at the time when the hostages should be deliuered, he should be bound to giue bills of exchange for the paie of six thousand footmen for six moneths immediatly after the emperours arrivall in Italie: that he should also furnish for his seruice five hundred lances paid, with a band of artillerie. That he should saue harmlesse the emperor of his promise made to the king of England by pensions, which the French king should paie to him, the arerages whereof amounted to five hundred thousand crownes, or else to deliuer so much in readie monie to the emperor. That they should both soine to beseech the pope to call a generall counsell with all speed, to the end to consult vpon an vniuersall peace amongst christians, to aduance an enterprise against the infidels and heretikes, and to grant to all the crowade for three yeares. That within six weeks the king should restore the duke of Burbon in most ample forme, into all his estates, goods mouable and immouable, and fruits and reuenues receiued: nor to molest him for any thing past, nor constrain him to dwell or go to the realme of France. That it should be lawfull to the said duke of Burbon, to demand by the waie of law and iustice, the cardome of Bourgne. That in like sort all those that had followed him, should reenter in safetie into their goods and states, and namely the bishop of Autun, and monsieur de saint Valler.

Moreover, that the prisoners taken in the warre should be deliuered on both parts within sixtens daies. That there should be restitution made to the ladie Margaret of Austria of all that she possessed afore the warre. That the prince of Orange should be set at libertie with restitution to the principalltie of Orange, and all that he possessed by the death of his father, which had bene taken from him for following the faction of the emperor.

That the like should be done to other barons. That there should be made restitution to the marquesse of Salusse of his estate. That the king as soon as he arrived in the first towne of his realme, should ratifie this capitulation, and be bound to procure the Dolphin to ratifie it when he should come to the age of foureteene yeares. And were named by common consent, and cheslie the Switzers. Whelie there was not one of the potentates of Italie, except the pope, whom they named as conseruator of the accord, and that more for maner sake and ceremonie, than in effect and true meaning. Lastlie, it was expressed in the said capitulation, that in case the king for any occasion, would not accomplish these matters promised, he should returne true prisoner.

This accord for the parts it contained, brought no small astonishment to all Christendome. For when it was understood, that the first execution thereof consisted in the deliuerie of the king, all mens opinions were, that being in his libertie, he would not deliuer up Burgongnie, as being a member of too great importance for the realme of France. And except a few, who had counselled the emperor to it, all his court had the same iudgement, and namely the Chancellor, who reprehended and detested the matter with so great vehemencie, that notwithstanding he was commanded to signe the capitulation (according to the office of chiefe chancellors) yet he refused to doe it, alledging; that in such matters, dangerous and hurtfull as that was, he ought not to vse the authoritie that was giuen him: neither could he be altered from this opinion, notwithstanding the emperor was angrie with him: who seeing him so resolute in his opinion, signed it himselfe, and within few daies after went to Spayill, to confirme the alliance, and make a foundation of amitie and good will with the king, whom he interteined in familiar and priuat sort.

Great were the ceremonies and demonstrations of amitie betweene them: oftentimes they shewed themselves together in places publike: and as often did they passe in secret familiar discourses. They went together in one coach vnto a castell not halfe a daies iourne from thence, where was queene Cleane, whom the king married. And yet in all these great signes of peace and amitie, he was observed with as carefull and strict gard as before, without any aduantage of libertie. So that he was embraced as a brother, and garded as a prisoner. A matter which made manifest to the world, that it was an accord full of discord, an alliance without amitie, and that vpon euery occasion their ancient gelousies and passions would be stronger in them, than the regard of that alliance, made more by force than friendship. And daies were spent in these offices and ceremonies of amitie, when was brought from the ladie regent the ratification, together with the declaration, that with the Dolphin of France they would rather giue in hostage the kings second son, than the twelve barons.

Then the king departed from Spayill, taking his waie to the frontier of his realme, where was to be exchanged his person for his sonnes, who bare vertie small age. Where was sent to accompanie him the viceroie the worker and author of his deliuerie, to whome the emperor had giuen the title of Ad. with other estates in Flanders and in the kingdom of Fables. The king of England hearing that the French king should now be deliuered, sent to him a knight of his chamber, called sir Thomas Chente, to signifie to him the great ioy and gladnesse, which he conceived for his restitution to libertie, and the conclusion of the generall peace. For which kindnesse & courtesie

while this accord set all Christendome in a wondering.

The French king married the emperours sister according to a clause in the capitulation.

The king of England gave of the French kings deliuerance.

The king of England gave of the French kings deliuerance.

courteous remembrance, the French king thought himselfe much bound (as he confesseth himselfe here after) to the king of England, & thanked him greatly hereafter.

Guic. pag. 966.
The manner of
the deliverance
of the French
king.

After much a doo and manie remonings, the French king was come on the confines of Fontarabie, a towne appertaining to the emperor, standing upon the Ocean sea, and is a frontier betwene Biskate and the duchie of Guien. And on the other side, the ladie regent was arrived with the children of France, at Baion, not manie leagues from Fontarabie. The torments of the gowt took him by the waite, which was the cause that he had linged some time longer than the daie appointed of permutation. But at last, the eighteenth daie of March, the French king accompanied with the biceroi and capteine Alarcon with fiftie horse, was presented upon the shore of the river that divideth the realme of France from the kingdome of Spaine. And on the other side, upon the shore opposite appeared monsieur Labutrech with the kings children and like number of horse. There was in the middell of the river a great barke made fast with anchors, in which was no person. The king was rowed nere to this barke in a little boat, wherein he was accompanied with the biceroi, capteine Alarcon, and eight others, all armed with short weapons: and on the other side of the barke were likewise brought in a little boat, monsieur Labutrech with the offages & eight others, weaponed according to the others.

The French
king with the
biceroi are
unbarked.

After this the biceroi went into the barke with the king, and all his companie: and also monsieur Labutrech with his eight that accompanied him, so that they were within the barke a like number of both parts, Alarcon and his eight being with the biceroi, and Labutrech and the others with the person of the king. And when they were all thus within the barke, Labutrech fetched out of the be at into the barke, the Dolphin, who being given to the biceroi and by him committed to capteine Alarcon, was forthwith bestowed in their boate, and after him followed the little duke of Orleans, who was no sooner entred the barke, than the French king leaped out of the barke into his boate, which he did with such quicknesse and celeritie, that the exchange or permutation was thought to be done at one selfe instant: so welcome to him was libertie, without the which nothing is sweet, nothing is comfortable, as the poet saith:

Libertas per dulce bonum, bona cetera reddit.

The French
king is not a little
glad of his libertie.

As soon as the king was on the other side of the shore, his new libertie making him fearefull of ambush, he mounted upon a Turkish horse of a wonderfull swiftnesse, which was prepared for the purpose: and running betwene feare and gladnesse by on the spurre, he never staid till he came to St. John de Lus, a towne of his obedience, foure leagues from the place. And being there readilie relieved with a fresh horse, he ran with the same swiftnesse to Baion, where, after he had passed over the offices of court done to him by his people, he dispatched with great diligence a gentleman to the king of England, to whom he wrote with his owne hand letters of his deliverie, charging the messenger under verie lauing commission, to tell the king of England, that as he acknowledged the effect of his libertie to be wrought wholely by him and his operations, so in recompense, he offered to remaine to him a perpetuall and assured friend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his counsell. And afterwards he sent an other solemne ambassage into England, to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him, as one that reapposed a verie great foundation in the amitie of that king.

Guic. pag. 968.

When the French king was gotten into Baion,

being required by a gentleman of the biceroi, to ratifie the accord according to the obligation of his word, being come into a place free and assured, he deferred it from one daie to another, interposing reasons and excuses general: therein, to the end to hold still the emperor in hope, he sent to advertise him by a man especiall, that he forbore for the present to accomplish the ratification, not by omission or willing negligence, but upon this necessitie, that before he proceeded realtie to such an act, he was to labour to reapease and reduce the minds of his subiects contented with the obligations he had made, tending to the diminution of the crowne of France. Nevertheless, he would in his time resolve all difficulties, and observe with fidelitie all that he had promised to him, both in substance and circumstance. By this dealing, no lesse doubtfull for the manner, than dangerous in meaning, might easilie be comprehended what were his intentions, the same being more manifestlie detected at the arrivall of the messengers sent to him not manie daies after, by the pope and Venetians, in whome was no great need of industrie or labour, to found out the plaine courie of his inclination.

For, after he had received them with manie demonstrations and offices of court, he interteined them severallie and apart with sundrie speeches of compassion, such as tended to manifest complaints against the inhumanitie of the emperor: who he said did never administer to him during his captivity, anie one office appertaining to the ranks of a prince, nor at anie time shewed himselfe touched with that affection and commiseration which one prince ought to expresse in the calamities of another: and much lesse would be anie course of common comfort, either to relieve the heavinesse of his condition with anie propriety of apt consolation, or once to enter into consideration, that the same accident that had fallen upon him, might also be as heaullie heaped upon his owne head. In this complaint, he alleaged the example of Edward king of England called of some Edward Long-Shanks. To whome when was presented as prisoner John king of the Frenchmen, taken by the prince of Wales his son in the battell of Poitiers, he did not onelie receive him with great comfort and compassion of his afflicted case, but also, all the time of his imprisonment within the realme of England, he let him go at libertie under a free gard.

Furthermore he had daillie familiar conversation with him, he would oftentimes have him to accompany him on hunting, to communicate in the open aire and solace of the field, and was not curious to call him to eat with him at his table. And by these humanities much lesse that he lost his prisoner, or ranged him to an accord lesse favourable; but of the contrarie, by the operation of those graces and good offices, there grew betwene them such a familiaritie and confidence, that the French king, after he had continued manie yeares in France, made a voluntarie voiage into England, to honour and gratifie under that propriety of office, the liberalitie and frankenesse of the king. He alleged that as there was onelie remembrance of two kings of France that had bene taken prisoners in battell, king John and himselfe, so the diversitie of the examples was also worthy of singular memorie, seeing upon the one was exercised all facilitie and mildnesse of the victor, and to the other were ministered all those rigours and severities, which tyrants in the height and pride of their fortune are wont to be. Whereunto he added manie circumstances discovering the discontentment of his mind, whereupon ensued practices wherewith the emperor was not well pleased.

The French
king is
borne out
to ratifie
the accord.

The French
king compares
himselfe to
the emperor
in the case
of the
captivity.

The king of
England is
glad of the
French king
as a prisoner
of humane
in the case
of a captive
king.

Some short after that this peace was accorded, and the French king instructed by emperor's marshal the lady Isabel daughter to Emanuel king of Portugal, and that with the elder hundred thousand men. Thus farre the French affaires intermised as you heard without doubt, and were needful to be ended, and then we will end, and returne to England.

Cardinal Wolsey being still most mighty in the mightiest honour, outmeit licence to erect a college at Oxford, and another at Salisbury, his townes were in part come, his wife countess was began rather of a vaine desire of glorie and worldly wealth, than by the instructione of true religion and advancement of doctrine, and therefore his wife was not minded to be instructed of true godlinesse and bountifull liberallitie, he went about to rich houses, and to haue to himselfe godliness of the king to supporte certain small monasteries, and after good confirmation of his power, that no might intolue the good lawes, and revenues belonging to those houses, to the maintenance of those two colleges, where no one might, but also the pope were still contented, though he would remaine. In March the king sent Cuthbert, Luntall bishop of London, and Sir Thomas Wolsey into manchester of the duchesse of Lancastre, a knight of the garter, into Spain, to conferre with the person for great causes, concerning the taking of the French king, and to warre to be made into France on euery side.

The king being determined thus to make warre in France, & to vade for his enemies in person, his council considered that about all things great treasure and plenty of monie must needs be provided. Whereupon the cardinal there was deuised strange commissions, and sent in the end of March into euery shire, and commissioners appointed, and private instructions sent to them, that they should proceed in their fittings, and adoe the people to bring them to their purpose, which was, that the first part of euery mans substance should be paid in monie or plate to the king without delay, for the furniture of his warre. Hereof followed much cursing, weeping, and exclamation against such a cardinal, that with it was to beate. And to be worse, notwithstanding all that could be said or done, & forged on the commissioners to persuade the people to this contriuation, the same would not be granted. And in error of their demand was alledged, that wrong was offered, and the ancient customs & lawes of the realm broken, which would not any man to be charged with such payment, except it were granted by the estates of the realm in parliament assembled. The like answer was made by them of the spiritualtie, of whom was demanded the fourth part of their goods.

Donhier de Jorrete the emperor's ambassadoe, together offended to, admittinge of some Jorrete into the realm, as before we have heard, for some other cause, the ninth of April departed out of England, not taking leave of the king, nor of the cardinal, and so much did by late conduct. Then he passed through France in post, and came to the emperor's place, the ambassadoe of England came thither, and together it was by his report, or other wise, the accustomed lawe that the emperor ignored to the Englishmen, began then to decay, as was well perceived, what the matter was. This yeare at Whitsonthorpe died Thomas duke of Suffolke, and was honourable buried at Wethers. The cardinal travelled earnestly with the mayors and aldermen of London, about the aid of monie to be granted, and likewise the commissioners appointed in the shires of the realm, set upon the same; but the burthen was so grievous,

that it was generally denied, and the commons in euery place it moued, that it was like to grow to rebellion.

In Essex the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places, and in Huntingtonshire ouerly resisted the commissioners, and would not suffer them to sit, which were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. The duke of Suffolke sitting in commission about the justice in Suffolke, persuaded by courteous meanes the rich citizens to assent therto, but when they came home, and went about to discharge and put from them their spinners, carvers, filders, weavers, and other artificers, when they saw it would salue time, the people began to assemble in companies. Whereof the duke was aduertised, he commanded the commissioners that euery man should be taken from him. But when that was knowne, the heritage of the people increased, calling ouer to the duke, and Sir Robert Druce, and the sheriff, both with death, and the cardinal also. And perewith they assembled together after the manner of rebels four hundred men of Lanark, Sudbury, Hadley, and other counties thereabouts, which put themselves in battell, and rang for their armes, and began still to assemble in great number.

The duke of Suffolke perceiving this, began to gather his power as he could, but that was verie slender, for the gentlemen that were with the duke, bid to him that all the bridges were broken, so that the assembling of those rebels was somewhat letted. The duke of Suffolke being therof aduertised, gathered a great power in Suffolke, and came towards the commons, intending to them to know their intent, receiue answer, that they would live and die in the kings causes, and be to him obedient. Whereupon he came himselfe to talk with them, and willing to know who was their captain, that he might answer for them all: it was told him by one John Greene a man of fifty yeares of age, that Bourche was their captain, the which with his confine Jaccardine, had brought them to that doing. For whereas they and a great number of other in that countie, lived not not upon themselves, but upon the substantiall occupiers, now that they through such payments as were demanded of them, were not able to maintaine them in work, they must be necessitate perill for want of sustenance.

The duke hearing this matter, was sore for their sake, and promised them, that if they would depart home to their dwellings, he would be a meane for their pardon to the king. Whereupon they were contented to depart. After this, the duke of Suffolke, and the duke of Suffolke came to Burie, and thither recited much people of the countie in their shirts, with halters about their neckes, meekely desiring pardon for their offences. The duke so wisely demeaned themselves, that the commons were appeased, and the demands of monie ceased in all the realm, for well it was perceived that the commons would pay none. Then went the two dukes to London, and brought with them the chiefe captains of the rebellion, which were put in the Fleet. The king there came to Westminster to the cardinals palace, and assembled there a great council, in the which he opened protest, that his mind was neuer to aske any thing of his commons which might sound to the breach of his lawes, therefore he willed to know by what meanes the commissions were so straitly gathered forth, to demand the first part of euery mans goods.

The cardinal excused himselfe, and said, that when it was moued in counsell how to raise monie to the kings use, the kings counsell, and namely the indige-

The commons
louers for the
tax refused.

2 rebellion
Suffolke by
the grievous-
ness of the
taxes.

The duke of
Suffolke com-
meth with a
power against
the rebels in
Suffolke.

Bourche and
Jaccardine
captains of
the rebellion.

The captains
of the rebels
committed to
prison.

The cardinal
of York excu-
seth himselfe
touching the
great commis-
sion for the tax

ges, said, that he might lawfullie demand ante summe by commission, and that by the consent of the whole councell it was done, and toke God to witnes that he neuer desired the hinderance of the commons, but like a true counsellor deuised how to enrich the king. The king indeed was much offended that his commons were thus intreated, & thought it touched his honor, that his counsell should attempt such a doubtfull matter in his name, and to be denied both of the spirituallie and temporallie. Therefore he would no more of that trouble, but caused letters to be sent into all shires, that the matter should no further be talked of: & he pardoned all them that had denied the demand openlie or secretlie. The cardinall, to deliuer himselfe of the enill will of the commons, purchased by procuring & aduancing of this demand, affirmed, and caused it to be bzuted abroad, that through his intercession the king had pardoned and released all things.

The rebels pardoned after their appearance in the Star chamber.

Those that were in the Towler and Fleet for the rebellion in Suffolke, and resisting the commissioners aswell there as in Huntington shire and Kent, were brought before the lords in the Star chamber, and there had their offenses opened and shewed to them: and finally the kings pardon declared, and thereon they were deliuered. In this season a great number of men of warre laie at Bullongne, and in other places thereabout, which diuerse times attempted to indamage the Englishmen, and to spoile the English pale: but they could neuer spoile the marshes where the greatest part of the cattell belonging to the inhabitants was kept. Lindale men with aid of the Scots, did much hurt in England by robberies, which they exercised: and therefore were sent thither, sir Richard Balmere, and sir Christopher Dacres, to restraine their doings. Diuerse came to them, and submitted themselves: but the greatest theues kept them in the mounteins of Cheuiot, and did much hurt, yet at length they seuered, and manie of them were taken.

Lindale men great robbers

The cardinall by his power legantine sent one of his chapleins called doctor John Allen, to visit the religious houses of this realme about this season, which doctor practised amongst them greatlie to his profit, but more to the slander both of himselfe and of his master. On the eighteenth daie of June, at the manor place of Wyndesore, the kings sonne (which he had begot of Elisabeth Blunt, daughter to sir John Blunt knight) called Henrie Fitzroie, was created first earle of Nottingham, and after on the selfe same daie he was created duke of Richmond and Sumner. Also the same daie the lord Henrie Courtenie earle of Devonshire, and cosine germane to the king, was created marquisse of Excester: and the lord Henrie Brandon sonne to the duke of Suffolke and the french quene, a child of two yeares old, was created earle of Lincolne: and sir Thomas Hanners lord Ross was created earle of Rutland, and sir Henrie Clifford earle of Cumberland, and the lord Fitzwater sir Robert Ratcliffe was created vicount Fitzwater, and sir Thomas Bullen treasurer of the kings household was created vicount Rochefort.

Henries daie sonne created earle and duke in one daie.

The french kings mother as then regent of France, procured a safe conduct for an ambassador to be sent into England to treat of peace, and there with sent John Fokin called monsieur de Claur, which (as we haue heard) in the last yeare was kept secret in maister Larks house. By his procurement a truce was granted to indure from the thirtieth of Iulie for fortie daies betwixne England and France both by sea and land. In the later end of Iulie came into England the cheefe president of Rome with sufficient authoritie to conclude anie agrement that

A truce betwixne England & France for fortie daies.

should be granted. At his suite the king was contented that a truce should be taken, to indure from the fourteenth of August, till the first of December. This yeare the king sent doctor Henrie Standish bishop of saint Asse, and sir John Baker knight into Denmarke, to intreat with the nobles of that countrie for the reduction of their king Chulstierne to his realme and former dignitie: but the Danes hated him so much for his crueltie, that they could not abide to heare of anie such matter, and so these ambassadors returned without speeding of their purpose for the which they were sent.

But the french ambassadors did so much both by offers and intreaties, that the king condescended to a peace, which being concluded, was proclaimed in London with a trumpet the eight of September. By the covenants of this peace the king of England should receiue at certaine daies twentie hundred thousand crownes, which then amounted in sterling monie to the summe of foure hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which one payment of fiftie thousand pounds was paid in hand. In October were sent into France, sir William Fitzwilliam treasurer of the kings house, and doctor Talor, as ambassadors from the king of England to the ladie regent, whome they found at the cite of Lion, where, of which they were honorable receiued: and in their presence the said ladie regent toke a corporall oath in solemne wise, and according to the custome in such cases used, to performe all the articles and covenants passed and concluded in the league and treatie of peace by his commissioners.

The emperour was nothing pleased, in that the king of England had thus concluded peace with the frenchmen, and therefore the English merchants were not so courteouslie dealt with, as they had bene afore time. In this winter was great death in London, so that the terme was adourned: and the king kept his Chyrmasse at Eltham, with a small number, and therefore it was called the still Chyrmasse. In Januarie was a peace concluded betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland for thre yeares and six moneths. The cardinall about this time coming to the court, which then late (as before we haue heard) at Eltham, toke order for altering the state of the kings house. Spauie officers and other seruants were discharged, and put to their pensions and annuities. In which number were fourescore and foure yeomen of the gard, which before hauing twelue pence the daie with cheeke, were now allowed six pence the daie without cheeke, and commanded to go home into their countreies. Diuers ordinances were made at that season by the cardinall, touching the gouernance of the kings house, more profitable than honorable, as some said, and were called long after, The statutes of Eltham.

On Shrouetuesdaie there was a solemne iusts held at the manor of Grenewich, the king & cleven other on the one part, and the marquisse of Excester with cleuen other on the contrarie part. At those iusts by chance of shiuring of a speare sir Francis Brian lost one of his eyes. The eleventh of Februarie being fundaie, the cardinall with great pompe came to the cathedrall church of Banles, where he sat in pontificalibus under his cloth of estate of rich cloth of gold, and there doctor Barnes an Augustine frier bare a sagot for certeine points of here he alleged against him; and two merchants of the stillard bare sagots for eating of flesh on a fridaie: and there the bishop of Rochester doctor Fisher made a sermon against Martine Luther, which certeine yeares before, that is to wit, about the yeare a thousand five hundred and eightene, had begun to preach and write against the authoritie of the pope.

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we must here note, that the emperour being at
Amboise in the fourteenth yere of the kings reigne
covenanted, amongst other things, to take to wife
the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England:
but now upon considerations his mind changed, for
the which the Englishmen sore murmured against
him. On the nine and twentieth of Aprill being sun-
daie, the cardinall song a solemne masse in the kings
chappell at Grenenwich, and after the same was en-
ded, the king swore in presence of the ambassadoys
of France, and of the ambassadoys of Rome, of the
emperour of Venice, and of Florence, to observe
and keepe the peace and league concluded betwixt
him and his loving brother, and perpetuall alie the
French king, during his life and one yere after.

In this meane while, there was a secret league
concluded betwixt the pope, the Venetians, the Flo-
rentines, and Francis Sforza duke of Milan: into
the which league the French king also entered, after
he was returned into France. There was also place
left to the king of England to enter into the same
league, and likewise to all other kings and princes:
and if the king of England would, he should be ad-
mitted as protector of the same. But the emperour
might not be admitted, till he had delivered the
French kings children (having a reasonable summe
of monie for the same) and had restored the duke of
Milan to his whole duchie. It was thought indeed,
that the emperour being wrongfullie informed a-
gainst this duke, rather through envie of some of the
emperours captains, than for any cause ministered
by the duke, dealt verie straightlie with him, & meant
to defeat him of his duchie. For redresse therof, and
also to provide that the emperor should not grow too
strong in Italie to the danger of other estates, this
league was devised: by force whereof he might be
brought to reason, if he would refuse convenient of-
fers and indifferent waies of agreement.

This league was concluded the two and twentieth
of Aprill in this yere. What followed thereof, ye
may read more at large in the histories of Italie and
France, where the warres are more at large touch-
ed, which chanced in that season betwixt the empe-
rour, and the confederats, and how the imperiall ar-
mie took the citie of Rome, and besieging the pope
in castell Saint Angelo, constrained him to yield, and
agree to certeine propositions put unto him. ¶ Who
being by his adversitie made naked of all helpe pre-
sent, and lesse expectation to be rescued there was
so great want of valour and order, was driven to
turn the race of his fortune, compounding the first
daie of June with the imperials almost vnder the
same conditions with the which he might have accor-
ded before. That the pope should paie to the armie
four hundred thousand buckets in this order: one
hundred thousand presentlie to be defraited of the
gold, monie, and treasure reserved in the castell: fiftie
thousand within twentie daies, and two hundred
and fiftie thousand within two moneths: assigning
to him for these defraiments, an impoiss of monie to
be charged upon the whole church state. That he
should deliver into the power of the emperour, to re-
taine them so long as he thought good, the castell
Saint Angelo, the rockes of Ostia, of Civita Vecchia, of
Civita Castellana, together with the cities of Par-
ma, Plaisance, and Modena.

Furthermore, that the pope together with all those
cardinals that were with him, which were thirtene
in number, should remaine prisoners within the cas-
tell, untill the first payment of an hundred and fiftie
thousand buckets were satisfied. That afterwards
they should go to Naples or to Caietta, to expect
what the emperour would determine of them. That
for assurance of the payments, wherof the third part

appertained to the Spaniards, he should deliver in
for hostages, the archbishops of Siponto and Viterbo, the
bishops of Viterbo & Verona, together with James
Salviatino, Simon de Ricafola, and Laurence bro-
ther to cardinall Rodolfo. That Hans de Cero, Al-
bert Pio, Matteo Bailon, the knight Casalo, the am-
bassadour of England, with all others that were sa-
ved within the castell, except the pope and the cardi-
nals, should depart in libertie. That the pope should
give abolition to the Colonnois of the censures
they had incurred. And that when he should be led
out of Rome, a legat should remaine there for him
with authoritie to dispose and administer iustice.

During the popes captivitie, Rome was sore af-
flicted with the plague, in somuch that the rage there-
of so greatly increased, that the castell of Saint An-
gelo was visited, to the great danger of the life of the
pope; about whome died certeine speciall men that
did service to his person: who annid so manie afflicti-
ons and adversities, and no other hope remaining to
him than in the clemencie of the emperour, appointed
for legat with the consent of the captains, cardinall
Alexander of Farnese, who notwithstanding being
issued out of the castell, and Rome, refused vnder that
occasion to go in the said legation. The captains de-
sired to carie the person of the pope with the thirtene
cardinals that were with him, to Caietta: but he la-
boured against that resolution with great diligence,
petitions, and art.]

¶ In the month of Maie was a proclamation made
against all unlawfull games, according to the sta-
tutes made in this behalfe, and commissions awar-
ded into everie shire for the execution of the same: so
that in all places, tables, dice, cards, and boules were
taken and burnt. Wherefore the people murmured a-
gainst the cardinall, saying: that he grudged at eve-
rie mans pleasure, saving his owne. But this procla-
mation small time indured. For when pong meri
were forbidden boules and such other games: some
fell to drinking, some to setting of other mens co-
nies, some to stealing of deer in parks, and other vi-
thiousnesses.]

This yere in the citie of London a great grudge
was conceived against merchants strangers, for
that they by vertue of licences, which they had pur-
chased to bring woad into the realme, contrarie to a
statute thereof provided, brought over such plentie
thereof, and vntered it aswell in the citie, as abroad
in the countrie, so franklie, that Englishmens woad
laie vnbought. At length the maior called a common
councell in the month of August, and there were
manie billes laied against the strangers, and at last
it was enacted, that no citizen nor freman should buy
nor sell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with
certeine strangers, called Anthonie Bonuice,
Laurence Bonuice, Anthonie Auald, Anthonie
Caweler, Francis de Ward, Thomas Calneccant,
and a great sort more, whose names I let passe. And
if any person did meddle or occupie with them con-
trarie to this act, he should lose his freedom and li-
bertie in the citie of London. Wherewith all the stran-
gers were so hydeled, that they came to a reasonable
point and conclusion.

In this season the angell noble was tuff the first
part of an ounce Trote, so that six angells were tuff
an ounce, which was fourtie shillings sterling; & the
angell was worth two ounces of siluer: so that six
angells were worth twelue ounces, which was but
fourtie shillings in siluer. By reason of the good
weight and low valuation of the English coine, mer-
chants daillie carried over great store, because the
same was much enhanced there. So that, to meet
with this inconuenience, in September proclama-
tion was made through all England, that the angell
should

Guic. pag. 1072

The castell
where the
pope was pri-
soner infected
with the pla-
gue.

Ed Hall in H. 8,
fol. Cxlix.

Great grudge
against stran-
gers for pro-
curing licences
to sell woad.

Edw. Hall in H. 8;
fol. Clij.

Valuation of
certeine coins
as angells,
rials, crowns,
et.

should go for seven shillings four pence, the roiall for eleven shillings, & the crowne for four shillings four pence. On the first of November following, by proclamation againe, the anuell was enhanced to seven shillings six pence, and so euery ounce of gold should be five and fourtie shillings, and an ounce of silver at three shillings and nine pence in value.

Edw. Hall in
H. 8. fol. Clijij.

The king kept a solempne Christmasse at Grenewich with reuelles, maskes, disguisings, & bankets: and the thirtieth daie of December, was an enterpryse of iusts made at the tilt by sir gentlemen, against all comers, which ballantlie furnished the same, both with speare and sword: and like iusts were kept the first daie of Januarie, where were three hundred speares broken. That same night, the king and manie young gentlemen with him, came to Bide well, and there put him and fiftene other, all in masking apparell, and then took his barge, and rowed to the cardinals place, where were at supper a great compaignie of lords and ladies, and then the maskers danced, and made goodlie pastime: and when they had well danced, the ladies plucked awaie their visors, and so they were all knowen, and to the king was made a great banket.

1527
An ambassa-
dour from the
emperor.

On the fourteenth of Januarie came to the court don Hugo de Mendoza, a man of a noble familie in Spaine: he came as ambassadour from the emperor to the king, with large commission, for the emperor put it to the kings determination, whether his demands which he requited of the French king were reasonable or not. This noble man carried here two pæces. This Christmasse was a goodlie disguising plaied at Graies In, which was compiled for the most part by maister John Woe, sergent at the law manie yeares past, and long before the cardinall had any authoritie. The effect of the play was, that lord gouernance was ruled by dissipation and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euill order ladie publike weale was put from gouernance: which caused riuoz populz, inward grudge and disdaine of wanton souerignete, to rise with a great multitude, to expell negligence and dissipation, and to restore publike welth againe to hir estate, which was so done.

Abt. H. ex
Edw. Hall in
H. 8. fol. Clijij.
A plaie at
Graies In.

The argu-
ment of the
plaie.

This plaie was so set forth with rich and costlie apparell, with strange deuises of maskes & morities, that it was highlie praised of all men, sauing of the cardinall, which imagined that the play had bene deuised of him, and in a great furie sent for the said maister Woe, and took from him his coise, and sent him to the flect: and after he sent for the young gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highlie rebuked and threatned, and sent one of them called Thomas Poile of Kent to the flect, but by means of friends maister Woe and he were deliuered at last. This plaie sore displeased the cardinall, and yet it was neuer meant to him, as you haue heard. Therefore manie wisemen grudged to see him take it so hartlie, and euer the cardinall said that the king was highlie displeased with it, and spake nothing of himselfe. But what will you haue of a guiltie conscience but to suspect all things to be said of him (as if all the world knew his wickednesse) according to the old verse:

Conscius ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici.

Ambassadors
fro the French
king.

Edw. Hall
pag. Cijv.
A iusts.

The second of March were receiued into London the bishop of Tarbe, Francis vicount of Thurane, and maister Anthoine Desleie second president of Paris, as ambassadours from the French king. They were lodged in Tailors hall. On Shrouctuedaie the king himselfe in a new harness all gilt, of a strange fashion that had not bene seene, and with him eight gentlemen all in cloth of gold of one sute, embroidered with knots of silver, and the marques of Excester, and eight with him in blew beluet and

white sattin, like the waues of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilt, and there ran manie fresh courses, till two hundred fouretioze and six speares were broken, and then they disarmed and went to the quenes chamber, where for them was provided a costlie banket.

The French ambassadours sued (as was said) to haue the ladie Marie daughter to the k. of England, giuen in mariage to the duke of Oyleance, second sonne to their master the French king: but that matter was put in suspence for diuerse considerations. And one was, for that the president of Paris doubted whether the mariage betweene the king and his mother (she being his brothers wife) was lawfull or not. While the French ambassadours laie thus in London, it happened one euening as they were coming from the Blacke friers, from supper to the Tailors hall, two boies were in a gutter casting downe rubbish, which the raine had driuen there, and vniwares hit a lackie belonging to the vicount of Thurane, and hurt him nothing, for scantlie touched it his cote. But the French lords took the matter highlie, as a thing done in despite, & sent word to the cardinall. Who being too hasty of credence, sent for sir Thomas Seimoz knight, lord maior of the cite, and in all hast commanded him upon his allegiance, to take the husband, wife, childen, and seruants of the house, and them to imprisonment, till he knew further of the kings pleasure, and that the two boies apprentices should be sent to the Towler: which commandement was accomplished without anie fauor. For the man, and his wife, and seruants, were kept in the counter till the first daie of Maie, which was six weekes full, and their neighbours of gentleness kept their house in the meane time, and one of the apprentices died in the Towler, and the other was almost lame. Of the crueltie of the cardinall, and of the pride of the Frenchmen, much people spake, & would haue bene reuenged on the Frenchmen, if wise men in the cite had not appeased it with faire words.

On the fouretenth daie of March were conueied from London to Grenewich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca earle of Ottonburgh, John Burgrau of Silberberge, and John Faber a famous cleрке, after bishop of Elicn, as ambassadours from don Ferdinand, brother to the emperor, newlie elect king of Hungarie and Beaine, after the death of his brother in law king Lewis, which was slaine by the Turke the last summer, as you haue heard before. This compaignie was welcommed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present, and there after great reuerence made, maister Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground of the gospell, *Exijt seminator seminare semen suum*, and of that he declared how Christ and his disciples went forth to sow, and how their seed was god that fell into the good ground, and brought forth good fruit, which was the christian faith: and then he declared how contrarie to that sowing, Mahomet had sowne seed, which brought forth euill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that daie.

He declared further what acts the great Turke then liuing had done, and in especiall he noted the getting of Belgrad, and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he said) of all the kings christened. He set forth also what power the Turke had, what diuersties of compaignies, what armor, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marvellous great number of people he could not be overthorne. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king, as S. Georges knight,

Some write
French
ambassadors
to be
sent to the
duke of
Oyleance.

Edw. Hall in
H. 8. fol. Clij.
The begone
nature of this
French
matter of
this.

The card-
inals crueltie.

Ambassadors
from the king
of Hungarie.

In oration
made by mas-
ter Faber.

knights, and defendoꝝ of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godlie warre and vertuous purpose. To this oration the li. by the mouth of sir Thomas More answered, that much he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the wars which were betwene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that act. Wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an vnitie and peace throughout all christendome; and after that, both with monie and men, he wold be redie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well therished, and diuerse times resorted to the court, and had great cheare and good rewards, and so the thirde daie of Maie next ensuing, they toke their leaue and departed homeward.

In the winter season of this yeare fell great abundance of raine, and namelie in September, November, and December. And on the sixteenth of January it rained so abundantly, that great floods thereby ensuing, destroyed cozne fields, pastures, and drowned manie shype and beastes. Then was it dyte till the twelue of Aprill, and from thence it rained euery day or night till the third of June, & in Maie it rained thirtie hours continuallie without ceasing, which caused great floods, & did much harme, namelie in cozne, so that the next yeare it failed within this realme, and great dearth ensued.

This time a bill was set vp in London, much contrary to the honour of the cardinall, in the which the cardinall was warned that he should not counsell the king to marrie his daughter into France: for if hee did, he should shew himselfe enemie to the king and the realme, with manie theateining words. This bill was deliuered to the cardinall by sir Thomas Seton, mayor of the citie, which thanked him for the same, & made much search for the authoꝝ of that bill, but he could not be found, which foze displeased the cardinall. And upon this occasion the last daie of Aprill at night he caused a great watch to be kept at Westminster, and had there cart guns readie charged, & caused diuerse watches to be kept about London, in Hewington, S. Johns street, Westminster, saint Giles, Islington, and other places nere London: which watches were kept by gentlemen & their seruants, with householders, and all for feare of the Londoners because of this bill. When the citizens knew of this, they said that they marvelled why the cardinall hated them so, for they said that if he mistrusted them, he loued them not: and where loue is not, there is hatred: and they affirmed that they neuer intended anie harme toward him, and misused of this chance. For if true: sir persons had made alarm in the citie, then had entred all these watchmen with their traine, which might haue spoiled the citie without cause. Wherefore they much murmured against the cardinall and his indiscreet doings.

The French ambassadours at Greenwich on Sunday the first of Maie, swore in the name of their master the French king to obserue the peace and league concluded betwene them, for tearme of two princes liues. These ambassadours had great cheare, and lutes were enterprised for the honour and pleasure of them at the kings commandement by sir Nicholas Carew, sir Robert Jerningham, sir Anthoine Wolone, and Nicholas Harne esquier chalengers. Against whome ran the marques of Orcester, and thirtie with him as defendants. When these ambassadours should returne, they had great rewards given them of the king, and so toke their leaue and departed. Shortly after the king sent sir Thomas Bullen, vicount Rochford, and sir Anthoine Wolone knight, as ambassadours from him into France,

which came to Paris to the bishop of Bath that late there for the king as legier.

Then the se they went to the court, and saw the French king in person swaue to keepe the league & amitie concluded betwene him & the king of England. Also the king sent sir Francis Poynt knight ambassadour from him to Charles the emperour, and with him went Clarenceaux king of armes, to demand the one halfe of the treasure and ordnance which was taken at Paula, so much as that warre was made as well at the kings charge as at the emperours. Also they were commanded to demand one of the French kings sonnes, which lay in hostage with the emperour, that is to wit, the duke of Orleans to be deliuered to the king of England; and further that he shuld call backe his armie out of Italie. And if it were so that he refused these reasonable requests, then should they in the kings name denounce open warre against him. The English merchants liked the matter nothing at all, that there should be anie warres betwixt the emperour and the king of England. And where they were desired by the cardinall to keepe their marts at Calis, they would not assent thereto.

In this intant time great warres were managed betwene the pope and other princes, amongst whom the duke of Burbon (of whom you haue heard often mention before in sundrie actions) letteng a great power, led the same towards Rome, and incamped within the medow nere to the citie, from whence with the insolencie of a souldier hee sent a trumpet to demand passage of the pope through the citie of Rome, to go with his armie to the realme of Naples. The morning following upon the point of the daie, by the consideration of his case and the aduersities thereof, he found there remained no other hope for his affaires, than to be resolute to releue the afflictions of his armie, and according to the opportunity that was offered by the citie of Rome, either to die or to vanquish. In which resolution pushed on more and more by the murmurs and exclamations of his souldiers, in whom he could not discerne which was greater, either their insolencies or their necessities, he drew nere the suburbs by the waie of the mounteine and Santo Spirito, where he began to giue a furious assault. Wherein he seemed to haue the fauour of fortune, who made him present his armie in more suertie by the benefit of a thicke mist, which being risen before daie, and increased with degrees of fog and thicknesse, became such a couer to his whole campe, that his souldiers were not discerned till they were nere the place where they began to giue the assault.

The duke of Burbon through a last despaire of his estate advanced before all his companies, either for that he had no other expectation of refuge, in case he returned not victorious, or else by his owne example he thought to call on with a greater courage the lanceknights, who it seemed went not resolutely to the seruice. But such was his destinie to determine his life & his glorie together, or rather such the reward of his wilfull forwardnes, which for the most part becometh wretched effects upon such as take not to accompanie their valour with counsell and discretion. In the beginning of the assault he was stricken with a bullet of an harquebuz, of which wound he fell downe dead to the earth, receiuing instantlie upon his bodie and life the price of the action, which contrarie to all iustice and pietie he went about to execute. But much lesse that his death did abate or diminish, seeing it did inflame and redouble the courage of his souldiers, who fighting with a wonderfull constancie the space of two houres, made waie at last by their hands and weapons to enter the suburbs, wherein they were

Ambassadours into France.

In ambassages to the emperour

English merchants.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 1060 The duke of Burbon incampeth nere Rome.

The duke of Burbon slain at the assault of Rome.

were not onelic holpen by the weaknesse of the rampires which were great and generall, but also they found helpe in the slender resistance which the defendants made.

The morall of the foze laid action worth the noting.

An experience of right good doctrine, to such as haue not as yet gotten by the benefit of examples past, the knowledge of things present, who in that action maie discerne what proprietie of difference is betwene the vertue of souldiours exercised and trained in war, and armies newlie and hastily leuied, and compounded of the multitude of a people more wilfull than skilfull; and by so much lesse apt to be drawen vnder discipline, by how much more by their nature and custome they are seldome conformable to anie good order. For there was at the defense of the suburbs one part of the youth of Rome, vnder the ensignes of the people; notwithstanding that manie of the Gobelins & faction of Colonno desired, or at least did not feare the victorie of the imperials. They hoped in regard of their faction, to receiue no harme or offense by the victors: the same being the cause whie they proceeded to coldie in the defense. Neuerthelesse, for that according to the rules of warre, it is a hard matter to take towne without artilleries, there died of the assailants, partlie by that want, and partlie through their wilfull forwardnesse, about a thousand footmen; who hauing once by their valor made the waie open to enter in, all the defendants fled before them as men whose feare was far aboue anie other sense or passion in them.

Rome taken and sacked.

In which disorder, some toke the waie which his fortune and not his wit laid out for him: some in the assaultment seeking to flie, who durst no more fight, were slaine by the enimic afore he could resolve vpon the waie of his safetie; some either better prepared, or more happily preferred, found that safetie in running away, which they could not but doubt if they had longer endured the fight: and some with that resolution which their present calamitie would suffer, ran by heapes towards the castell, where in place of rescue they found a feare conformable to their otone: in somuch as all things being reduced to confusion and manifest flight, the suburbs were entierlie abandoned & left a preie to the victors. And the person of the pope, who expected with great deuotion in the palace of Vatican what would be the issue of the assault, hearing that the enimies were entered, had also (with the others) his passions of feare & frailtie, and in that timorous contemplation of his owne perill, he fled with certeine cardinales to the castell.

The pope with certeine cardinales fle to the castell of saint Angelo.

His feare kept him from being resolute in a perill that was so desperate, neither did he thinke, that with the presence and maiestie of his person, though it was couered with the haile of the highest dignitie on earth, he was able to put by the danger, which the valor and fidelitie of his souldiours could not defend with their weapons. Where he consulted with the cardinales, whether it were more for his safetie to remaine there, or during the furie of the assaultment, to retire with the light horsemen of his garr into some place of more suertie by the waie of Rome. But he, who was appointed by destinie, to be an example of the calamities that maie thunder vpon popes, and how fraile is the authoritie and maiestie of that see, being certified by the relation of Berard de Padoa, who was fled from the armie imperiall, that the duke of Bourbon was dead, and that the whole armie standing abated in courage for the death of their capitaine, desired to come to accord with him. In which matter they sent out men to parlee with the principallies there, he wretchedlie left there all his councelles to go awaie, both he and his captains remaining no lesse irresolute in the provisions for defense, than they had bene slow in

the expeditions.

So that the daie following, the Spaniards neither seeking orders nor counsell to defend the quarter beyond Tiber, entered the place without anie resistance. And from thence, not finding anie impediments to stop their victorie, the same evening they entered the cite of Rome by the bridge Nisio, where, except such as reposed in the confidence of their faction, and certeine cardinales, who for that they bare a name to embrace the emperours quarrell, beleued to find more suertie than the others, all the residue of the court and cite (as happeneth in accidents so furious) was conuerted into fleeing and confusion. But the souldiours being within the cite, which they knew wanted nothing to make them right glorious, and well satisfied of all things appertaining to their desires, they began to omit no time to execute the thing they had so dearely bought. Curie one ran to pillage with the same vnbibled libertie, which in such cases maketh souldiours both insolent and impious.

There was small care or regard borne either to the name of friends, factions, or fauourers; and much lesse was respected the authoritie of cardinales and prelates, or dignitie of temples and monasteries; and lastlie, not reserved from violation, the holie relikes brought thither from all parts of the world; yea euen things sacred, and speciallie dedicated, were profaned from their thrones and holie places, and made subiect to the furious wills and discretion of the souldiours. It is not onelic impossible to reaccount, but also to imagine the calamities of that cite raised to a wonderfull greatnesse, and appointed by Gods ordinance to suffer manie fortunes and directions, hauing bene sacked by the Goths within ix. C. and lxxx. yeares. It is hard to particulate the greatnesse of the preie, both for the generall wealth and riches which the greedy hands of the souldiours had made vp in heapes, and for other things more rare and precious than one out of the store-houses of merchants and courtiers. But the matter which made the spoile infinit in value, was the qualitie and great number of prisoners redeemed with most rich and huge ransomes.

And to make by a full tragedie of miserie and infamie, the lanceknights being so much the more insolent and cruell, by how much they bare hatred to the name of the church of Rome, toke prisoners certeine prelates, whom with great contempt and indignitie they set vpon asses and leane mules, and with their faces reuered to the crows of the beastes, they led them thorough the cite of Rome, appareled with the habits and markes of their dignitie: yea they passed manie of them to cruell torments, who either died in the furie of the action, or at least with the painefulnesse thereof they lined not long after, first yielding a rancome, and afterwards rendering their liues. The generall slaughter as well at the assault as in the rage of sacking, was about foure thousand bodies. All the palaces of the cardinales were sacked, except some particulars, who to saue the merchants that were retired thither with their goods, together with the persons and gods of manie others referred of the generall calamitie, made promise of great summes of monie. To whom notwithstanding was vled this iniquitie, that some of them that had compounded with the Spaniards, were afterwards sacked by the lanceknights, or at least constrained to a second rancome.

The ladie marquesse of Mantua compounded for hir palace for the summe of fiftie thousand ducats, which were paid by the merchants and others retired thither: of which summe the rumour ran, that Ferrand hir sonne had ten thousand for his share.

The Spaniards entered to Rome by the bridge Nisio.

The rest of the report of this bidious through favouring of superstition.

This spectacle could not but afford plenty of hart-graue.

Compounding with the Spaniards to save certeine places vnder their

The cardinall of Siemita dedicated in a perpetuall deuotion to the name of the emperour, after he had agreed with the Spaniards, as well for him selfe as for his palace, was afterwards made prisoner by the lanceknights, who made bootie and pzeie of his palace; and afterwards leading him all naked with buffets and bastanadoes into the borough, he was deliuered to redeme his life out of their hands, with a promise of five thousand ducats. The cardinales Pomeria and Donero passed under almost the like calamitie, who being prisoners to the lanceknights, were rated at a ranfome which they paid, after they had bene in a vile spectacle caried in procession thorough the towne of Rome.

This furie of souldiours executed in a place of so great riches and profit, could endure no dispensation of anie sort or qualitie of men, seeing the prelates and cardinales, Spanissh and Germans, who made themselves assured that the souldiours of their nation would spare them from oppression and taration, were taken and passed by the same measure of miserie and calamitie as others did. Right pittifull were the crienys and lamentations of the women of Rome: and no lesse worthy of compassion, the calamitie of nunnys and virgins professed, whom the souldiours rauished by troopes out of their houses to satisfie their lust, no age, no sex, no dignitie or calling was free from the violation of souldiours, in whom it was doubtfull whether bare more rule, the humour of crueltie to kill, or the appetite of lust to deuoure, or lastlie, the rage of couetousnesse to rob and spoile: yea in the violation of these women might be discerned a confirmation of the iudgements of God hid den from mortall men, for that he suffered to be deliuered by to the violence of men, barbarous and bloody, the renowned chastitie of women professed and virgins.

To this compassion was ioined the infinite clamours of men forced against all law of humanitie, partlie to wrest from them unreasonable ranfomes, and partlie to disclose their goods which they had hid den from the raine of the souldiours. All these things, sacraments and reliks of saints, whereof the churches were full, being despoiled of their ornaments, were pulled downe, and laid vpon the earth, suffering no small profanations, by the vile hands of the lanceknights. And whatsoeuer remained vpon the pzeies and spoilings of the imperiales, which were things but base and vile, were raked and caried away by the pezants and tenants of the lands of the Colonnais, whose insolencie caried them into Rome during the generall furie. Onelie the cardinall of Colonna arriuing the daie after, preferred in his compassion the honoz of manie women that happilie were fled for rescue into his house. The rumoz went that the valuation and pzeie of this sacke in gold, silver, and iewels, amounted to more than a million of ducats, but the matter of ranfomes contained a greater quantitie.]

When Rome was thus taken by the imperiales, and the pope brought into captiuitie, therewith the king was so incensed against the emperour by the instigation of the cardinall, that he had determined not to spare anie treasure for the popes deliuerance. There rose a secret brute in London that the kings confessor, doctor Longland, and diuerse other great clerks had told the king that the marriage betwene him and the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur was not lawfull: whereupon the king should sue a diuorfe, and marrie the duchesse of Alans son sister to the French king at the towne of Calis this summer: and that the viscount Rochford had brought with him the picture of the said ladie. The king was offended with those tales; and sent for sir

Thomas Seimozimatoz of the citie of London, secretly charging him to see that the people ceased from such talke.

But what so euer the commons talked, it was determined that the cardinall should go ouer into France as high ambassadour for the king, and to take with him twelue score thousand pounds, to be employed on the warres to be made by the confederats against the emperour, if he would not condescend to such demands as the English ambassadours on the kings behalfe should exhibit vnto him. The third of Iulie this triumphant cardinall passed thorough London with twelue hundred horse towards the sea side, and comming vnto Canturburie rested there, and there declared to the people what had chanced vnto the pope, and caused the monks of Chiffes church to sing their Letanie after this maner: *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente papa, &c.* Then he exhorted the people to fast and praise for the popes deliuerance, accordinglie as he had already sent commissions vnto all the bishops within the realme to follow that order, which was to fast three daies in the weeke, and to vse in euery parish solemne processions. The eleuenth of Iulie the cardinall took shipping at Douer, and landed the same daie at Calis, from whence he departed the two and twentieth of Iulie, and with him was the bishop of London Cuthbert Tunstall, the lord Sands chamberleine to the king, the earle of Derby, sir Henrie Guilford, sir Thomas Pope, with manie other knights and esquiers, in all to the number of twelue hundred horse, and of cariages there were foure score wagons, and three score mules and sumpter horses.

He that is desirous to vnderstand with what honour this triumphant cardinall was receiued in all places as he passed thorough Picardie by order giuen by the French king, maie read thereof at large in the chronicles of maister Edward Hall. At Amiens he was receiued by the French king himselfe, and by his mother with all other chiefe peres of France. There was nothing forgot that might do him honour or pleasure. But to the effect of his businesse. After he had shewed his commission, they fell in counsell, and in the end grew to a full conclusion of a league to be accorded and established betwixt the kings of England and France: the covenants and articles whereof were drawne and written vp in a faire charter, which was sealed in solemne wise, and deliuered vnto the cardinals by the kings owne hand.

After this, it was agreed, that Mdet de Foix, com-montie called monsieur de Lawtrech, should go into Italie with a puissant armie to procure the popes deliuerance, & repell the emperours power out of all the partie of Italie, if he refused such reasonable offers & articles of agreement as were drawen, & should be exhibited to him. In this armie went sir Robert Ferrningham, John Carew of Hakam, & 80 other English gentlemen, which were sent by the cardinall from Amiens. When the armie was assembled, the cardinall deliuered the monie which he had brought out of England with him in barrels, with the which the armie was paid two moneths before hand, & the surplussage was deliuered to sir Robert Ferrningham, which was called treasure of the wars. This armie was called in Latine, *Exercitus Angliae & Gallorum regum pro pontifice Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to saie, The armie of the kings of England and France, gathered for the deliuerance of the bishop of Rome: and so was it reputed.

In this meane time the English ambassadours, sir Francis Poins and Clarenceaux the herald, were come into Spaine, and there to the emperour in the towne of Caste Delisse the first of Iulie deliuered

The cardinall goeth ambassadour into France.

A procession. A new deuised letanie.

The cardinall is honoured by the French king.

A league betwene England and France.

Monsieur de Lawtrech.

Sir Robert Ferrningham.

The name of the armie sent into Italie.

The clamour and lamentation of the women of Rome, which the souldiours offered to the French king.

The value of the sacke in gold, silver, and iewels.

The kings marriage brought in question.

The emperours answer to the ambassadours.

the kings letters, and further declared their messages as they had in commandement. The emperor made to them a courteous answer for that time, and said he would take counsell in the matter, and then should they receive further answer, and in the meane time they might repose them. Within a daie or two after he called to him doctor Lee that was the kings ambassadour legier there with him, & the said sir Francis Poins, and said to them; My lords we haue perceived the king your masters demands, which are weightie and of great importance. Wherefore we intend with all speed to write to the king our uncle, and when we haue received answer from him, we shall deliuer you of such things as you require, praising you in the meane time to take patience.

The emperor protracted time of purpose, because he was loth to answer directly to such grievous and most irkesome complaints, because he gessed by the course of things that the French king would shortly be constrained to agree to those conditions of peace, which he at the first had offered. But the French king & the cardinall being together at Amiens, amongst other things determined there betwixt them in counsell, devised further what articles of offer should be sent to the emperor, which if he refused, then open defiance to be made unto him in name of both the kings. The articles were these in effect.

Articles proposed to the emperor being in number sixe.

1 First that the French king should paie for his ransom 25000 crownes: one wayter calleth it two millions. 2 Also that he should release all the pension that he had in Naples, with all the right of the same. 3 Also that he should neuer claime title to the dutchie of Spillane. 4 Also he should release the superiortie of Flanders for ever, and the right which he had to the citie of Tornele. 5 Also he should release all the homages of all persons within those countries. 6 Also to withdraw his armie out of Italie. 7 Also to forsake the aid of the Switzers against the emperor. 8 Also to take no more part with Robert de la Marck against the emperor. 9 Also neuer to aid the king of Navarre against him, although he had married the kings sister. 10 Also neuer to aid the duke of Gelderland, nor to challenge the same dutchie. 11 Also to aid the emperor with ships and men to his coronation. 12 Also to marie the ladie Elenor quene of Portugall sister to the emperor. 13 Also that the Dolphine should marie the said quenes daughter. 14 Also that if the French king had any children male by the said quene, then the dutchie of Burgognie to remaine to the said child being male. 15 Also that the French king should be friend to the emperor & his friends, and enemie to his enemies.

Articles sent to the English ambassadours in Spaine.

The cardinall returneth out of France.

Ambassadours from the French king.

These with manie other articles, which were not openlie knowne, were sent to the bishop of Tarbe, and to the vicount of Thuraine ambassadours with the emperor from the French king. Other articles were also sent to the English ambassadours being in Spaine, as to moue the emperor to some reasonable end with the French king: and that the king of England would release unto him all the summes of monie due to him, as well by the emperor as Maximilian his grandfather as himselfe, and take the French king as debtor for the same. If he would not agree to these offers, then was it accorded, that the French king should marrie the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, and they both to be enemies to the emperor. When all these things were concluded, the cardinall took his leave of the French king & his mother, and with great rewards returned, comming to Richmond, where the king then laie, the last of September.

In October, there came ambassadours from the French king into England, the lord Annas de Spont-

merancie, great master of the said French kings house, the bishop of Baion chiefe president of Rone, and monsieur de Humiers accompanied with sixte gentlemen well appointed. These ambassadours were received with all honour that might be devised. On Alhalloves daie the king comming to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where the cardinall sang masse, stode before the high altar in the presence of the French ambassadours to keepe and per-
10 forme the league. On sondaie the tenth of Nouember, the king being elected knight of the order of St. Michael, received at Greenwich the said order by the hands of the great master of France, and monsieur Humiers that were companions of the same order: in like case as the French king the same daie at Paris received the order of the garter by the hands of the lord Lisle, doctor Tailor, master of the rolles, sir Nicholas Carew knight master of the kings hozles, sir Anthonie Woburn knight, and sir
20 Thomas Wriothesleie knight, otherwise called Cartier king of armes, the which were sent thither with the whole habit, collar, and other habillements of the order as appertained.

After that the French ambassadours had bene highlie feasted, banketed, and intertained, with all honoz and pastime convenient, the great master and all his companie took leave of the king, and with great rewards returned into France, leaving the bishop of Baion behind them, who abode ambassadour legier in England. In this moneth of Nouem-
30 ber, Arthur Bilneie, Gesteire Rone, and one Carret that spake against the popes authoritie, were abused by the cardinall. By reason of the great wet that fell in the sowing time of the corne, and in the beginning of the last yeare, now in the beginning of this, corne so failed, that in the citie of London for a while bread was scant, by reason that commissioners appointed to see order taken in thres about, ordeined that none should be conueied out of one shire into an
40 other.

Which order had like to haue bred disorder, for that enerie countie and place was not provided alike, and namelie London, that maketh hir provision out of other places, felt great inconvenience hereby, till the merchants of the Stiliard, and others out of
50 the Dutch countries, brought such plentie, that it was better cheape in London than in any other part of England, for the king also relieved the citizens in time of their need with a thousand quarters by waie of lone of his owne provision. The scarcitie at the first was more than the dearth. For in the beginning of their want, wheat was onelie at sixtene shillings a quarter, & from thence it rose to twentie shillings, and after to six and twentie shillings eight pence the quarter, till remedie by outward provision was procured and had. In this meane while the lord Lautrech with his armie was entred into Italie, where how
60 he sped, and what came of that expedition, we shall find in the histories of France and Italie, and there fore in this place I passe it over. Sir Francis Poins knight, in the end of December, returned out of Spaine into England, leaving Claruccaux behind him to bring further answer.

The emperor at the request of this sir Francis Poins, whomade the same in name of his master the king of England, was contented to release
twelve articles, which were reputed most preiudiciall to the French king, onelie to gratifie the king of England: but the cardinall kept the king still in displeasure toward the emperor, for the fauour which he bare to the French king, whose onelie purposes he sought to aduance. The articles which were drawne at Amiens when the cardinall was there, were exhibited to the emperor by the French ambassadours, and
bicause

The king of England receiveth the order of St. Michael.

The French king receiveth the order of the garter.

Bilneie and Carret abused.

Dearth of corne in London and other shires.

The emperor releaseth twelve articles to the French king.

because he refused the same, word was sent to Clarence king of armes, to make defiance to the emperor. Whereupon on the Wednesday the two and twentieth of Januarie, Guien king of armes to the French king, and Clarence king of armes to the king of England, being in the cite of Burges in Spaine, came to the court of Charles the elect emperor, about nine of the clocke in the morning, and there did request of his maiestie, that it would please him to appoint them an houre of audience.

The lord de Chaour by ordinance from his maiestie gaue them answer, that it should be about ten of the clocke before none the same daie. And at the same houre his maiestie came into the great hall of his court accompanied with diuerse prelates, dukes, marquesses, earles, barons, and other great lords and good personages, of diuerse nations of his kingdomes and seignories in great number. The emperor sitting in a chaire prepared according to his dignitie, the two kings of armes of France & England being in the nether end of the hall, holding vpon their left arms each one his coat of armes, did make three solemn reuerences accustomed, with knee to the ground. And when they were at the lowest staire before his imperiall maiestie, Clarence king of armes of England, hauing the words in both their names, spake as followeth.

Sir, following the three edicts inuolable kept and obserued by your predecessors emperours of Rome, kings, princes, and capitains, Guien king of armes of the most christened king; and also Clarence king of armes to the king of England our soueraigne & naturall lords: we presenting our selues before your sacred maiestie, for to declare certeine things from the said kings our maisters: beseech your maiestie, that having regard to the said lawes according to your benignitie and mercie, that it would please you to giue vs sure access and good treating in your countries, lands, and seignories, attending your answer, with sure conduct to returne vnto the countries, lands, and seignories of our said soueraigne lords. The emperor then bad them saie on what former the kings your maisters haue giuen you in charge: your priuileges shall be kept, none shall do you any displeasure within my kingdomes or territories. After this, Guien read a writing signed with the hand of the said Guien king of armes.

A copie of the said writing
read as followeth.

Sir, the most christened king my soueraigne and naturall lord hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath conceived a marvellous greife and displeasure of that, that in place of amitie, which he so much desired to haue with you, the former enmitie in full force still remaineth. By the which he seeth and perceiueth, that the evils and inconueniences long since begun, shall continue and augment, not onelie vnto you, and vnto him, with your vassals and subjects, but also vnto all christendome: and that the forces and youths which the one and the other ought to employe against the enemies of the faith, shall be spent to the effusion of christian blood, and in offence vnto God: and that you and he endowd with so manie gracions gifts, shall not introy the benefits, which it pleased the son of God to leane to vs, by his testament, which is peace, thereof all godnesse proceedeth: and in place of the same shall haue war, wherof foloweth all calamities, dangers, inconueniences, pauerities, and miseries. Wherewith you shall submit your selfe vnto them

whome ye may command, and shall hazard the blood and substance of your subjects in the purses of strangers. Euerie one as for himselfe ought to haue regard thereto, and for the short time that we haue here to liue, not to go about to depriue himselfe of that tranquillitie, ioy, god regard and pastime, that the princes may haue by peace: and by following the warre, to be in paueritie, heauinesse, and hazard of losse of goods, honours, and liues: and that worst is, after they haue had euill daies in this world, to be in danger of eternall paine in the world to come, thorough them that haue bene the cause thereof, and that would not yeld vnto reason.

The king my soueraigne lord is ready to put himselfe for his part in all deuoir, and more than so, to haue peace and amitie with you: and by this means peace shall be procured throughout all christendome, whereby men might do God good seruice, in making warre on the Infidels, which will be so thankfull to him, that it will put off the punishment of faults, which haue bene committed heretofore by reason of the warres, which haue too long indured betwene you two, and not yet like to cease, considering the termes which you hold and seeke to mainteine, sith on the one part, certeine aduoluing themselves on you, haue assailed and taken by force the cite of Rome, which is the place of the holie and apostolike see, where they haue committed and done all the mischief that might be deuised.

The churches and reliques were profaned, the pope holding saint Peters seat, as vicar of God on earth, taken and put out of his libertie. By means whereof, they that haue committed and executed the said execrable deeds and wickednesse, with their authors and fautors, be fallen and run in paines of right; and they that hold them captiues, beare themselves on you; and he that doth keepe them, hath bene and is of the principall captains, of whome you haue bene serued in your warres in Italie and other parts. And on the other side, the difference which at this time resteth betwene you and the king my soueraigne and naturall lord, is principallie vpon the ransom and recouerie of the princes his sonnes, which you hold for hostages of the same. He hath oftentimes offered, and yet doth offer to paie to you, and giue to you, not onelie that which may be said to be reasonable, and in such cases accustomed, but also more largelie.

You ought not to stand vpon things which by force and constraint he hath promised, the which iustlie and honestlie he maie not performe nor accomplish: you had a great deale more gained, to haue taken the said ransom which was offered vnto you, than to continue the warre, and to giue occasion of all the evils and inconueniences that dallie happen thereby thorough christendome. You see the king of England, with whome he hath brotherlie amitie for euer, and also the Venetians, Florentines, and duke of War, and other princes and potentats, following and holding the partie of the said christian king, for that they see he yeldeth to reason, and by reason you will not thereto incline, the vniuersall peace can not be concluded in christendome. The enemies of the faith gaine countries: all Italie is in armes, blood and rapine, and the apostolical see in trouble: so that if on your part you seeke not reuerdie, and that things do thus continue as they haue begun, it is to be feared that God will be angrie.

And for as much (sir) as to the declarations which the aboue said princes haue offered vnto you, and the presentations which the said christian king hath made vnto you, you haue refused to giue eare, thereby to come to some accord with him, and to content your selfe with a ransom more than reasonable: also for

The inconueniences of warre moued to the emperor.

The herald prosecuteth the state of Rome & the pope in lamentable sort.

The herald moueth the emperor with the king of Englands example.

The herald commeth to the better diff of his message.

that you will not render unto his god brother, perpetuall alie and confederat, the king of England, that which is his, let the pope at libertie, and leaue Italy in peace and tranquillitie, he hath commanded me to declare, signifie, and notifie unto you, his great græfe and displeasure, with his said god brother the king of England, that they will hold and take you for their enimie, declaring all maner of treaties and couenants heretofore passed betwene them and you, in all that concerneth your profit & utilitie to be nothing, and that for his part he will not obserue nor keepe the same.

what the king of England desireth of the emperor in the French kings behalf.

Naic he hath resolved by all meanes that he may imagine with his good friends, alies, & confederats, & with all his forces to indamage you, your countries, lands, and bassals by warre, or otherwise, in such sort as he maie deuise, untill the time that you haue restored unto him his children, with honest meanes and couenants touching his ransom, delivered the pope, rendered unto the king of England that you hold of him, and acquitted the summe which you owe him, and suffer his alies and confederats to liue in peace, rest, and tranquillitie, and protesteth before God and all the world, that he doth not wish nor desire the warre, but that it wholie displeaseth him, and is not therefore the cause of the euill that is or maie come thereof, considering that he hath put, and will put himselfe vnto all reason, as he hath offered and signified vnto you and to all other christian princes, and yet doth.

The king of England meaning and the French kings for the returne of the emperours subjects out of their countries, and contrariwise.

And of all this he calleth God (who knoweth all things) to witnesse. And for that vnder colour of the publication of the pretended trette of Madrid made, he being yet prisoner in Spaine, diuerse of your subjects, and of them of the king of England, and of his haue carried their merchandizes and other goods into the kingdomes, freites, and seignories the one of the other, whereby maie insue great damages, if of them no mention should be made in this present declaration and signification: my soueraine lord and the said king of England be contented that libertie be giuen vnto all subjects being in the said kingdomes, countries, freites, and seignories, to retire and depart from thence with all their goods and merchandizes within forty daies after this intimation made. Doubted that you shall do the like vnto their subjects in all & euerie their merchandizes. Given the eleuenth daie of Nouember 1527, & signed Guien king of armes.

The emperours words to Guien the French kings herald.

The emperor after the defiance giuen by Guien, spake in this sort: I do vnderstand that which you haue read from the king your maister, & I do much maruell why he doth desire me, for he being my prisoner by right warre, and I hauing his faith by reason he can not do it. It is vnto me a noueltie to be defied of him, seeing it is sir or seven yeares that he hath warred against me, and yet giuen me no defiance. And sith that by the grace of God I haue defended my selfe from him (as he hath seene, and euerie one else) without that he hath giuen me anie warning, or considering the reason and iustification whereon I do rest my selfe, for the which I thinke I haue not otherwise deserved towards God: I hope that at this time now you aduertise me of it, being aduertised I shall defend my selfe the better, in such sort that the king your maister shall do me no hurt: for sith he doth desire me, I am halfe assured.

How the emperor was affected for the pope in his captiuitie.

And touching that which you spake of the pope, none hath bene more sorrowfull than I of that which was done, and it was without my knowledge or commandement: and that which hath bene done, was done by vniuersal people, without obedience to anie of my captains. And yet I aduertise you, that

the pope long since is set at libertie, and yesterday I had certaine newes of it. And touching the sonnes of your maister, he knoweth that I haue them for pledges; and also my lords his ambassadors know well, that the fault hath not lien in me that they haue not bene deliuered. And as for that of the king of England my god brother and vncle, I beleue if it be so as you do say, that he is not well informed of things passed: and if he were, yet could I not saie as you writing containeth. I desire to send him my reasons for to aduertise him of all the truth. And I beleue when he shall know it, that he will be vnto me as he hath bene.

The emperor's commandment to the king of England's displeasure.

I neuer denied the monie which I borrowed of him, and I am ready to paie it as by reason & right I am bound: and thanked be God I haue enough to do it. Peruerthelesse, if he will make warre against me, it will be to my great displeasure, & I cannot but defend my selfe. I paie to God that he giue me no more occasion than I thinke I haue giuen vnto him. And to the rest, for that your writing is great, and the paper sheweth it selfe to be gentle, seeing that they haue written what they would, you shall giue me the writing, whereby more particularlie I maie answer in another paper, wherein shall be nothing but truth. This answer being made by his maiestie with his owne mouth vnto Guien king of armes, the said Guien took his cote of armes that he had on his left arme (as before is said) and put it on, and then Clarenceur king of armes of England said vnto his maiestie, not by writing, but by mouth, as followeth.

The English heralds meffage delivered by word of mouth.

Sir, the king my soueraine lord hath commanded me to say vnto you, that seeing the necessitie of peace in the christian religion, as well by reason of the inforcements manie yers past, begun by the great Turke enimie vnto our faith, which by force of armes hath taken awaie from the christians the cite and Ile of Rhodes, one of the principall bulwarks of christendome, and in Hungarie the fortress of Belgrad, and part of the countrie there, as also by heresies and new sects, of late risen in diuerse places of christendome; and likewise knowing the great warres being kindled in all parts, by means of which all christendome is in trouble, confusion, and marvellous diuision, and not long since by your people and ministers and souldiers in your armie, and vnder your captains the holie cite of Rome hath bene sacked and robbed, the person of our holie father the pope taken prisoner, and kept by your people, the cardinals likewise taken and put to ransom, the churches robbed, bishops, priests, and people of religion put to the sword, and so manie other euils, cruelties, and inhumane facts committed by your people, that the aire and the land are infected therewith.

The report of the heralds faith our to Guien king of France, lib. 18.

And it is verie like, that God is verie greatly stirred and prouoked vnto ire. And to speake after the maner of men, if by amendment it be not pacified, innumerable euils and inconueniences shall happen vnto all christendome. And for that the rot and increasement of the said warre, proceedeth of the contentions and debates betwene you, and the most christened king his god brother and perpetuall alie: to make an end of which debates, the king my soueraine lord hath sent his ambassadors and others, vnto the most christened king his god brother, with whom he hath done so much, that for the loue that he hath borne him; he hath made vnto you so great offers, and so reasonable, that you cannot, nor ought

The king of England's answer to the French king's herald.

reasonable to refuse them, as conditions and offers for his ransom exceeding the ransom accustomed of all kings. And if in this, the consideration of peace had not bene, an euill example might thereof grow for other kings and christened princes subject vnto the like fortune.

The heralds which an argument by some from benedictus pater and the emperor.

Of which offers and conditions he hath likewise advertised you by his ambassadours, praised and besought you for the honour of God, and the wealth of all christendome, for the benefits and pleasures that he hath done vnto you diuerse waies; and that in time of your great need, that it would please you to accept the said offers, and make an end of the said warres, that haue so long endured. Likewise as a christened prince bound to the protection of the pope, and so apostolike, and consequently to the deliuerance of his holinesse (whom you cannot, nor ought to keepe prisoner without great offense) that you would restore his holinesse vnto a full and entier libertie. Also he hath oftentimes shewed by diuerse obligations, and other meanes, how you are indebted vnto him in diuerse great summes of monie, that he hath giuen and lent you in your necessitie, requiring you to make payment.

Of all which things you haue made no account from time to time, but deferred it, and held in suspense the ambassadours of the king my soueraigne, without hauing regard to Gods honour, and the necessitie of all christendome, and the reuerence that ye ought to haue vnto the holie seate and person of our holie father the pope, the vicar of God on earth, or vnto the pleasures that you haue receiued of him, or vnto your faith and promise that you so oftentimes haue made. And for this cause the king my said soueraigne, by honest reason and iustice constrained, by great and ripe deliberation of his counsell, hoping for a final conclusion, hath caused againe to be presented offers more large and to greater advantage than the others before, to put you in deuotion, and to auoid and take awaie all occasion to deferre and dissimble to come to reason.

The heralds of England shew the emperor the king of England his present communication the offers refused.

Which offers, and the augmenting of the same, haue bene made and made againe, with all demonstrations and honest reasons that haue bene possible. And in the end there hath bene made vnto you instance for the deliuerie of our holie father, whom you haue restrained or caused to be restrained in place of deliuerie, which is very strange, & against the true estate & dutie of a christian prince. So that the king my soueraigne, & the most christian king his brother and perpetuall alie, can no longer indure it with their honours and dutie towards God and the church. And seeing you will not condescend to reason, nor accept the said offers being more than reasonable, nor satisfie the king my said soueraigne of the debts by you due, as you are bound, he hath concluded with the said most christened king his god brother & perpetuall alie, & other of his confederats, to doe his endeavour to constrain you by force & might of armes to deliuer our holie father, & likewise the children of France, whom you hold, in pateng you a reasonable ransom, and to satisfie him of that you owe him.

The disposition of the king of England to the pope and the french king.

Therefore the king my soueraigne lord, as a true and constant prince, willing to keepe inuolable his faith, which he hath promised vnto the said christian prince and other his alies, and not willing to leaue the person of our said holie father the pope in captivity, as also will not the said christian king: they two doe summon you at this time for all, to accept these last offers, for the deliuerance of the said children of France, and for the wealth of an vniuersall peace, & to deliuer the person of our said holie father, & also to paie speedilie and without anie more delaie, the debts by you due vnto the king my soueraigne.

And if you refuse these small offers, and also to deliuer the person of our said holie father, and paie the said debts, as a good christian prince and lover of peace is bound to doe; the king my soueraigne, and the said christian king his god brother, not without great sorrow and displeasure, doe declare to be your enemies, and so hereafter doe hold and repute you for such one, denouncing vnto you warre by sea and land, and besieging you with all their forces.

The defiance intimated to the emperor by the herald of England.

10 Nevertheless, considering that there be diuerse of your subjects, and great quantitie of their goods in the realmes of England and France, and other lands & lordships of the said princes: likewise there be diuerse of the subjects of the kings of England and France; and of their goods in your kingdomes, countries, lands, and lordships, the which may re-
20 ceive aswell of the one part as of the other, great and irrecoverable hurts and damages, if without advertisements and monition they should be taken and deteined, the kings maiestie my soueraigne, and the most christian king of France his god brother be willing that libertie be giuen vnto your subjects being in their kingdomes, countries, and lordships, for to retire and depart with all their goods and merchandise, within fourtie daies after this intimation, so that the like libertie and permission be in like sort granted to their subjects. To this defiance of the king at armes of England the emperours maiestie did answer in these words.

Libertie granted to the emperours subjects in England and France to returne to their owne countries, and the like demanded on the contrary part.

The emperours answer to the English heralds oration.

I Do vnderstand that which you haue declared, and I cannot thinke that if the king of England were thoughtlie advertised of things as they haue passed, and of the reason to which I haue yielded, he would not saie that which you haue said, and therefore mine intention is to advertise him. As to that which you
40 spake of the pope, I was neuer consenting to his destruction, which was neuer done by my commandement: & I giue you to vnderstand, that he is deliuered, and I am sorie for the harmes that were done at the time when he was taken, of the which I take my selfe not to be in fault, as I haue told the king at armes of France, And as to the deliuerance of the french kings sons, where means haue bene made for their deliuerance, I haue bene readie to giue
50 eare thereto, and the fault resteth not in me, for that the peace hath not bene concluded.

But now that you tell me that the king your master will force me to deliuer them, I will answer thereto in other sort than hitherto I haue done, and I trust to keepe them in such wise, that by force I shall not need to deliuer them: for I am not accustomed to be forced in things which I doe. As to the debt which the king of England hath lent me, I haue
60 neuer denied it, neither doe I denie it, but am readie to paie it as right requireth, as I haue caused it to be declared vnto him, and I my selfe haue shewed no lesse to his ambassadours, and deliuered my saying by writing, and I cannot beleue, that for such things (which I refuse not to accomplish) he will make war against me, and if he will so doe it will grieue me, but yet I must defend my selfe: and I praise God that the king your master giue me not greater occasion to make him war, than I haue giuen him. You shall deliuer me in writing, that which you haue said, to the which I will answer by writing particularlie.

The emperours modestie in this point notable.

This answer made by the emperor to the king of armes Clarenceur, the said Clarenceur took his coat of armes, which he had lieng on his left arme,

The English
herald is com-
manded by the
emperour to
leave his oration
behind him in writ-
ting.

arme (as before is said) and put it upon him. The emperour herewith commanded him to deliver by writing into the hands of the lord of Buclans all that he had uttered by word of mouth, as is above expressed. Which Clarenceaur promised to do, so he did afterwards, signed with his owne hand, word for word. Clarenceaur hauing thus done his dutie, incontinentlie withdrew: but before his departure, the lord of Buclans said to him, and also to Guen, these words ensuing. Behold here this writing in my hand, containing the articles of the composition betwene the emperour and the pope.

Guic. pag. 1085
Accord betwene the
pope & the
emperours
agents.

That the pope should be no partie against the emperour, neither in the affaires of Millaine, nor in the kingdome of Naples. That he should accord unto the emperour the croisade in Spaine, and a tenth of the reuenues ecclesiastike through all his dominions. That to assure the obseruation of these things, Ostia should remaine in the hands of the emperour, and Ciuita Vecchia which Andrea Dore had left to him before. That he should assigne ouer to him Ciuita Castellana, a towne which had refused to receiue the imperials. Partio Perusquo procuror of the filike being entred within the rocke by secret commission from the pope, notwithstanding he made semblance of the contrarie. That he should also deliver ouer to him the rocke of Furlie, and to put into his hands for hostages Hypolito and Alexander his nephues, and till they were come from Parma the emperour to be possessed of the cardinals Pisani, Trisulco, and Gaddi, whome they led to the realme of Naples.

Deuote pay-
ments for the
pope to dis-
charge.

Furthermore, that he should make present payment to the lancesknights of three score thousand ducates, and to the Spaniards thirtie & five thousand. That in so doing they should let him come out at libertie with all the cardinals, and they to go out of Rome and out of the castell, atwaies interpreting to libertie when sooner they should be conueied in safetie to Vmbretto, Spoletto, or Peroufa. That within fiftene daies after his going out of Rome he should paie the like quantitie of monie to the lancesknights, and afterwards the residue within thre moneths to the Spaniards & lancesknights souldie, according to their shares and portions. Which residue together with the summes paid, amounted to more than three hundred and fiftie thousand ducats.

Guic. pag. 1085
The manner of
the popes go-
ing out of pri-
son.

This is the true copie (said the lord of Buclans) of the capitulation, made touching the deliuerance of the pope, and how he is deliuered, and departed from castell saint Angelo, the tenth of December last past: put it in your relation. The said king of armes answered; We will so do: and so for that time they parted. Here, because mention is made of the popes deliuerance out of prison, it shall not be amisse to set downe the manner thereof as it is reported by Guicciardine. All things hauing their orderlie expedition, & the resolution set downe, that the tenth of December the Spaniards should accompanie him into a place of suertie, he fearing some variation either for the ill mind which he knew don Hugo bare to him, or for anie other accident that might happen, the night before he stole secretly out of the castell in the closing of the euening, disguised in the attire of a merchant. Lewis de Consaguo who was in the paie of the emperour, taried for him in the medowes with a strong companie of harquebuziers, and with that gard did accompanie him to Montfalcon, where dismissing almost all his bands of footmen, he was led by the same Lewis euen to Vmbretto, into which citie he entred by night without the companie of anie one cardinal. An example worthy of consideration, and perhaps neuer happened since the church was great, that a pope should in that sort fall from so great a puissance and

reuerence, his eyes to behold the losse and sacke of Rome, his person to be turned ouer into captiuitie, and his whole estate reduced to the disposing of an other, and within few moneths after, to be restored & established in his former greatnesse. So great towards princes christian is the authoritie of the pope, and the respect which mortal men doe beare to him.

At the same instant that the heralds were at the emperours court, the emperor called before him the said Guen king of armes of France, and said to him as followeth. It is reason that you enjoy your priuileges, you ought also to do your dutie; and therefore I bidde you be to your master, you euen to his owne person that which I shall tell you, which is this: that since the death of Spadill, contrarie to the same, diuells of his subjects haue bene taken going about the itlie vniuersities, and other also going to serue me in Italie; which haue bene detained prisoners, still intreated, and by force thrust into the gallies; and because I haue of his subjects the which I might likewise take, ye shall aduertise him that if he deliuer vnto me mine, I will deliuer his; if not, as he shall intreat mine, I will intreat his; and that he send me answer hereof within fortie daies: if not, I will take the refusal for an answer.

The emperours
agents
the French
herald.

The king of armes Guen asked if his maiestie ment this concerning the merchants: wherunto the emperour answered: This is beside that which is contained in your writing, touching the merchants, to which point (said he) I will answer by writing. And herewith Guen making thre obeisances, said; Sir, I will gladly do it. Thewards the emperour, Tell the king your master further; that I beleue that he hath not bene aduertised of that which I told to his ambassador in Granada; which toucheth him nere. For I told him in such a case so noble a prince, that if he had vnderstood the fault, he would haue made me an answer. He shall do well to know it of his ambassador, for by that he shall vnderstand, that I haue kept better faith to him in that I haue promised at Spadill than he to me, and I praye you to tell him, and saile not hereof. Guen answered, Without doubt sir I will do it: and so making his obeisance he departed.

This the emperours
intention to induce
his owne denials
by way of
compensation

The emperour appointed John le Aleuant the baron of Buclans to see that no displeasure nor will speech were vsed to the said kings of armes, but that they should be well vsed: which was done to their good contentation. After this, the seauen and twentieth of Januarie, the said kings of armes came to the said lord of Buclans, who by the emperours appointment deliuered an answer vnto either of them in writing, accordingly as the emperour had promised; the copies whereof are set forth at large in the annales of Aquitaine, and for breuenesse here omitted. To conclude, the French king toke such displeasure with the emperours answers made vnto his king of armes Guen, whereby he was charged to do otherwise than by his faith giuen he ought to haue done, that the eight and twentieth daie of March being in the citie of Paris, accompanied with a great number of the princes of his blood, cardinals and other prelates and nobles of his realme, and also the ambassadors of diuerse princes and potentates, he called before him Nicholas Perenot lord of Granuelle, vnto whom he said in effect as followeth.

The heralds
receiue the
emperours
answer in writ-
ting.

The French
king
Guic. pag. 1085

The French kings oration before an honourable assemblee at Paris.



I lord ambassadors, it hath graced me, and doth graue me, that I haue bene constrained to handle you not so courteously and grationously as for the god and

This speech
of the kings
doth concerne
the emperor
and
concerneth
the god and
honour

honourable behaviour, which you haue shewed in doing your dutie being here with me, you haue deserved at my hands, sith I must needs saie, ye haue acquit your selfe in euerie behalfe, as well to the honor of your master, as good contentation of each man else, so that I am assured the fault resteth not in you, thie things haue not come to better end and purpose than they haue done, for the good zeale and affection, which I haue euer proued in you to the advancement of peace and quieting of things, wherein I doubt not but you haue done your dutie to the full.

But being informed that your master the elect emperor, against all right and law, as well diuine as humane, had commanded to be done vnto my ambassadors, and likewise to the other of the league remaining with him, for the furtherance of things toward a peace, and contrarie to all good customs, which hitherto haue bene obserued betwixt princes, not onelie christians, but also infidels, me thought I could not otherwise do, for the behoofe of mine owne ambassadors, arrested and against reason kept in ward, but to do the same to you, although I had no mind to do you euil, for the reasons aboue said, for the which, and for the dutie you haue shewed in doing that appertained, I assure you my lord ambassador, that beside that I doubt not but your master will recompense you for the same, ye may be assured that where particularlie in anie thing I may please you, I will do it with as good a will as you can require me.

And to make answer to that which your master by word of mouth hath said vnto Guien and Clarenceur kings of armes of the king my good brother and perpetuall and best alie, and of me vpon the intimation of the warre which hath bene made by vs, consisting in eight points, I will that each one vnderstand it. First, as to the which he saith he maruelleth that he hauing me a prisoner by iust warre, and hauing also my faith, I should desire him, and that in reason I neither may nor ought to do it: I answer thereto, that if I were his prisoner here, and that he had my faith, he had spoken true: but I know not that the emperor hath euer at anie time had my faith, that may in anie wise auail him. For first in that warre so euer I haue bene, I know not that I haue either scene him or encountered with him.

When I was prisoner, garded with foure or five hundred harquebuzers, sick in my bed, and in danger of death, it was an easie matter to constrain me, but not verie honorable to him that should do it: and after that I returned into France, I know not anie that hath had power to compell me to it: and to do it willingly without constraint, it is a thing which I waite more, than so lightlie to bind my selfe thereto. And because I will not that my honor come in disputation, although I know well that euerie man of warre knoweth sufficientlie, that a prisoner garded is not bound to anie faith, nor can bind himselfe thereto in anie thing: I do neuertheless send to your master this writing signed with mine owne hand, the which my lord ambassadour I praise you read, and afterwards promise me to deliuer it vnto your master, and not to anie other. And herewith the king caused it to be deliuered to the said ambassador by master John Robertet, one of the secretaries of the estate, and of his chamber.

The ambassador toke the writing in his hand, and after excused himselfe to the king, saieing: That as to him, by the letter which his master & souereigne lord had written vnto him now lastlie, his commission was already expired, and that he had no further commandment nor instructions from his maiestie, but to take leaue of the king with as much speed as he might, and to returne home. Which he most hum-

blie besought him to permit him to do, without further charge or commission, although he knew that he was at his pleasure constrain him, as seemed to him god. Herevnto the king answered; My lord ambassador, sith you will not take vpon you to read this writing, I will cause it to be read in this companie, to the end that euerie one may vnderstand and know that I am cleared in that, whereof against truth he goeth about to accuse me.

Beside that, if you afterwards will not beare it, & deliuer it to him, I will send one of my heralds here present to go in companie with you: for whom you shall procure a good & available safe conduct, that he maie passe vnto your master, protesting & demanding, that an act maie be registred before this companie, that if he will not it should come to his knowledge, that I am discharged, in that I do my best to cause him to vnderstand it accordinglie as I ought to do, and in such sort as he can not pretend cause of ignorance. After the king had ended these wordes, he called to him the said Robertet, and commanded him to reade the said writing with a lowd voice, which was done word for word.

The French king deliuereth his mind with a courage, as better eniemic to the emperor.

The copie of the said writing directed to the emperor.

Francis, by the grace of God, king of France, lord of Genes, &c. To you Charles, by the same grace, chosen emperor of Rome, and king of Spaine. We do you to wit, that being aduertised, that in all the answers that you haue made to our ambassadors and heralds, sent to you for the establishing of peace, in excusing your selfe, without all reason you haue accused vs, saieing, that we haue plight you our faith, and that thereupon (besides our promise) we departed out of your hands and power. In defense of our honour, which hereby might be burthened too much against all truth, we thought good to send you this writing; by which we giue you to vnderstand, that notwithstanding that no man being in ward is bound to keepe faith, and that the same might be a sufficient excuse for vs: yet for the satisfieng of all men, and our said honor (which we mind to keepe, and will keepe, if it please God, vnto the death) that if ye haue charged, or will charge vs, not onelie with our said faith, and deliuerance, but that euer we did anie thing that became not a gentleman that had respect to his honor; that ye lie fallie in your throat: and as oft as ye saie it, ye lie: and we determine to defend our honor to the uttermost drop of our blood. Wherefore, seeing ye haue charged vs against all truth, write no more to vs hereafter: but appoint vs the field, and we will bring you the weapons. Protesting, that if after this declaration ye write into anie place, or use anie wordes against our honor, that the shame of the delaie of the combat shall light on you, seeing that the offering of combat is the end of all writing: Made at our good towne and cite of Paris, the eight and twentieth daie of March.

The French kings allegations in defense of his honor charged with outstry.

The French king giueth the emperor the lie: for Guic. pag 1095

March. In the yere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, before Easter. Thus signed. Francis.

This Robertet was one of the secretaries to the estate.

After that Robertet had read this writing there in presence of the emperours ambassadors, the king made further replie unto the points contained in the emperours answers to the defiance: and withall to conclude, told the said ambassador, that his master the emperor had constrained him by such message as he had sent to him, to make the answer in truth, which he had made: and further willed him to deliver unto the emperor the writing which he had signed with his hand, and to saie to him, that he took him for so honorable a prince, that considering the matter wherewith he charged him, and the answer that he made, he would not faile but to answer him like a gentleman, and not by writing like an advocate. For if he otherwise do (saie the king) I will answer his chancelor by an advocate, and a man of his estate, and a more honest man than he.

Shortlie after, the emperours ambassadors returned home into Spaine in safetie, and well intreated. And upon their returne, the ambassadors of France were set at libertie, and delivered beyond Frontenabie, & so came safelie home into France. Then a French herald, appointed to accompanie the ambassadour Grandeuill, brought the writing of the combat unto the emperor, because Grandeuill refused to medle with it. To the which the emperor five months after, or thereabouts, sent an answer by one of his heralds; who being arrived at Paris, meant upon the sudden to present his letters unto the French king. But the king getting intelligence thereof, the tenth of September, sitting within his great hall of his palace at Paris aforesaid, before the table of marble in a roiall seat, addrested and set up for him sixtene steps in height, appointed to give audience to the said herald.

The emperor answered the French kings letters.

On his right hand sate in chaires the king of Navarre, the duke of Alanson and Berrie, the earle of Foix and Arminacke. And on the same side sate also upon a bench, the duke of Cleves and a pere of France, lieutenant generall, and gouernor of Picardie, don Hercules de Est, eldest sonne to the duke of Ferrar, duke of Chartres and Montargues, who latelie before had married the ladie Kener, a daughter of France, the duke of Albanie regent and gouernor of Scotland, the duke of Longueuille, great chamberleine of France. And nere to them upon another bench sate the presidents and counsellors of the court of parlement, and behind them manie gentlemen, doctors, and learned men. On the left hand were set in chaires prepared for them, the cardinall Saluarie the popes legat, the cardinall of Bourbon, and duke of Laon, a pere of France, the cardinall of Sens chancelor of France, the cardinall of Lorain, the archbishop of Parbon, the ambassadors of the kings of England and Scotland, of the segniorie of Venice, of Spillan, of the Cantons, of the Swisses, and of Florence.

On an other bench sate the bishop of Transilvania, ambassador for the king of Hungarie, the bishop and duke of Angres, one of the peres of France, the bishop & earle of Poion, an other of the peres of France, the archbishop of Lion, primate of all France, the archbishop of Bourges primate of Aquitaine, the archbishops of Aux and Rouen, the bishops of Paris, Meaux, Lisieux, Pascon, Limoges, Abbees, Conserans and Terbe. And behind them sate the masters of the requests, and the counsellors of the great councill. On either side the kings seate stood the earle of Beaumont great master and marshall of France, the lord de Bayon admirall of France

who stood on either side of the French kings seate roiall,

lieutenant generall, and gouernor of Burgognie. And behind the same seate were manie knights of the order, that is to wit, the earle of Laual, lieutenant generall and gouernor of Britaine, the lord of Pontmerancie, the lord Daubignie capteine of an hundred lances, and of the Scottish garr, the earle of Bienne, Lignie, and Rouille, the lord of Fleurang, ges marshall of France, the lord of Ruffio, the lord of Genoillic great esquier and master of the artillerie of France, Lois monsieur de Clenes, the lord of Humiers, and the earle of Carple.

Behind them was the earle of Etampes prouost of Paris, and with him manie gentlemen of the kings chamber: among the which was the earle of Lancarull, the lord of Cuien, the son of the earle of Rouille, the son of the lord of Fleurang, the lord de la Rochepot, the lord Donartie great master of the waters and forests, the lord of Lude, the lord of Janlis, the lord de Villebon, bailie of Rouen, the baron of Chateau Potant, the lord de la Lorie, the count de la Pothaugroing, and the lord of Cleres. And besides these, the masters and officers of the household & gentlemen waiters, with the more part of the two hundred gentlemen or pensioners, as we terme them. At the entrie into the said throne or tribunall seat, were the capteins of the gards, and the prouost of the household. And before the king kneled the others of the chamber upon the one knee: and at the foot of the step that went up to the kings seate were the prouosts of the merchants and chieftains of the towne of Paris. Beneath in the hall (the gates wherof were still open) there was an infinite number of people of all nations: and in presence of them all, the king made this declaration.

The cause wherefore I haue made this assemblee, is, for that the emperor elect hath sent to me an herald of armes, who (as I coniecture, and as the same herald hath said, and as his safe conduct importeth) hath brought me letters, patents and autentike, concerning the succie of the field for the combat that should be betwixt the said elected emperor and me. And forasmuch as the said herald, under colour to bring the succie of the field, may vse certaine fictions, dissimulations, or hypocrites, to thift off the matter, whereas I desire expedition, and to haue it dispatched out of hand; so that by the same an end of the warres, which haue so long continued, may be had, to the ease and comfort of all christendome, to auoid the effusion of blood, and other mischeues which come thereof: I haue wished it knowne to all christendome, to the end that euerie one may vnderstand the truth, from whence procedeth the mischeue and the long continuance thereof.

I haue also caused this assemblee to be made, to shew that I haue not without great cause enterprised such an act; for the right is on my side: and if I should otherwise haue done, mine honor had bene greatlie blemished. A thing which my lords that are of my blood, and other my subiects would haue taken in enill part. And knowing the cause of the combat, and my right, they will beare with it, as god and loiall subiects ought to do, trusting by Gods helpe to proceed in such sort therein, that it shall plainlie appere if the right be on my side or not: and how, against truth, I haue bene accused for a breaker of my faith, which I would be loth to do, nor at anie time haue meant so to do. The kings my predecessors and ancestors, whose pictures are ingrauen and set here in order within this hall, which in their daies haue successefully adjoined glorious acts, and greatlie augmented the realme of France, would thinke me unworthie, and not capable to be their successor, if against mine honor I should suffer my selfe to be charged with such a

The king desired the said cause of this assemblee of honorable persons.

Further cards while the said assemblee was proceeded.

note,

R^g. 19.

note by the emperor, and should not defend my person and honor in the manner and forme accustomed.

And herewith he declared the whole case as it stood. First, how being taken at Pavia by fortune of war, he neuer gave his faith to anie of his enemies, & consenting to be led into Spaine, caused his owne gallies to be made ready to conueie him thither, where at his arrivall, he was committed to ward within the castell of Spadill, guarded with a great number of barquebuziers & others. Which uncourteous dealing found in the emperor, so much grieved him, that he fell sicke, and laie in danger of death. Whereupon the emperor comming to visit him after his recovery of health, an accord was made betwixt the deputies of the emperor and the ambassadours of the ladie his mother then regent of France: which accord was so unreasonable, that no prince being in libertie would haue consented thereto, nor so; his deliverance haue promised so great a rancome. Which trette yet they constrained him (as he said) to sweare to performe, being prisoner, against the protestation which he diuerse times had made, yea as yet being sicke, and in danger of reciduation; and so consented of death.

After this, he was conueied forth on his iourneie homewards, still guarded & not set at libertie. And it was told him, that after he came into France, it was convenient that he should giue his faith; for that it was knowne well enough, that what he did or promised in Spaine, it nothing availed. And further he remembred not that the emperor had told him at anie time, that if he performed not the contents of the treatie, he would hold him for a breaker of his faith, & though he had, he was not in his libertie to make anie answer. Two things therefore said he, in this case are to be considered. One, that the treatie was violently wryng out from them that could not bind his person, and the which (as to the residue) had bene accomplished by his mother, delivering him at anie time. The other thing was his pretended faith, on which they can make no ground, sith he was not set at libertie. And herewith he shewed manie reasons, to proue that his enemies could not pretend in right that they had his faith.

Further he said, that in matter of combat there was the assailant, which ought to giue suertie of the field, and the defendant the weapons. Herewith also he caused a letter to be read, which the emperor had writen to master John de Caluimont president of Bourdeaux, the said kings ambassadour in the court of the said emperor: the tenor of which letter imposed, that the emperor put the said ambassadour in remembrance of speech which he had uttered to the said ambassadour in Granada, repeating the same in substance as followeth. That the king his master had done naughtie in not keeping his faith which he had of him, according to the treatie of Spadill: and if the king would saie the contrarie, I will (said the emperor) mainteine the quarrell with my bodie against his. And these be the same words that I spake to the king your master in Spadill, that I would hold him for a lewd and naughtie man, if he broke the faith which I had of him, &c.

Then after the said letter had bene read, he caused also his answer made by way of a cartell to be read, the tenor whereof ye haue heard before. That done, he continued his lab, in declaring what order he had obserued to procure the emperor to the combat, without all shifting delaiies: so as if the herald now come from the emperor would vse anie talke, other than to deliver him an authentike writing for suertie of the field, and not obserue the contents of his late conduct, he meant not to giue him audience. And

herupon was the herald called to come in, and declare his message. Who apparelled in his cote of armes, made his appearance before the king there sitting, accompanied (as ye haue heard.) Unto whom the king said,

Herald, dost thou bring the suertie of the field, such one as thy master, being the assailant, ought to deliver unto the defendant, being such a personage as I am? The herald herewith said: Sir, make it please you to giue me licence to do mine office. Then said the king: Giue me the patten of the field, and saie what thou wilt. The herald beginning his tale, The sacred. Tush, said the king, shew me the patten of the field, for I hold thy master for so noble a prince, that he hath not sent thee without the suertie of the field, sith I haue demanded it; and thou knowest that thy late conduct containeth no lesse but that thou shouldst bring it. The herald answered, that he trusted he had brought that which might content his maiestie.

The king replied & said: Herald, giue me the patten of the field, giue it me: and if it be sufficient, I will receiue it, and after saie what thou wilt. The herald said he had in commandement not to deliver it, except he might declare that which he had first to saie. The king said: Thy master can not giue lawes to vs in France. To conclude he told the herald, that he peradventure might speake things that his master would not anouch, and that he had not to deale with him, but with his master. The herald then required that he might haue licence to depart: which the king granted. And withall the king commanded that it might be registred what had passed in this behalfe, for a testimonie that the fault rested not in him in that he receiued not the patten. The herald likewise for his discharge, required a copie in writing of that which had passed, and the same was granted.

Thus far haue I ouerpast the common bounds of my purpose, in speaking so largelie of this matter of combat, because of the rareness thereof, changing betwixt two so mightie princes, although it came not to the effect of trial. And now to returne to that which followed further vpon the defiance, denounced to the emperor by the two kings of armes, Gutesen and Clarenceaur. Ye shall vnderstand, that the lords and nobilitie, to the number of seuen hundred in whose presence it was giuen, toke it so offensively, that drawing forth their swords, they swore that the same should be reuenged: for otherwise they protested, that the infamie would rebound to them and their heires for ever. Herewith the warre was proclaimed through all Spaine with baners displayed, in which were painted a red sword, with a burning cresset against the French king and his partakers, but not mentioning the king of England by expresse name. But it was recited in the proclamation, that the king of England had menaced and defied the emperor in the French kings quarrell.

Then were the English merchants in Spaine attached, and their goods put in safetie, till it might be knowne how the emperours subiects were ordered in England. Then likewise were all the ships of the emperours subiects here arrested: and in semblable manner all the Englishmen and their goods and ships were arrested by the ladie regent in the low countries. The common people in England much lamented, that warre should arise betwixt the emperor and the king of England, speciallie because the emperours dominions had holpen and releued them with graine in time of their necessitie & want. But cheselie this matter touched merchants which hanted the emperours dominions. Yet at length were those of the low countries set at libertie, and their goods to them delivered, in fauour of intercoure of

The French kings talke and communication to the emperours ambassadour, which was red with indignation.

The herald required libertie to depart.

1528

The emperours defied by the kings of England and France.

English merchants' goods seized in Spaine.

Ar r r. f. mer.

merchandize. But so much as the Spaniards were still detained, the ladie regent also detained the ships and goods of the English merchants though she let their persons at libertie.

The incommoditie rising of lacke of interest course for traffike.

By this meanes the trade of merchandize was in manner fore-let here in England, and namelie the clothes laie on their hands, whereby the common-wealth suffered great decaye, and great numbers of spinners, carders, tuckers, and such other that lived by clothworking, remained idle, to their great impoverishment. And as this warre was displeasing to the Englishmen, so was it as much or more displeasing to the townes and people of the low countries, & in especiall to the townes of Antuerpe & Barrolo, where the marts are kept. So that at length there came ambassadours from the ladie regent, the which associating themselves with don Hugo de Mendoza ambassadour for the emperour, came to the king at Richmond the twentieth and ninth of March, and there moued their sute so effectualle, that an abstinence of warre was granted, till time that a further communication might be had: and vpon this point letters were sent into Spaine, France, and Flanders, and so this matter continued untill answers were brought from thence againe.

An abstinence of warre granted vpon sute made to the king of England.

The emperours ambassadours intreated not so earnestlie to moue the king to haue peace with their maister, but the French ambassadours solicited the king as earnestlie to enter into the warre against him, and suerlie they had the cardinall on their side. But yet the king wiselie considering with other of his counsell, what damage should insue thereby vnto his subiects, and speciallie to the merchants and clothiers, would not consent so easilie to the purpose of the Frenchmen, though he had twentie thousand pounds sterling out of France, of pearlie pension, to continue friend & alie to the French king. But he protested euer that he would see the reline of France defended to his power, and studie no lesse to haue a peace concluded, which might be as honourable to the French king as to himselfe, and beneficiall vnto their people, of whose by warres, might be made both slaughter and bloodshed, which are companions vnseparable of battell; as the poet well saith:

Hinc breuiter dira mortis aperta via est.

Creation of the earle of Muerie.

Sir Edmund Wollingham.

A truce and the benefits insuing from the same.

The sweating sicknesse, whereof died both courtiers and others.

On the two and twentieth of Februarie the king created at Windsor sir Piers Butler of Ireland; erle of Muerie. Also a Dutch craite of Armevo charied a French craite by the Thames from Margate to the Tower wharfe, and there as they sought sir Edmund Wollingham lieutenant of the Tower perceiving them, called his men together, and entering the ships took both the captiues. The kings counsell took by the matter betwixt them, for the Fleming challenged the Frenchman as a lawfull priue. An abstinence of the warre was taken in the beginning of this yeare betwixt Flanders, and the countries of Picardie on this side the riuer of Some to begin the first of Maie & indure till the last of Februarie. By means of this truce all the Englishmen might lawfullie passe into the low countries, but not into Spaine: which soze greued the merchants that haunted those parties. It was further agreed, that if no generall peace could be had, during the time of this truce: then all the merchants should haue respit two moneths after to passe into their owne countries with their wares and merchandizes in safetie.

In the end of Maie began in the cite of London the disease called the sweating sicknesse, which afterwards infected all places of the realme, and durie manie within five or six houres after they sickened. This sicknesse, for the maner of the taking of the patients, was an occasion of remembering that great sweat which raged in the reigne of this kings grand-

father; and happilie men caused the same remedie then used to be renewed. By reason of this sicknesse, the tearme was adourned, and the circuit of the assises also. There died diuerse in the court of this sicknesse, as sir Francis Poins, which had bene ambassadour in Spaine, and diuerse others. The king for a space remoued almost euerie daie till he came to Tintinhargar, a place of the abbat of saint Albons, and there he with the quene, and a small compaignie about them, remained till the sicknesse was past. In this great mortalitie died sir William Compton knight, and William Carew cliquer, which were of the kings priuite chamber.

A prisoner brake from the sessions hall at Newgate when the sessions was done, which prisoner was brought downe out of Newgate in a basket, he seemed so weake: but now in the end of the sessions he brake through the people vnto the Greie sters church, and there was kept sir or seauen daies per the thiriffes could speake with him, and then because he would not abjure and aske a crowner, with violence they took him thence, and cast him againe in prison, but the law serued not to hang him.

He heane heard how the people talked a little before the cardinals going ouer into France the last yeare, that the king was told by doctor Longland bishop of Lincolne and others, that his marriage with quene Katharine could not be good nor lawfull. The truth is, that whether this doubt was first moued by the cardinall, or by the said Longland, being the kings confessor, the king was not onelie brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no; but also determined to haue the case examined, cleared, and adiudged by learning, law, and sufficient authoritie. The cardinall berelie was put in most blame for this scruple now cast into the kings conscience, for the hate he bare to the emperour, because he would not grant to him the archbishopricke of Toledo, for the which he was a suer. And therefore he did not onlie procure the king of England to loine in friendship with the French king, but also sought a diuorcie betwixt the king and the quene, that the king might haue had in marriage the duchesse of Alanson, sister vnto the French king: and (as some haue thought) he travelled in that matter with the French king at Amiens, but the duchesse would not giue eare thereunto.

But howsoeuer it came about, that the king was thus troubled in conscience concerning his marriage, this followed, that like a wise & sage prince, to haue the doubt cleared, he called together the best learned of the realme, which were of seuerall opinions. Wherefore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges, least peraduenture the Spaniards, and other also in fauour of the quene would saie, that his owne subiects were not indifferent iudges in this behalfe. And therefore he wrote his cause to Rome, and also sent to all the vniuersities in Italie and France, and to the great clearkes of all Christendome, to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realme a legat, which should be indifferent, and of a great and profound iudgement, to heare the cause debated. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius, a priest cardinall, a man of great wit and experience, which was sent hither before in the tenth yeare of this king, as we haue heard, and with him was ioined in commission the cardinall of Poike and legat of England.

This cardinall came to London in October, and did intimate both to the king & quene the cause of his coming: which being knowne, great talke was had thereof. The archbishop of Cantuarbie sent for the famous doctors of both the vniuersities to Lambeth,

Sir William Compton

Abt. E. c. l. page 906
A prisoner brake from the sessions hall at Greie sters

Doctor Longland
bishop of Lincolne

Why the cardinall was suspected to be against the marriage

Polydor

Edw. Hall

The king was desirous to be resalued by the opinions of the learned touching his marriage

Cardinall Campeius sent into England

The matter touching the kings marriage debated at Lambeth

both, and there were euerie daie disputations and conuinings of this matter. And because the king meant nothing but vprightlie therein, and knew well that the quene was somewhat wedded to his owne opinion, and wished that she should do nothing without counsell, he bad hir choose the best clearks of his realme to be of hir counsell, and licenced them to do the best on hir part that they could, according to the truth. Then she elected William Warham archbishop of Canturburie, and Nicholas West bishop of Ely, doctors of the lawes; and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Henrie Standish bishop of saint Asaph, doctors of diuinitie, and manie other doctors and well learned men, which for suertie like men of great learning defended hir cause, as farre as learning might mainteine and hold it vp.

This yere was sir James Spenser maior of London, in whose time the watch in London on sūmmer night was laid downe. About this time the king receiued into fauour doctor Stephan Gardiner, whose seruice he used in matters of great secretie and weight, admitting him in the roome of doctor Pace, the which being continuallie abroad in ambassages, and the same oftentimes not much necessary, by the cardinals appointment, at length he took such grēce therewith, that he fell out of his right wits. The place where the cardinals should sit to heare the cause of matrimonie betwixt the king and the quene, was ordeined to be at the Blacke friers in London, where in the great hall was preparation made of seats, tables, and other furniture, according to such a solemne session and totall apparance. The court was platted in tables and benches in manner of a consistorie, one seat raised higher for the iudges to sit in. When as it were in the midst of the said iudges aloft above them three degrees high, was a cloth of estate hanged, with a chaire roiall vnder the same, wherein sat the king; and besides him, some distance from him sat the quene, and vnder the iudges sat the scribes and other officers: the chiefe scribe was doctor Stewens, and the caller of the court was one Cooke of Winchester.

Then before the king and the iudges within the court sat the archbishop of Canturburie Warham, and all the other bishops. Then stood at both ends within the counsellors learned in the spirituall lawes, as well the kings as the quenes. The doctors of law for the king (whose names yee haue heard before) had their conuenient rowes. Thus was the court furnished. The iudges commanded silence whilst their commission was read, both to the court and to the people assembled. That done the scribes commanded the crier to call the king by the name of king Henrie of England, come into the court, &c. With that the king answered and said, Here. Then called he the quene by the name of Katharine quene of England come into the court, &c. Who made no answer, but rose out of hir chaire.

And because she could not come to the king directly, for the distance seuered betwene them, she went about by the court, and came to the king, kneeling downe at his feet, to whom she said in effect as folloiweth: Sir (quothe she) I desire you to do me iustice and right, and take some pittie vpon me, for I am a poore woman, and a stranger, borne out of your dominion, hauing here no indifferent counsell, & lesse assurance of friendship. As sir, what haue I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure haue I shewed you, intending thus to put me from you after this sort: I take God to my iudge, I haue bene to you a true & humble wife, euer conformable to your will and pleasure, that neuer contraried or gaine said any thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all things wherein you had any delight, whether little or

much, without grudge or displeasure, I toued for your sake all them whom you loued, whether they were my friends or enimies.

I haue bene your wife these thentie yeres and more, & you haue had by me diuerse children. If there be anie iust cause that you can alleage against me, either of dishonestie, or matter lawfull to put me from you: I am content to depart to my shame and rebuke; and if there be none, then I praye you to let me haue iustice at your hand. The king your father was in his time of excellent wit, and the king of Spaine my father Ferdinando was reckoned one of the wisest princes that reigned in Spaine manie yeres before. It is not to be doubted, but that they had gathered as wise counsellors vnto them of euerie realme, as to their wisdoms they thought met, who deemed the marriage betwene you and me good and lawfull, &c. Therefore, I humbly desire you to spare me, vntill I may know what counsell my friends in Spaine will aduertise me to take, and if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled. With that she arose vp, making a lowe curtellie to the king, and departed from thence.

The king being aduertised that she was ready to go out of the house, commanded the crier to call hir againe, who called hir by these words: Katharine quene of England, come into the court. With that (quothe maister Grifith) Madame, you be called againe. On (quothe she) it maketh no matter, I will not tarrie, go on your waies. And thus she departed, without anie further answer at that time, or anie other, and neuer would appeare after in anie court. The king perceluting she was departed, said these words in effect: For as much (quothe he) as the quene is gone, I will in hir absence declare to you all, that she hath bene to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife, as I would wish or desire. She hath all the vertuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of hir dignitie, or in anie other of a baser estate, she is also surelie a noble woman boine, hir conditions will well declare the same.

With that quothe Wolseye the cardinall: Sir, I most humbly require your highnesse, to declare before all this audience, whether I haue bene the chiefe and first mouer of this matter vnto your maiestie or no, for I am greatly suspected herein. My lord cardinall (quothe the king) I can well excuse you in this matter, marrie (quothe he) you haue bene rather against me in the tempting hereof, than a setter forward or mouer of the same. The speciall cause that moued me vnto this matter, was a certeine scrupulositie that picked my conscience, vpon certeine words spoken at a time when it was, by the bishop of Baion the French ambassador, who had bene hither sent, vpon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betwene our daughter the ladie Marie, and the duke of Orleans, second son to the king of France.

Vpon the resolution and determination whereof, he desired respite to aduertise the king his maister thereof, whether our daughter Marie should be legitimate in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometimes my brothers wife. Which words once conceiued within the secret bottome of my conscience, ingendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinentlie accombered, bered, and disquieted; whereby I thought my selfe to be greatlie in danger of Gods indignation. Which appeared to be (as me seemed) the rather, for that he sent vs no (true) male: and all such issues male as my said wife had by me, died incontinent after they came into the world, so that I doubted the great displeasure of God in that behalfe.

Thus my conscience being tossed in the waues of a scrupulous mind, and partlie in despaire to haue

Ar r r r f. anie

The quene
indiscreetly
was for her
part.

John.

Doctor Ste-
phen Gardiner.

Doctor Pace
sleuth out of
his wits.

Anno Reg. 21.
Win. Hall.

An. Pl. ex
1 Spag. 379.
Chenamer of
the session, &
was perfo-
rage of ac-
count in his
place.

The king and
quene called
into the court.

Doctor Sta-
wenham la-
mentable and
poorly spach
in presence of
the court.

The quene
indiscreetly
the marriage.

The quene
departing one
of the court is
called againe.

The cardinall
requireth to
haue that de-
clared which
was well en-
ough known.

The king
confesseth that
the king of
conscience
made him
unlike this
marriage.

The state of
the question.

The king
submittech
himselfe to the
censures of
the learned in
this case of
doubte.

The queene
accuseth car-
dinal wolseye.

She appeleth
to the pope.

The king
trusteth
the legats of
forking de-
laies.

The present
marriage whiche
thought vns-
lawfull.

anie other issue than I had alredie by this ladie now my wife, it behoued me further to consider the state of this realme, and the danger it stood in for lacke of a prince to succeed me, I thought it good in release of the weightie burthen of my weake conscience, & also the quiet estate of this worthe realme, to attempt the law therein, whether I may lawfullie take another wife more lawfullie, by whome God may send me more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good, without anie carnall concupiscence, and not for anie displeasure or mistaking of the queenes person and age, with whome I would be as well contented to continue, if our marriage may stand with the lawes of God, as with anie woman alsiue.

In this point consisteth all this doubt that we go about now to trie, by the learning, wisdome, and iudgement of you our prelates and pastors of all this our realme and dominions now here assembled for that purpose; to whose conscience & learning I haue committed the charge and iudgement: according to the which I will (God willing) be right well content to submit my selfe, and for my part obeie the same. Wherein, after that I perceiued my conscience so doubtful, I moued it in confession to you my lord of Lincoln then ghostlie father. And for so much as then you your selfe were in some doubt, you moued me to aske the counsell of all these my lords: whereupon I moued you my lord of Canturburie, first to haue your licence, in as much as you were metropolitane, to put this matter in question, and so I did of all you my lords: to which you granted vnder your seales, here to be shewed. What is truth, quoth the archbishop of Canturburie. After that the king rose vp, and the court was adioyned untill another daie.

Here is to be noted, that the queene in presence of the whole court most graueoully accused the cardinal of vntruth, deceit, wickednesse, & malice, which had solone dissention betwixt hir and the king hir husband; and therefore openlie protested, that he did bitterlie abhorre, refuse, and forsake such a iudge, as was not onelie a most malicious enemie to hir, but also a manifest aduersarie to all right and iustice, and therewith did she appeale vnto the pope, committing hir whole cause to be iudged of him. But notwithstanding this appeale, the legats sat werkeleie, and euerie daie were arguments brought in on both parts, and proses alleaged for the vnderstanding of the case, and still they assaied if they could by anie meanes procure the queene to call backe hir appeale, which she bitterlie refused to do. The king would gladly haue had an end in the matter, but when the legats draue time, and determined vpon no certeine point, he conceiued a suspicion, that this was done of purpose, that their dawings might draue to none effect or conclusion.

The next court daie, the cardinals sat againe, at which time the counsell on both sides were there ready to answer. The kings counsell alleaged the matrimonic not to be lawfull at the beginning, because of the carnall copulation had betwixt prince Arthur and the queene. This matter was verie vehementlie touched on that side, and to proue it, they alleaged manie reasons and similitudes of truth: and being answered negatiuelie againe on the other side, it seemed that all their former allegations were doubtful to be tried, and that no man knew the truth. And thus this court passed from sessions to sessions, and daie to daie, till at certeine of their sessions the king sent the two cardinals to the queene (who was then in Wyndesore) to perswade with hir by their wisdoms, and to aduise hir to surrender the whole matter into the kings hands by hir owne consent & will, which should be much better to hir honour, than to stand to the trial of law, and thereby to be condem-

ned, which should seeme much to hir dishonour.

The cardinals bring in the queenes chamber of presence, the gentleman vther aduertised the queene that the cardinals were come to speake with hir. With that she rose vp, & with a skene of white thred about hir necke, came into hir chamber of presence, where the cardinals were attending. At whose coming, quoth she, What is your pleasure with me? If it please your grace (quoth cardinal Wolseye) to go in to your priue chamber, we will shew you the cause of our coming. My lord (quoth she) if ye haue anie thing to saie, speake it openlie before all these folke, for I feare nothing that ye can saie against me, but that I would all the world should heare and see it, and therefore speake your mind. Then began the cardinal to speake to hir in Latine. Praise god my lord (quoth she) speake to me in English.

Forsooth (quoth the cardinal) god madame, if it please you, we come both to know your mind how you are disposed to do in this matter betwixt the king and you, and also to declare secretlie our opinions and counsell vnto you: which we do onelie for verie zeale and obedience we beare vnto your grace. My lord (quoth she) I thanke you for your good will, but to make you answer in your request I cannot so suddenlie, for I was set among my maids at worke, thinking full litle of anie such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer: for I need counsell in this case which toucheth me so nere, & for anie counsell or frendship that I can find in England, they are not for my profit. What thinke you my lords, will anie Englishman counsell me, or be frend to me against the kings pleasure that is his subject? Praise forsooth. And as for my counsell in whom I will put my trust, they be not here, they be in Spaine in my owne countrie.

And my lords, I am a poore woman, lacking wit, to answer to anie such noble persons of wisdome as you be, in so weightie a matter, therefore I praie you be good to me poore woman, desistute of frends here in a forren region, and your counsell also I will be glad to heare. And therewith she toke the cardinal by the hand, and led him into hir priue chamber with the other cardinal, where they tarried a season talking with the queene. Which communication ended, they departed to the king, making to him relation of hir talke. Thus this case went forward from court to court, till it came to iudgement, so that euerie man expected that iudgment would be given the next day. At which daie the king came thither, and set him downe in a chaire within a doore, in the end of the gallerie (which opened directlie against the iudgement seat) to heare the iudgement given, at which time all their proceedings were red in Latine.

What done, the kings counsell at the barre called for iudgement. With that (quoth cardinal Campeius) I will not giue iudgement till I haue made relation to the pope of all our proceedings, whose counsell and commandement in this case I will obserue: the case is verie doubtful, and also the partie defendant will make no answer here, but doth rather appeale from vs, supposing that we be not indifferent. Wherefore I will adiourne this court for this time, according to the order of the court of Rome. And with that the court was dissolved, and no more done. This protracting of the conclusion of the matter, king Henrie toke verie displeasinglie. Then cardinal Campeius toke his leaue of the king and nobilitie, and returned towards Rome.

Whilste these things were thus in hand, the cardinal of Yorke was aduised that the king had let his affection vpon a young gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen vicount Rochford, which did wait vpon the queene. This was a great

Quene's chamber
the cardinals
haue a conference
in
her priue
chamber.

The queene
refuseth to
make sudden
answer to so
weightie a
matter as this
doubte.

The king's
queenes mat-
ter cometh
to iudgement.

Cardinal
Campius
refuseth to
giue iudg-
ment.

The kings
affection and
goodwill to the
lady Anne
Bullen.

The secret
writing and
revelation
of cardinal
policies.The king's
council
dilecture
as
gentle
as
the
cardinal.

The Hall.

The king's
council
dilecture
as
gentle
as
the
cardinal.The cardinal
from a
prie-
son.An. H. ex. I. S.
p. 366, 367.The cardinal
dilecture
to
part
from
the
great
scale.The cardinal
dilecture
to
part
from
the
great
scale.The cardinal
dilecture
to
part
from
the
great
scale.

great griefe into the cardinall, as he that perceiued
aforehand, that the king would marie the said gen-
tlewoman, if the diuorſe took place. Wherefore he be-
gan with all diligence to disappoint that match,
which by reason of the mistaking that he had to the
woman, he iudged ought to be avoided more than
present death. While the matter stood in this state,
and that the cause of the quene was to be heard and
iudged at Rome, by reason of the appeale which by
hir was put in: the cardinall required the pope by
letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he
should defer the iudgement of the diuorſe, till he
might frame the kings mind to his purpose.

Howbeit he went about nothing so secretly, but
that the same came to the kings knowledge, who
tooke so high displeasure with such his cloaked dissim-
ulation, that he determined to abate his degree, sith as
an unthankfull person he forgot himselfe and his
dutie towards him that had so highlie aduanced him
to all honor and dignitie. When the nobles of the
realme perceiued the cardinall to be in displeasure,
they began to accuse him of such offenses as they
knew might be proued against him, and thereof they
made a booke containing certeine articles, to which
diuerſe of the kings counsell set their hands. The
king vnderstanding more plainlie by those articles,
the great pride, presumption, and conuoluesse of
the cardinall, was soze moued against him; but yet
kept his purpose secret for a while. Shortly after, a
parlement was called to begin at Westminster the
third of Nouember next ensuing.

In the meane time the king, being informed that
all those things that the cardinall had done by his
pouer legantine within this realme, were in the
case of the premonition and prouision, caused his at-
turneie Christopher Hales to sue out a writ of pre-
monition against him, in the which he licensed him to
make his attorneie. ¶ And further, the seventeenth
of Nouember the king sent the two dukes of Nor-
folke and Suffolke to the cardinals place at West-
minster, who (went as they were commanded) and
finding the cardinall there, they declared that the
kings pleasure was that he should surrender by the
great scale into their hands, and to depart simple
unto Aſher, which was an house situate nigh unto
Hampton court, belonging to the bishoprike of
Wincheſter. The cardinall demanded of them their
commission that gaue them such authoritie, who an-
swered againe, that they were sufficient commissio-
ners, and had authoritie to doe no lesse by the kings
mouth. Notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree
in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their
authoritie, saying, that the great scale was deliue-
red him by the kings person, to inioy the ministrati-
on thereof, with the ronne of the chancelor: for the
terme of his life. Whereof for his suertie he had the
kings letters patents.

This matter was greatlie debated betwene them
with manie great words, in so much that the dukes
were faine to depart againe without their purpose,
and rode to Winchore to the king, and made report
accordinglie; but the next daie they returned againe,
bringing with them the kings letters. Then the car-
dinall deliuered unto them the great scale, and was
content to depart simple, taking with him nothing
but onelie certeine prouision for his house: and after
long talke betwene him and the dukes, they depar-
ted with the great scale of England, and brought the
same to the king. When the cardinall called all his
officers before him, and toke account of them for all
such stuffe, whereof they had charge. And in his galle-
rie were set diuerſe tables, whereupon laie a great
number of goodlie rich stuffe, as whole peces of silke
of all colours, velvet, sattin, damaske, taffata, gro-

graine, and other things. Also, there laie a thousand
peces of fine Holland cloth.

There was laid on euerie table, bookes reporting
the contents of the same, and so was there inventa-
ries of all things in order against the kings com-
ming. He caused to be hanged the walles of the gal-
lerie on the one side with cloth of gold, cloth of tiffue,
cloth of silver, and rich cloth of bodken of diuerſe co-
lours. On the other side were hanged the richest sute
of coapes of his owne prouision made for his colle-
ges of Oxford and Ipswich, that euer were sent in
England. Then had he two chambers adioining to
the gallerie, the one most commonlie called the gilt
chamber, and the other the counsell chamber, wherein
were set by two broad and long tables upon trestles,
whereupon was set such a number of plate of all sorts,
as was almost incredible.

In the gilt chamber were set out upon the table
nothing but gilt plate, and upon a cupbord and in a
window was set no plate but gold, verie rich: and in
the counsell chamber was all white and parcell gilt
plate, and under the table in baskets was all old bo-
ken silver plate, and bookes set by them purporting e-
uerie kind of plate, and euerie parcell, with the con-
tents of the ounces thereof. Thus were all things
prepared, giuing charge of all the said stuffe, with all
other remaining in euerie office, to be deliuered to
the king, to make answer to their charge: for the or-
der was such, that euerie officer was charged with
the receipt of the stuffe belonging to his office by in-
denture. So sir William Gascoigne, being his trea-
surer, he gaue the charge of the deliuerie of the said
goods, and therewithall, with his traine of gentlemen
and peonien, he toke his barge at the priue ſtaires,
and so went by water unto Putneie, where when he
was arrived, he toke his mule, & euerie man toke
their horses, and rode streight to Aſher, where he and
his familie continued the space of three or foure
weekes, without either beds, sheets, table cloths, or
dishes to eat their meat in, or wherewith to buie anie:
the cardinall was forced to borrow of the bishop of
Carleill, plate and dishes, &c.]

After this, in the kings bench his matter for the
premonition, being called upon, two attorneis, which
he had authorized by his warrant signed with his
owne hand, confessed the action, and so had iudge-
ment to forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and
cattels, and to be out of the kings protection: but the
king of his clemencie sent to him a sufficient protec-
tion, and left to him the bishoprikes of Poike and
Wincheſter, with plate and stuffe conuenient for
his degree. The bishoprike of Duresme was giuen
to doctor Tunstall bishop of London, and the abbrie
of saint Albons to the prior of Norwich. Also the bi-
shoprike of London being now void, was bestowed
on doctor Stockelie, then ambassadour to the bri-
tannities beyond the sea for the kings marriage.

The ladie Margarete duchesse of Savoy aunt to the
emperour, and the ladie Lois duchesse of Angoulême
mother to the frenche king, met at Cambreie in the
beginning of the month of June, to treat of a peace,
where were present doctor Tunstall bishop of Lon-
don, and sir Thomas More then chancelor of the du-
chie of Lancaster, commissioners for the king of
England. At length through diligence of the said la-
dies a peace was concluded betwixt the emperour,
the pope, and the kings of England and France. All
these met there in the beginning of Iulie, accompa-
nied with diuerſe great princes and counsellors, on
euerie part. And after long debating on both sides,
there was a good conclusion taken the fift daie of Au-
gust. In the which was concluded, that the treatie of
Madrid should stand in his full strength and vertue,
saining the third and fourth, and the eleventh and four-
teenth.

The cardinall
of York
goeth to
Aſher,
and hath
his
plentie
turned
into penurie.John Scute,
and Edmund
Jennie.The cardinall
condemned in
a premonition.The bishop-
rike of Du-
resme giuen
to doctor
Tunstall.The duchesse
of Savoy, and
the duchesse
of Angoulême
meet about a
treatie of
peace.Edw. Hall, in
H. 8. fo. 122. v.

Read more
hereof in
Guic. pag. 1145.
& demerps.

teneth articles, which touch the duchie of Burgognie, and other lordships.

1 Item, it was agreed, that the French king should haue his children againe, paing to the emperor two millions of crownes of gold, whereof he should paie at the deliuering of the children, twelue hundred thousand crownes.

2 Item, that the French king should acquit the emperor against the king of England, of fourescore and ten thousand crowns, which the emperor ought to the king of England, and the king of England to deliuer all such bonds and gages as he had of the emperours.

3 Item, as touching the remnant, which was five hundred and ten thousand crownes, the emperor should haue five and twentie thousand crownes rent yearly, for which he should haue the lands of the duchesse of Cleuandine, lying in Flanders and Brabant bound.

4 Item, that Flanders and diuerse other countries, should not behold in chiefe, nor haue resort to the crowne of France.

5 Item, that the realme of Naples, the duchie of Milan, and the countie of Asti, should for euer remaine to the emperor.

6 Item, that the French king should withdraue all such souldiours as he had, out of Italie.

7 Item, that the lady Cleane should be brought into France, with the French kings children, and in time conuenient should be married to the French king.

8 Item, that the French king should aid the emperor with twelue galleies to go into Italie.

9 Item, that all prisoners on both parties should be acquitted.

10 Item, that the French king should not aid Robert de la Harpe, against the bishop of Luke.

11 Item, that all the goods inuicible and vnuenable, of Charles duke of Burbon, should be restored to his heires, they paing to lord Henrie, marquisse of Dapenete, and earle of Passaw, lord chamberleine to the emperor, ten thousand decats, which he lent to the said duke of Burbon.

12 Item, that John earle of Panthieure, should be remitted to all such goods, as were earle Kene his fathers.

13 Item, the lord Laurence de Corobowd, great master to the emperor, should be restored to the lordships of Chalmont, & Monteuille, which he bought of the duke of Burbon, or to haue his monie againe.

14 Item, Philip de Chalon prince of Orange and viceroy of Naples, to be restored to all his lands in Burgognie.

15 Item, that the duchess of Cleuandine, and Lois earle of Hauers, should haue all such right and actions, as they should haue had before the warre began.

In the emperours countries, when all things were written, sealed, and finished, there was a solemne masse song in the cathedrall church of Cambrie, the two ladies ambassadors of the king of England, sitting in great estate: and after masse the peace was proclaimed betwene the three princes, and *Te Deum* song, and monie cast to the people, and great fires made through the cite. The same night the French king came into Cambrie, well and noble accompanied, and saluted the ladies, and to them made diuerse bankets: and then all persons departed into their countrie, glad of this concord. This peace was called the womens peace, for because that notwithstanding this conclusion, yet neither the emperor trusted the French king, nor he neither trusted nor loved him, and their subjects were in the same case. This proclamation was proclaimed solemnelie by heralds with trumpets in the cite of London, which

The womens
peace.

proclamation much reioiced the English merchants, repairing into Flanders, Brabant, Zealand, and other the emperours dominions. For during the wars, merchants were euill handled on both parties, which caused them to be desirous of peace. On the foure & twentieth of Nouember, was sir Thomas More made lord chancellor, & the next day led to the Chancery by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, and there swoyne.

At the daie appointed the parlement began, on which daie the king came by water to his place of Bidelewell, and there he and his nobles put on their robes of parlement, and so came to the Blache friers church, where a masse of the Holie-ghost was solemnelie song by the kings chappell: and after the masse, the king with all the lords of parlement and commons, which were summoned to appeare at that daie, came into the parlement chamber, where the king sate in his throne or seate of state: and sir Thomas More his chancellor, standing on the right hand of the king behind the barre, made an eloquent oration.

In this oration he declared, that like as a good shepheard, which not alonely keepeth and attendeth well his shepe, but also for seareth and prouideth for all things which may be hurtfull or noisome to his flocke, or maie preferue and defend the same against all perils that may chauce to come: so the king which was the shepheard, ruler and gouernour of his realme, vigilantlie for searhing things to come, considered how diuers lawes before this time were made, noto by long continuance of time and mutation of things, verie insufficient and vnperfect: and also by the frail condition of man, diuerse new enenities were springing amongst the people, for the which no law was yet made to refoyme the same. Which was the verie cause whye at that time the king had summoned his high court of parlement. And he resembled the king to a shepheard or beardedman for this cause: for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a rich man; if a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honourable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people, and the number of his flocke, then he is a ruler, a gouernour of might & puissance, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of shepe cometh the name of a shepheard. And as you see that amongst a great sort of shepe some be rotten & faultie, which the good shepheard sendeth from the god shepe: so the great word which is of late fallen (as you all know) so craftie, so scabbedie, yea and so vnrulie iugled with the king, that all men must needes ghesse and thinke, that he thought in himselfe that he had no wit to perceiue his craftie doing; or else that he presumed that the king would not see nor know his fraudulent iugling and attempts. But he was deceived: for his graces sight was so quicke and penetrable, that he saw him, yea and saw through him, both within and without, so that all things to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction.

Which small punishment the king will not be an example to other offenders, but clearelie declareth, that whosoever hereafter shall make like attempt, or commit like offense, shall not escape with like punishment. And because you of the common house be a grosse multitude, and can not speake all at one time: therefore the kings pleasure is, that you shall resort to the nether house, & there amongst your selues, according to the old and ancient custome, to chuse an able person to be your common mouth and speaker: and after your election so made, to aduertise his grace thereof, which will declare to you his pleasure, what day he will haue him present in this place. After this done, the commons resorted to the nether house.

At this time
the king made
the parliament
by sir Thomas
More

wherein the
person of the
king is pro-
perly repared
a ruler.

Henrie the eight.

Henrie the eight.

Henrie the eight.

Henrie the eight.

Henrie the eight.

Henrie the eight.

Henrie the eight.

Henrie the eight.

house, and they chose for their speaker Thomas Audley esquier, and attourneie of the duchie of Lancaster: and the same daie was the parlement adioyned to Westminster.

On the first daie of the same moneth, the king came to the parlement chamber, and all the lords in their robes. And there the commons of the nether house presented their speaker, which there made an eloquent oration, which consisted in two points. The first point was, that he much praised the king for his equitie and iustice, mixed with mercie and pittie, so that none offense was forgotten and less unpunished, nor in the punishment the extremitie: nor the rigor of the law cruelly extended: which should be a cause to bridle all men from doing like offenses, & also a comfort to offenders to confesse their crime and offense, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliation. The second point was, that he disabled himselfe, both for lacke of wit, learning, and discretion to so high an office, beseeching the king to cause his commons to resort thither to their common house, and there to chuse an other speaker for that parlement.

To this the king (by the mouth of the lord chancellor answered, that where he disabled himselfe in wit and learning, his owne orate oration there made testified the contrarie. And as touching his discretion and other qualities, the king himselfe had well knowen him and his doings since he was in his service, to be both wise and discret: and so for an able man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted. When the commons were assembled in the nether house, they began to commune of their griefes, wherewith the spirituallie had before time grievously oppressed them, both contrarie to the law of the realme, and contrarie to all right: and in speciallie they were sore moved with six great causes.

The first for the excessive fines, which the ordinaries take for probats of testaments, inasmuch that sir Henrie Sulford knight of the garter, and controller of the kings house, declared in the open parlement on his fidelitie, that he and others being executors to sir William Compton knight, paid for the probat of his will to the cardinall and the archbishop of Canturburie a thousand markes sterling. After this declaration were shewed so manie extortions done by ordinaries for probats of willes, that it were too much to rehearse.

The second was the great polling and extreme exaction, which the spirituall men used in taking of corps, presents, or mortuaries. For the children of the defunct should all die for hunger, and go a begging, rather than they would of charitie give to them the laste cow which the dead man owgth, if he had but onlie one; such was the charitie then.

The third cause was, that priests being surcutors, stewards and officers to bishops, abbats, and other spirituall heads, had and occupied farmes, granges, and grazing in euerie countrie, so that the poore husbandmen could haue nothing but of them; and yet for that they should paie deerie.

The fourth cause was, that abbats, priors, and spirituall men kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandize, as other temporall merchants did.

The fifth cause was, because that spirituall persons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their livings of their benefices were lying in the court in lords houses, and toke all of the parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lacke of residence both the poore of the parish lacked refreshing, and vniuersallie all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instruction of Gods word, to the great perill of their soules.

The first cause was, to see one priest little learned, to haue ten or twelue benefices, & to be resident upon none; and to know manie well learned scholars in the vniuersities, which were able to preach & teach, to haue neither benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made an heretike, or lose all that he had. For the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrarie to their profit or commoditie. But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and that their subtilie doings were once espied; then men began charitable to desire a reformation: and so at this parlement men began to shew their grudges. Whereupon the burgeses of the parlement appointed such as were learned in the law, being of the common house, to draw one bill of the probats of testaments, another for mortuaries, and the third for non residence, pluralities, and taking of farmes by spirituall men. The learned men toke much paines, and first set forth the bill of mortuaries, which passed the common house, and was sent by to the lords. To this bill the spirituall lords made a faire face, saying; that suchlike priests and curats toke more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order: thus they spake, because it touched them little.

But within two daies after was sent by the bill concerning probats of testaments; at the which the archbishop of Canturburie in especiall, and all other bishops in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched their profit. Inasmuch as doctor John Fisher bishop of Rochester said openly in the parlement chamber these words: My lords, you see daily what billes come hither from the common house, and all is to the destruction of the church. For Gods sake see what a realme the kingdome of Boheme was; and when the church went downe, then fell the glorie of the kingdome: now with the commons is nothing but downe with the church; and all this me seemeth is for lacke of faith onlie. When these words were reported to the commons of the nether house, that the bishop should saie, that all their doings were for lacke of faith, they toke the matter greuouse, for they imagined that the bishop esteemed them as heretikes, and so by his slanderous words would haue perswaded the temporall lords, to haue restrained their consent from the said two billes, which they before had passed, as you haue heard before.

Wherefore the commons, after long debate, determined to send the speaker of the parlement to the kings highnesse, with a greuouse complaint against the bishop of Rochester. And so on a daie, when the king was at leasure, Thomas Audley speaker for the commons, and thirtie of the chiefe of the common house, came to the kings presence in his palace at Westminster, which before was called Poike place; and there verie eloquentlie declared what a dishonor to the king and the realme it was, to saie, that they which were elected for the wisest men of all the shires, cities, and boroughs, within the realme of England, should be declared, in so noble and open presence, to lacke faith: which was equivalent to saie, that they were infidels, and no christians, as ill as Turkes, or Saracens, so that what paine or studie soeuer they toke for the common wealthe, or what acts or lawes soeuer they made or stablished, should be taken as lawes made by Painims and heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by christan men. Wherefore he most humbly besought the kings highnesse to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speake more discretlie of such a number as was in the common house.

The bishops
like hard
against these
billes.

The taking
of John Fisher
bishop of
Rochester.

A complaint
made to the
king against
the bishop of
Rochester.

The bishops
excuse to the
kings ma-
iestie.

Hard hold be-
tweene the
lords spiritu-
all and tem-
porall about
the probats of
testaments and
mortuaries.

The loane of
monie releas-
ed to the king,
which he
borrowed in
anno reg. 15.

The matter
of testaments
and mortua-
ries move-
d by the
king.

The king was not well contented with the say-
ing of the bishop, yet he gentlie answered the spea-
ker, that he would send for the bishop, and send them
word what answer he made, and so they departed a-
gaine. After this the king sent for the archbishop of
Canterburie and six other bishops, and for the bishop
of Rochester also, and there declared to him the
grudge of the commons; to the which the bishop an-
swered, that he meant the doings of the Bohemians
was for lacke of faith, and not the doings of them
that were in the common house. Which saying was
confirmed by the bishops being present, who had
him in great reputation: and so by that onelie say-
ing the king accepted his excuse, and thereof sent
word to the commons by sir William Fitz William
knight, treasurer of his household; which blind
excuse pleased the commons nothing at all. After
diuerse assemblies were kept betwene certene of
the lords, and certene of the commons, for the billes
of probats of testaments, and the mortuaries; the
temporallie laid to the spiritualtie their owne lawes
and constitutions; and the spiritualtie soze defended
them by prescription & vsage, to whom this answer
was made by a gentleman of Greies inne: The vs-
age hath euer bene of theues to rob on Shoters
hill, ergo is it lawfull?

With this answer the spirituall men were soze of-
fended, because their doings were called robberies.
But the temporall men stood still by their sayings,
insomuch that the said gentleman said to the archbi-
shop of Canterburie, that both the eraction of pro-
bats of testaments, and the taking of mortuaries,
as they were used, were open robberie and theft. Af-
ter long disputation, the temporall lords began to
leane to the commons: but for all that the billes re-
mained unconcluded for a while. In the meane sea-
son, there was a bill assented to by the lords, and sent
downe to the commons: the effect whereof was,
that the whole realme by the said act did release to the
king, all such summes of monie as he had borrowed
of them at the loane, in the fiftenth yeare of his
reigne (as you haue heard before.) This bill was soze
argued in the common house, but the most part of
the commons were the kings seruants, and the other
were so laboured to by other, that the bill was assen-
ted into.

When this release of the loane was knowen to
the commons of the realme, Lord so they grudged &
spake ill of the whole parlement. For almost euerie
man counted it his debt, and reckoned fuerlie of the
payment of the same. And therefore some made their
willes of the same, and some other did set it ouer to
other for debt, and so manie men had losse by it, which
caused them soze to murmur, but there was no reme-
die. The king like a god and discret prince, seeing
that his commons in the parlement house had relea-
sed the loane, intending somewhat to requite the
same, granted to them a generall pardon of all of-
fences; certene great offenses and debts onelie ex-
cepted: also he aided them for the redress of their
griefes against the spiritualtie, and caused two new
billes to be made indifferentlie, both for the probats
of testaments and mortuaries; which billes were so
reasonable, that the spirituall lords assented to them
all, though they were soze against there mindes, & in
especiall the probats of testaments soze displeased the
bishops, and the mortuaries soze displeased the par-
sons and vicars.

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made
another act for pluralities of benefices, non resi-
dence, being selling and taking of farmes by spiri-
tuall persons. Which act so displeased the spiritualtie,
that the priests railed on the commons of the com-
mon house, and called them heretikes and schisma-

tikes, for the which diuerse priests were punished.
This act was soze debated above in the parlement
chamber, and the lords spirituall would in no wise
consent. Wherefore the king perceiving the grudge
of his commons, caused eight lords and eight of his
commons to meet in the Star chamber at an after-
none, and there was soze debating of the cause, in
somuch that the temporall lords of the upper house,
which were there, took part with the commons, a-
gainst the spirituall lords; and by force of reason cau-
sed them to assent to the bill with a little qualific-
ing. Which bill the next daie was wholie agreed to in the
lords house, to the great reioicing of the late people,
and to the great displeasure of the spirituall persons.
During this parlement was brought downe to the
commons the booke of articles, which the lords had
put to the king against the cardinall, the chiefe where-
of were these.

1 First, that he without the kings assent had pro-
cured to be a legat, by reason whereof he took awaie
the right of all bishops and spirituall persons.

2 Item, in all writings which he wrote to Rome,
or anie other forren prince, he wrote *Ego Rex meus*,
I and my king: as who would saie, that the king
were his seruant.

3 Item, that he hath slandered the church of Eng-
land in the court of Rome. For his suggestion to be
legat was to refozme the church of England, which
(as he wrote) was *Falsa in reprobum sensum*.

4 Item, he without the kings assent carried the
kings great seale with him into Flanders, when he
was sent ambassadoz to the emperour.

5 Item, he without the kings assent, sent a com-
mission to sir Gregorie de Cassado, knight, to con-
clude a league betwene the king & the duke of Fer-
rar, without the kings knowledge.

6 Item, that he hauing the French pockes presu-
med to come and breathe on the king.

7 Item, that he caused the cardinals hat to be put
on the kings coine.

8 Item, that he would not suffer the kings clerke
of the market to sit at saint Albons.

9 Item, that he had sent innumerable substance
to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the
great impouerishment of the realme.

These articles, with manie more, read in the com-
mon house, and signed with the cardinals hand, was
confessed by him. And also there was shewed a writ-
ting sealed with his seale, by the which he gaue to the
king all his moueables and immoueables. On the
daie of the Conception of our labe, the king at
Pozke place at Westminster, in the parlement
time, created the vicount Rochford erle of Wilshire,
and the vicount Fitz Water was created erle of
Suffex, and the lord Hastings was created erle of
Huntington. When all things were concluded in
the parlement house, the king came to the parlement
chamber the 17 daie of December, and there put his
rosall assent to all things done by the lords and com-
mons, and so proroged his court of parlement till the
next yeare. After the parlement was thus ended, the
king removed to Cranetoth, and there kept his
Christmalle with the queene in great triumph: with
great plenty of viands, and diuerse disguisings and
enterludes, to the great reioicing of his people.

The king, which all this while, since the doubt was
moued touching his marriage, abstained from the
queenes bed, was now aduertised by his ambassa-
doz, whom he had sent to diuerse vniuersities for the
absoluing of his doubt, that the said vniuersities
were agreed, and clerelie concluded, that the one
brother might not by Gods law marrie the other bro-
thers wife, carnallie knowen by the first marriage,
& that neither the pope nor the court of Rome could

All against
the charges
both fees
and tale.

Articles re-
biter against
the cardinals
of 1529.

Creation of
earles at
Pozke place.

An. Reg. 22.

Original
document in
possession of the
cathedral

in anie wise dispense with the same. For ye must understand, that amongst other things alleged for dispense of the marriage to be lawfull, euidence was giuen of certeine words, which prince Arthur spake the morrow after he was first married to the queene, whereby it was gathered, that he knew his carnallie the night then passed. The words were these, as we find them in the chronicle of master Edward Hall.

In the morning after he was risen from the bed, in which he had laine with his all night, he called for drinke, which he before time was not accustomed to do. At which thing, one of his chamberleines mar-
10 nelling, required the cause of his drought. To whom he answered merilie, saying; I haue this night bene in the middest of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that Iourne maketh me so drie: and if thou haddest bene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldest haue bene drier than I. Again, it was alleged, that after the death of prince Arthur, the king was defer-
20 red from the title and creation of prince of Wales almost halfe a yeare, which thing could not haue bene doubted, if he had not bene carnallie knowen. Also the hir selfe caused a bull to be purchased, in the which were these words *resoluitur cognitum*, that is, and peradventure carnallie knowen: which words were not in the first bull granted by pope Iulie at his se-
30 cond marriage to the king, which second bull with that clause was onelic purchased to dispense with the se- cond matrimonie, although there were carnall copu- lation before, which bull needed not to haue bene pur- chased, if there had bene no carnall copulation, for then the first bull had bene sufficient. To conclude, when these & other matters were laid forth to proue that which she denied, the carnall copulation betwixt hir and prince Arthur, his counsellors left that mat-
40 ter, and fell to persuasions of naturall reason. And lastlie, when nothing else would serue, they stood stiffe in the appeale to the pope, and in the dispensation pur- chased from the court of Rome, so that the matter was thus shifted off, and no end liklie to be had therein.

Inhabitors
sent to Italy
out of Eng-
land about
this intricate
matter of the
marriage.

The king therefore vnderstanding now that the emperour and the pope were appointed to meet at the citie of Bononie *alias* Bologna, where the emperour should be crowned, sent thither in ambassage from him the earle of Wilshire, doctor Stokesleie, elected
50 bishop of London, and his almoner doctor Edward Lee, to declare both vnto the pope and emperour, the law of God, the determinations of vniuersities in the case of his marriage, and to require the pope to do iustice according to truth, and also to shew to the emperour, that the king did moue this matter onelic for discharge of his conscience, and not for anie other respect of pleasure or displeasure carnallie. These ambassadors comming to Bononie were hono-
60 rably receiued, and first doing their message to the pope, had answer of him, that he would heare the matter disputed when he came to Rome, and accord- ing to right he would do iustice.

Emper-
ours answer
to the ambas-
sadors.

The emperour answered, that he in no wise would be against the lawes of God, & if the court of Rome would indage that the matrimonie was not good, he could be content: but he solicited both the pope and cardinals, to stand by the dispensation, which he thought to be of force inough to proue the marriage lawfull. With these answers the ambassadors depar-
70 ted and returned homewards, till they came on this side the mounteins, and then receiued letters from the king, which appointed the earle of Wilshire to go in ambassage to the french king which then late at Bourdeaux, making shift for monie for redeming of his children: and the bishop of London, was ap- pointed to go to Padoa, and other vniuersities in Ita-
80 lie, to know their full resolutions and determinate

opinions in the kings case of matrimonie: and the kings almoner was commanded to returne home into England, and so he did.

¶ You haue heard before how the cardinal was attainted in the premunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancelor, & laie at Asher. In this Lent season the king by the aduise of his counsell li-
90 cenced him to go into his diocesse of Yorke, & gaue him commandement to keepe him in his diocesse, and not to returne southward without the kings speciall licence in writting. So he made great prouision to go northward, and a parelled his seruants newlie, and bought manie costlie things for his household: and so he might well inough, for he had of the kings gentle- nesse the bishopricks of Yorke and Winchester, which were no small things. But at this time diuerse of his seruants departed from him to the kings ser-
100 vice, and in especiall Thomas Crumwell one of his chiefe counsell, and chiefe doer for him in the suppress- ion of abbeies. After that all things necessarie for his iourne were prepared, he took his waie north- ward till he came to Southwell, which is in his dio- cesse, and there he continued this yeare, euer grun- ding at his fall, as you shall heare hereafter. But the lands which he had giuen to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the kings hands, by his atteindor in the premunire: and yet the king of his gentlenesse and for fauour that he bare to good learning, created againe the college in Oxford, and
110 where it was named the cardinals college, he called it the kings college, & indowed it with faire posses- sions, and put in new statutes and ordinances. And for because the college of Ipswich was thought to be no- thing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.

Abr. Flem. ex
Edw. Hall. in
H. 8. fol. cxcj.
excij.

1530
The cardinal
licensed to re-
paire into
Yorke shire.

Thomas
Crumwell
advanced to
the kings
seruice.

The kings
college in Ox-
ford otherwile
called Christi
church.

In this yeare the emperour gaue to the lord ma- ster of saint Iohnes of Ierusalem, and his brethren the Iland of Malta lieng betwene Sicill and Bar-
120 barie, there to imploye themselves vpon Christs eni- mies, which lord master had no place sure to inhabit there, since he was put frō the Rhodes by the Turke that besieged Vienna, but missed of his expectation. For the christians defended the same so valiantlie a- gainst the said Turke and his potuer, that he lost manie of his men by slaughter; manie also miscar- ried by sicknesse and cold: so that there perished in
130 all to the number of fourescore thousand men, as one of his baslats did after ward confesse, which was to him a great displeasure; and in especialtie because he neuer besieged citie before, but either it was pre- ded or taken. In the time of this siege a metrichian did make these two verses in memorie of the same:

*Casus in Italian quo venit Carolus anno,
Cinchaestripheis nostra Vienna Geis.*

The number
of the Turke
that dico at
the siege of
Vienna.

In the beginning of this yeare was the hanting
140 and reading of the new testament in English tran- slated by Tindall, Joye, and others, forbidden by the king with the aduise of his counsell, and namelie the bishops, which affirmed that the same was not trulie translated; and that therein were prelogs and prefaces sounding to heresie, with vcharitable railing against bishops and the cleargie. The king therefore commanded the bishops, that they calling to them the best learned men of the vniuersities, should cause a new translation to be made, that the people without danger might read the same for their better instruction in the lawes of God, and his holie word. Diuerse persons that were detected to vse
150 reading of the new testament, and other booke in English set forth by Tindall, and such other as were sied the realine, were punished by order taken a- gainst them by sir Thomas More then lord chancel- lor, who held greatlie against such booke, but still the number daily increased.

Anno. Reg. 22.
The new te-
stament trans-
lated into
English.

¶ In this yeare in Aiaie, the bishop of London Edw. Hall in
160 caused H. 8. fol. Cxcj.

The earle of
Wilshire am-
bassador to the
french king,
whom he sent
to enger pla-
ce

Cardinals
flamens
burned.

The wild
with spoils the
earle of
dare's coun-
trie, &c.

The execu-
tion of the trea-
tie accepted
upon at Cam-
bric.

The deliv-
rance of the
French kings
children.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 968, 969.

Cardinal
Wolsey re-
turneth to
Richmond.

caused all his new testaments which he had bought with manie other bookes, to be brought into Pauls churchyard in London, and there were openlie burned. In the end of this yeare, the wild Irishmen, knowing the earle of Kildare to be in England, entered his land, and spoiled and burnt his countrie, with diuerse other countries. And the erle of Osserie being the kings deputie made little resistance, for lacke of power. Wherefore the king sent the earle of Kildare into Ireland, & with him sir William Skevington knight, master of the kings ordinance, and diuerse gunners with him, which so politticallie ordered themselves, that their enemies were glad to offer amends, and to treat for truce: & so sir William Skevington the next yeare returned into England, leaving there the earle of Kildare for the kings deputie.

Now I will returne to the execution of the treatie of Cambrie, in the which it was agreed, that the ladie Cleane, and the French kings children should be deliuered when the ranfome appointed was paid as you haue heard in the last yeare. Wherefore the French king gathered monie of his subjects with all speed, and when the monie was readie, he sent the great master of France called Annas de Demozancie and diuerse other nobles to Balon with the monie, and to receiue the ladie and the children. And thither came to them the great constable of Castile and monsieur Prat for the emperor, & there the crowns were weighed and touched: and what fault soeuer the Spaniards found in them they would not receiue a great number of them, and so they carried the children backe from Fontarbie into Spaine. Thus the great master of France and his companie late still at Balon, without hauing his purpose performed, from March till the end of June, and longer had lien if the king of England had not sent sir Francis Bryan to Balon to warrant the paiement: whereupon the date of deliuerance was appointed to be on saint Peters daie in June.

At which date the great master, with one and thirtie mulets laden with the crownes came to the one side of the riuer of Audate, which riuer departeth Spaine and France, and there taried till the first daie of Iulie: on which daie the ladie Cleane, and the children were put in two great boates, hauing onlie twelue gentlemen of Spaine with them: and in like maner the great master with two great boats, in the which the monie was, and twelue gentlemen with him. All these boats met at a bidge made in the middelt of the riuer. The constable of Spaine and his twelue gentlemen met with the great master of France and his twelue gentlemen on the bidge: and after a little salutation, the Frenchmen entered into the two boats where the ladie and the two children were; and the Spaniards into the two boats where the monie was, and then ech part hasted to land. Thus were the French kings wife and children deliuered into his hands, for which deliuerance was great ioy and triumph made in France: and also in Iulie were fiers made in London and diuerse other places for the same consideration and cause.

Now will we leaue France, and returne to England, renewing the remembrance of cardinal Wolsey, who after great sute made to the king, was licenced to remoue from Ather to Richmond, which place he had a little before repared with great costs, for the king made an exchange thereof with him for Hampton court. The cardinall hauing licence of the king to repaire to Richmond, made halt thither, and lodged there in the lodge of the great parke, which was a verie pretie house, there he late untill the beginning of Lent. Then he remoued into the charterhouse of Richmond, where he late in a lodging which

doctor Collet made for himselfe, untill he remoued northward, which was in the Passion weeke after, and euerie daie he resorted to the charterhouse there, and would sit with one of the most ancient fathers, who perswaded him to despise the vaine glorie of the world.

Then prepared the cardinall for his iourne into the north, and sent to London for liuerie clothes for his seruants, and so rode from Richmond to Hen-
don, from thence to a place called the Kie, the next daie to Kailstone, where he lodged in the priorie; the next daie to Huntingdon, and there lodged in the abbey; the next daie to Peterborough, and there lodged in the abbey, where he abode all the next weeke, & there he kept his Casser, his traine was in number an hundred and threescore persons. Upon Maundie thursdaie he made his maundie, there hauing nine and fiftie more men, whose feet he washed, and gaue euerie one twelue pence in monie, three els of good caruans, a paire of shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings, and one of them had two hylings.

On thursdaie next after Casser, he remoued to master Fitz Williams, sometime a merchant-tailor of London, and then of the kings counsell; the next weeke he remoued to Stamford, the next daie to Grantham, the next daie to Selwarke, and lodged in the castell that night and the next daie also: from thence he rode to Southwell, where he continued
most part of all that summer, untill the latter end of grasse time, and then he rode to Scrobie, where he continued untill Michaelmasse, and then to Calwood castell within seven miles of Pothe, whereof we will speake more hereafter. On the sixteenth of Maie, a man was hanged in chaires in Finsburie field, for murdering doctor Miles vicar of saint Giles. The fourth and fift of Nouember was a great wind, that blew downe manie houses and trees, after which wind followed so high a tide, that it drowned the marshes on Essex side and Kent, with the Ile of Thanet, and other places, destroing much cattell. The nineteenth of September, in the citie of London, a proclamation was made for the restraining of the popes authoritie in England, as followeth.

A proclamation published in England in the behalfe of the kings prerogatiue roiall against the pope.

The kings highnes streictlie chargeeth and commandeth, that no maner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be of, doe purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome or elsewhere, nor vse & put in execution, diuulge, or publish anie thing hertofore within this yeare passed purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, conteining mater preiudiciall to the high authoritie, iurisdiction, and prerogatiue roiall of this his said realme, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his graces noble & vertuous intended purposes in the premises, upon paine of incurring his highnesse indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dreadfull example of all other.

Some iudged, that this proclamation was made, because the queene (as was said) had purchased a new bull for ratification of hir marriage. Others thought that it was made, because the cardinall had purchased

The cardinals
preparation
into the north

Execution of
St. Peters day
A great
wind

what was
intended by
the cardinals
in this procla-
mation

purchased a bull to curle the king, if he would not restore him to his old dignities, and suffer him to correct the spiritualtie, the king not to meddle with the same. In deed manie conjectured, that the cardinall grudging at his fall from so high dignities, liked not to write things sounding to the kings reproch, both to the pope, and other princes; for that manie opprobrious words were spoken to doctor Edward Kierne the kings orator at Rome, and that it was said to him, that for the cardinals sake the king should haue the worse speed in the sute of his matrimonie.

Cardinall Wolseie lieng at Catwode, held there an honourable and plentifull house for all comers, and also built & repaired the castell, which was greatlie in decaye, hating artificers and labourers aboute thre hundred persons bailie in wages. At length being thereunto perswaded by the doctors of the church of Poike, he determined to be installed there at Poike minster, the next mondaie after Alhalowes daie, against which time due preparation was made for the same, but not in such sumptuous wise, as his predecessors before him had vsed. For whereas the cardinall was not abashed to lend to the king, requiring him to lend him the mitre and pall which he was wont to weare when he sang masse in ante solemne assemblee: the king vpon sight of his letters, could not but maruell at the proud presumptuousnes of the man, saieing: What a thing is this, that pride should thus reigne in a person that is quite vnder foot.

The daie being once knowne vnto the worshipfull gentlemen of the countrie, and other, as abbats, and priors, and notice of his installation, they sent in such prouision of vittells, that it is almost incredible, all which was unknowne to the cardinall, for as much as he was pzenented and disappointed of his purpose, by the reason that he was arrested of high treason, as yee shall hereafter heare. So that most part of this former prouision that I speake of, was sent vnto Poike the same daie of his arrest, and the next daie following: for his arrest was kept as close as could be. The order of his arrest was thus. It was appointed by the king & counsell, that sir Walth knight, one of the kings priue chamber, should be sent downe with a commission into the north vnto the earle of Northumberland (who was sometime brought vp in house with the cardinall) and they twaine being iointlie in commission to arrest the cardinall of high treason, maister Walth toke his horse at the court gate, about none, vpon Alhalowes daie, toward the earle of Northumberland.

And now haue I occasion to declare what happened about the same time, which peraduenture signified the troubles following to the cardinall. The cardinall sitting at dinner vpon Alhalowes daie, hauing at his bowds end diuerse chapleins sitting at dinner, yee shall vnderstand that the cardinals great crosse stood in a corner at the tables end, leaning against the hanging, and when the bowds end was taken vp, and a conuenient time for the chapleins to arise, one doctor Augustine a Venetian, and physician to the cardinall, rising from the table with the other, hauing vpon him a great golowne of boisterous velvet, ouerthrow the crosse, which trailing downe along the tappet, with the point of one of the crosses, brake doctor Bonars head that the blood ran downe, the companie there standing greatlie astonied with the chance.

The cardinall perceiving the same, demanded what the matter meant of their sudden amaze: And they shewed him of the fall of his crosse vpon doctor Bonars head. Hath it (quoth he) brake anie blood? Yea forsooth my lord (quoth they). With that he cast his eyes aside, & taking his head, said *adieu amen*, &

therewith saien grace, rose from the table, & went to his chamber. Now marke the signification both the cardinall expounded this matter at Bomfret after his fall. First, yee shall vnderstand, that the crosse which he bare as archbishop of Poike, signified himselfe; and Augustine the physician who ouerthrow the crosse, was onelie he that accused the cardinall, whereby his enemies caught an occasion to ouerthrow him: it fell vpon doctor Bonars head, who was maister of the cardinals faculties and spirituall iurisdiccions, and was then dammed by the ouerthrow of the crosse: yea, and more ouer, drawing blood of him, betokened death, which shortly after did insue.

About the time of this mischance, the same verie daie and season, maister Walth toke his horse at the court as nigh as could be iudged. Now the appointed time drew nere of his installation, and sitting at dinner vpon the fridaie next before the mondaie on the which daie he intended to be installed at Poike, the earle of Northumberland and maister Walth, with a great companie of gentlemen of the earles house, & of the countrie, whome he had gathered together in the kings name, came to the hall at Catwode, the officers being at dinner, and the cardinall not fullie dined, being then in his fruits. The first thing that the earle did after he had set order in the hall, he commanded the porter at the gates to deliver him the keyes thereof. Who would in no wise obeie his commandement, though he were roughlie threated, and straitlie commanded in the kings name to make deliuerie of them to one of the earles seruants.

Sir (quoth he) seeing that yee do but intend to set one of your seruants in my place to keepe the gates, I know no seruant that yee haue but I am as able as he to do it, and keepe the gates to your purpose (whatsoener it be) also the keyes were deliuered me by my lord and maister, wherfore I praye you to pardon me, for whatsoever yee shall command me to do in the ministracion of mine office, I shall do it with a good will. With that (quoth the earle) hold him a booke (& commanding him to laie his hand thereon) Thou shalt sweare (quoth he) that thou shalt well and trulie keepe the gates to the kings vse, and to do all such things as we shall command: and that yee shall let passe neither in nor out at these gates, but such as yee be commanded by vs. And with this oth he receiued the keyes at the earles hands.

Of all these doings knewe the cardinall nothing, for they stopped the staires, so that none went vp to the cardinals chamber, and they that came downe could no more go vp againe. At the last one escaped, who shewed the cardinall that the earle was in the hall. Whereat the cardinall marvelled, and would not beleue him, but commanded a gentleman to bring him the truth, who going downe the staires, saw the earle of Northumberland, and returned, and said it was verie he. Then (quoth the cardinall) I am forie that we haue dined, for I feare our officers be not prouided of anie sorte of good fish, to make him some honozable chere, let the table stand (quoth he). With that he rose vp, and going downe the staires, he encountered the earle coming vp with all his suite. And as sone as the cardinall espied the earle, he put off his cap, and said, My lord yee be most hartilie welcome, and so embraced each other.

Then the cardinall toke the earle by the hand, and had him vp into the chamber, whome followed all the number of the earles seruants. From thence he led him into his bed-chamber, and they being there all alone, the earle said vnto the cardinall with a soft voice, laien his hand vpon his arme: My lord I arrest you of high treason. With which words the cardinall being maruelouslie astonied, standing both

How the cardinall expounded the fall of his crosse.

The earle of Northumberland arresteth the cardinall.

The porter & bowds to the earle.

The cardinall marvelleth at the earles sudden coming.

The action of arrest which the cardinall taketh in all part.

Will a good space. At last (quoth the cardinal) What authoritie haue you to arrest me? Forsooth my lord (quoth the erle) I haue a commission so to do. Where is your commission (quoth he) that I may see it? Praise be that you may not (said the erle). Well then (quoth the cardinal) I will not obeye your rest. But as they were debating this matter betwene them in the chamber, as busie was maister Walsy in arresting doctor Augustine at the doore of the palace, saieing vnto him, So in traitor or I shall make thee.

The cardinal
desireth to see
the commissi-
on of the arres.

At the last maister Walsy being entred the cardinals chamber, began to plucke off his hood, and after kneled downe to the cardinal. Vnto whom the cardinal said, Come hither gentleman & let me speake with you: Sir, heere my lord of Northumberland hath arrested me, but by whose authoritie he sheweth not, if yee be ioined with him I praise you shew me. Anded my lord (quoth maister Walsy) he sheweth you the truth. Well then (quoth the cardinal) I praise you let me see it. Sir I beseech you (quoth maister Walsy) hold vs excused: there is annexed to our commission certeine instructions, which you may not see. Well (quoth the cardinal) I trow yee are one of the kings priue chamber, your name is Walsy, I am content to yelde to you, but not to my lord of Northumberland without I see his commission: the worst in the kings priue chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest pce of the realme by the kings commandement, without anie commission, therefore put your commission and authoritie in execution, spare not, I will obeye the kings will; I take God to iudge, I neuer offended the king in word nor deed.

The cardinal
committed to
the custodie
of the cardis
gentlemen.

Then the earle called into the chamber diuerse gentlemen of his owne seruants, and after they had taken the cardinals keyes from him, they put him in custodie of the cardis gentlemen, and then they went about the house to set all things in an order. Then sent they doctor Augustine awayne to London with as much speed as they could, who was bound vnto the houle like a traitor. But it was sundae to ward night per the cardinal was conueied from Calwood, who lodged that night in the abbey of Womfrict. The next daie he remoued toward Doncaster, and was there lodged at the Blakhe friers. The next daie he was remoued to Shesheld parke, where the earle of Shreshurie with his ladie, and a traine of gentlemen and gentlewomen receiued him with much honour. Then departed all the great number of gentlemen that conducted him thither.

The cardinal
honourable
receiued and
serued at the
earle of
Shreshur-
ries house.

The cardinal being thus with the earle of Shreshurie, continued there eightene daies after, vpon whome the earle appointed diuerse gentlemen to attend continuallie, to see that he should lacke nothing, being serued in his owne chamber as honorable as he had bene in his owne house, and once euerie daie the earle would repaice to him and commune with him. After the cardinal had thus remained with the earle of Shreshurie about a fortnight, it came to passe at a certeine time as he sat at dinner in his owne chamber, hauing at his boords end a messe of gentlemen and chapleins to keepe him companie, toward the end of his dinner, when he was come to eating his fruits, his colour was perceiued often to change, whereby he was iudged not to be in good health.

The cardinal
sickness sit-
ting at the
table.

Wherevpon one of his gentlemen said, Sir, me seemes you are not well at ease. To whom he answered with lowd voice, Forsooth no more I am, for I am (quoth he) taken suddenlie with a thing about my stomack, that lieth there along as cold as a whetstone, which is no more but wind, I praise you go to the apothecarie, & inquire of him if he haue anie thing that will breake wind vpwrd, Then went he to the earle

and shewed him what estate the cardinal was in, and what he desired. With that, the earle caused the apothecarie to be called before him, & demanded of him if he had anie thing that would breake wind vpwrd in a mans bodie. And he answered he had such gce. Then (quoth the earle) fetch me some. When the apothecarie fetched a white confesion in a saite paper, & shewed it to the earle, who commanded one to giue the assaie thereof before him, and then the same to be brought to the cardinal, who receiued it. vp all at once into his mouth.

But immediatlie after suerlie, he auoided much wind vpwrd: Lo (quoth he) ye may see that it was but wind, and now I am well eased, I thanke God, and so rose from the table, and went to his prayers. And that done, there came on him such a loseneesse, that it caused him to go to the stole. And not long after the earle of Shreshurie came into the gallery to him, with whome the cardinal met: and then sitting downe vpon a bench, the earle asked him how he did, and he most lamentable answered him, and thanked him for his good intertainment. Sir (quoth the earle) if ye remember, ye haue often wished to come before the king, to make your answer; and I haue written to the king in that behalfe, making him priue of your lamentation that yee inwardlie haue receiued for his displeasure, who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accustomed to do in such cases: therefore I would aduise you to plucke by your hart, and be not agast of your enemies, I doubt not but this your tourne to his highnesse shall be much to your advancement.

The king hath sent for you that too; whilfoll knight maister Kingston, and with him foure and twentie of your old seruants, now of the gard, to the intent yee may safelie come to his maiestie. Sir (quoth the cardinal) I trow maister Kingston is constable of the Tower. Psea, that of that (quoth the erle) I assure you he is elected by the king for one of your friends. Well (quoth the cardinal) as God will, so be it, I am subiect to fortune, being a true man, reddie to accept such chances as shall follow, and there an end; I praise you where is maister Kingston. Quoth the earle, I will send for him. I praise you so do (quoth the cardinal) at whose message he came. And as soon as the cardinal espied him, he made hast to encounter him, and at his coming he kneled to him, and saluted him in the kings behalfe, whome the cardinal bare-headed offered to take vp, and said: I praise you stand by, knele not to me, I am but a wretch replet with miserie, not esteeming my selfe but as a vile abject, bitterlie cast awayne, without desert, as God knoweth.

Then said maister Kingston with humble reuerence: Sir, the king hath him commended vnto you. I thanke his highnesse quoth the cardinal, I trust he be in health. Psea (quoth maister Kingston) and he commanded me to saie to you, that you should assure your selfe that he beareth you as much good will as euer he did, and willet you to be of good chere. And where report hath bene made, that ye should commit against him certeine heinous crimes, which he thinks to be vntrue, yet he can do no lesse than send for you to your trial, & to take your iourne to him at your owne pleasure, commanding me to be attendant vpon you. Therefore sir I praise you, when it shall be your owne pleasure to take your iourne, I shall be reddie to giue attendance. After Kingston (quoth he) I thanke you for your newes, and sir, if I were as lustie as I haue bene but of late, I would ride with you in post, but I am diseased with a flur that maketh me verie weake, but I shall with all speed make me reddie to ride with you to morrow.

When night came, the cardinal wared verie sick

The cardinal
fallerth into a
flur that cut
him his life.

Sir William
Kingston is
sent to fetch
by the cardis
nall before the
king.

Walsy his
twice the last
for William
the cardinal.

The cardis
sickness

Reg. 22.

with the laske, the which caused him continuallie to go to the skale all that night, in so much that he had that night sicke stokes: therefore in consideration of his infirmite, they caused him to carrie all that day: and the next daie he took his iournie with master Kingston, and them of the gard, till he came to an house of the earle of Shrewsburies called Hardwicke hall, where he laie all night verie emill at case. The next daie he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that night moze sicke: and the next daie he rode to Leicester abbete, and by the waie waied so sicke that he was almost fallen from his mule: so that it was night before he came to the abbete of Leicester, where at his comming in at the gates, the abbat with all his convent met him with diuerse torches light, whom they honorable receiued and welcomed.

To whom the cardinall said: Father abbat, I am come hither to lay my bones among you, riding so still untill he came to the staires of the chamber, where he alighted from his mule, and master Kingston led him up the staires, and as soone as he was in his chamber he went to bed. This was on the saturday at night, and then increased he sicker and sicker, untill mondaie, that all men thought he would haue died: so on tuesday saint Andzwees euen, master Kingston came to him and bad him god morrow, for it was about six of the clocke, and asked him how he did: Sir (quoth he) I carrie but the pleasure of God, to render vp my poze soule into his hands. Not so Sir (quoth master Kingston) with the grace of God, y^e shall liue and doo verie well, if y^e will be of good chere. Nay in god sooth master Kingston, my disease is such, that I can not liue: for I haue had some experience in physicke.

Thus it is, I haue a flux with a continuall feuer, the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the same within eight daies, either must insue excoilation of the intrailles, or franke, or else present death, and the best of them is death, and (as I suppose) this is the eight daie, & if y^e see no alteration in me, there is no remedie, saue (though I may liue a daie or twaine after) but death must insue. Sir (quoth master Kingston) you be in much pensiuenes, doubting that thing, that in god faith y^e need not. Well, well, master Kingston (quoth the cardinall) I see the matter how it is framed: but if I had serued God as diligentlie as I haue done the king, he would not haue giuen me ouer in my greie haire: but it is the just reward that I must receiue for the diligent paines and studie that I haue had to doo him seruice, not regarding my seruice to God, but onelie to satisfie his pleasure.

I praye you haue me most humble commended unto his most maiestie, & beseech him in my behalfe to call to his princelie remembrance all matters proceeding betwene him & me from the beginning of the world, and the progresse of the same, &c. Master Kingston fare well, I can no more saie, but I wish all things to haue good successe, my time draweth on fast. And euen with that he began to draw his speech at length, & his tong to faile, his eyes being set, whose sight failed him. When they did put him in remembrance of Christ his passion, & caused the yemen of the gard to stand by to see him die, and to witnesse of his words at his departure: & incontinent the clocke stroke eight, and then he gaue vp the ghost, and departed this present life: which caused some to call to remembrance how he said the daie before, that at eight of the clocke they should lose their master.

Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancie of men exalted by fortune to dignitie: for in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings a line, hauing more respect to the honoz of his person, than he had to his spirituall profession, wherin should

be shewed all meekenes, humilitie, and charitie. [An example (saith Guicciardin, who hardlie this storie effectually, and sheweth the cause of this cardinals ruine) in our daies was the of memorie, touching the power which fortune and enmie hath in the courts of princes.] He died in Leicester abbete, & in the church of the same abbete was buried. Such is the suertie of mans brittle state, doubtfull in birth, & no lesse feeble in life, which is as vncertaine, as death most certaine, and the meanes thereof manifold, which as in number they exceed: so in strangenesse they passe: all degrees of ages & diuersities of seres being subiect to the same. In consideration whereof, it was notable said by one that wrote a whole volume of infirmities, diseases, and passions incident to children:

*A prima vita diuersos flamine morbos
Perpetuatur, diuis afflictaque malis:
Donec in occasum redeat qui vixit ab ortu,
Antea quam discat vivere, vita cadit.*

Guicci. pag. 1139.

Sebast. Anthonius.

This cardinall (as Edmund Campian in his historie of Ireland describeth him) was a man vndoubtedly borne to honoz: I thinke (saith he) some princes bastard, no butchers sonne, exceeding wise, faire spoken, high minded, full of reuenge, vitious of his bodie, lostie to his enemies, were they neuer so big, to those that accepted and sought his friendship wonderfull courteous, a ripe scholemann, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flatterie, insatiable to get, and moze princelie in bestowing, as appeareth by his two colleges at Ipswich and Orenford, the one ouerthrowne with his fall, the other vnfinished, and yet as it lieth for an house of students, considering all the appurtenances incomparable thorough Christendome, whereof Henrie the eight is now called founder, because he let it stand. He held and intioed at once the bishopps of Exeter, Duresme, & Winchester, the dignities of lord cardinall, legat, & chancellor, the abbete of Saint Albons, diuerse priories, sundrie fat benefices in commendam, a great preferrer of his seruants, an aduancer of learning, stout in euerie quarell, neuer happie till this his ouerthrowne. Wherein he shewed such moderation, and ended so perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him moze honoz, than all the pompe of his life passed. Thus far Campian. Here it is necessarie to adde that notable discourse, which I find in John Stow, concerning the state of the cardinall, both in the yeares of his youth, and in his settled age: with his sudden comming vp from preferment to preferment: till he was aduanced to that step of honoz, which making him insolent, brought him to confusion.

This Thomas Wolscie was a poze mans sonne of Ipswich, in the countie of Suffolke, & there borne, and being but a child, verie apt to be learned, by the meanes of his parents he was conueied to the vniuersitie of Orenford, where he shortly prospered so in learning, as he was made bachelior of art, when he passed not fiftene yeares of age, and was called most commonlie thorough the vniuersitie the boie bachelior. Thus prospering in learning, he was made fellow of Spawdeline college, and afterward appointed to be scholemaster of Spawdelin schole, at which time the lord marquesse Dorset had thre of his sonnes there at schole, committing vnto him as well their education as their instruction. It pleased the said lord marquesse against a Christmas season to send as well for the scholemaster, as for his children home to his house for their recreation, in that pleasant and honorable feast.

Then being there, the lord their father, perceiving them to be right well imployed in learning for their time, he hauing a benefice in his gift, being at that time void, gaue the same to the scholemaster in reward of his diligence at his departure after Christmas.

The description of cardinall Wolscie, set downe by Edmund Campian.

Abr. Fl. ex l. 9. pag. 904. 905, &c. The ascension of Thomas Wolscie, Bachelior of art at fiftene yeares old.

Scholemaster to the marquesse Dorset's children.

Cardinall almost by his own excoilation that he can not liue.

The cardinall almost by his diligence in the seruice of God.

Sheweth inclination of death in the cardinall.

Example of pride and arrogancie.

Thomas Wolleſe offered a benefice.

Thomas Wolleſe ſet in the ſtocks by ſir James Paulet. Wolleſe ſuſſeſſionment reuenged.

Gatehouſe of the middle Temple new builded.

Sir John Napſant treaſurer of Calis, Thomas Wolleſe his chapleine.

Thomas Wolleſe was chapleine to Henrie the ſeuenth.

Thomas Wolleſe ambaffador to the emperour.

mas to the vniuerſitie, and hauing the preſentation thereof, repaired to the ordinarie for his induction, and being furniſhed of his instruments, made ſped to the benefice to take poſſeſſion, and being there for that intent, one ſir James Paulet knight dwelling thereabouts, took occasion againſt him, and ſet the ſcholemaſter by the heeles during his pleaſure, which after was neither forgotten nor forgiven.

For when the ſcholemaſter mounted to the dignitie to be chancellor of England, he ſent for maſter Paulet, & after manie ſharpe words, inioined him to attend untill he were diſmiſſed, and not to depart out of London without licence obtained; ſo that he continued there within the middle Temple the ſpace of ſixe or ſix yeares, and late then in the Gate houſe next the ſtreet, which he reediſſed verie ſumptuouſlie, garniſhing the ſame all ouer the outſide with the cardinals armes, with his hat, cogniſances, and other deuices in ſo glorious a ſort, that he thought thereby to haue appeaſed his old diſpleaſure.

Now after the deceaſe of the lord markeſſe, this ſame ſcholemaſter conſidering himſelfe to be but a ſimple beneficed man, and to haue loſt his fellowſhip in the college, which was much to his reſeaſe, thought not long to be unprouiſed of ſome other helpe, and in his trauell thereabouts, he fell in acquaintance with one ſir John Napſant, a vertie grane & ancient knight, who had a great come in Calis vnder king Henrie the ſeuenth: this knight he ſerued, and behaued himſelfe ſo diſcretlie, that he obtained the eſpecial fauor of his maſter, inſomuch that he committed all the charge of his office vnto his chapleine, and (as I vnderſtand) the office was the treaſureſhip of Calis, who was in conſideration of his great age diſcharged of his come, and returned againe into England, and thorough his inſtant labor, his chapleine was promoted to be the kings chapleine, and when he had once caſt anchor in the port of promotion, how he wrought, I ſhall ſomewhat declare.

He hauing there a iuſt occaſion to be in the ſight of the king daile, by reaſon he ſaid maſſe before him in his cloſet, and that being done, he ſpent not the daie in idleneſſe, but would attend vpon thoſe whom he thought to beare moſt rule in the counsell, the which at that time was doctor For, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretarie, and lord of the priuie ſeale: and alſo ſir Thomas Louell knight, a ſage counſellor, maſter of the wards, and conſtable of the Tower: theſe grane counſellors in proceſſe of time perceiued this chapleine to haue a verie fine wit, and thought him a meet perſon to be preferred to wittie affaires. It chanced at a certeine ſeaſon that the king had an vrgent occaſion to ſend an ambaffador vnto the emperour Maximilian, who laie at that preſent in the low countrie of Flanders, not farre from Calis.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſir Thomas Louell, whom the king counſelled and debated with vpon this ambaffage, ſaw they had a conuenient occaſion to prefer the kings chapleine, whoſe wit, eloquence, and learning, they highly commended to the king. The king commanded them to bring his chapleine before his preſence, with whom he fell in communication of great matters, and perceiuing his wit to be verie fine, thought him ſufficient, commanding him therevpon to prepare himſelfe to his iourneie; and hauing his depeach, he took his leaue of the king at Richmond about none; & ſo coming to London about foure of the clocke, where the barge of Graues end was readie to land ſoorth, both with a proſperous tide and wind, without anie abode he entered the barge.

Hauing ſo done, he paſſed ſoorth with ſuch ſped, that he arriued at Graues end within little more than thre houres, where he tarried no longer than

his poſt horſes were a prouiding, and then travelled ſo ſpeddily that he came to Douer the next morning, whereas the paſſengers were readie vnder ſaile to Calis, into the which paſſenger, without tarrieng, he entered, and ſailed ſoorth with them, that long before none he arriued at Calis, and hauing poſt horſes, departed from thence with ſuch ſped, that he was that night with the emperour, and diſcloſed the whole ſumme of his ambaffage to the emperour, of whom he required ſpedie expedition, the which was granted him by the emperour, ſo that the next daie he was clerlie diſpatched with all the kings requiſites ſullie accompliſhed.

At which time he made no longer delate, but took poſt horſes that night, and rode toward Calis, conducted thither with ſuch perſons as the emperour had appointed; and at the opening of the gates of Calis, he came thither, where the paſſengers were as readie to returne into England, as they were beſore at his iourneie ſoorthward, inſomuch that he arriued at Douer by ten of the clocke before none, and hauing poſt horſes, came to the court at Richmond the ſame night, where he taking ſome reſt untill the morning, repaired to the king at his firſt coming from his bedchamber to his cloſet, whom when the king ſaw, he checked him, for that he was not on his iourneie: Sir (quoth he) if it may pleaſe your highneſſe, I haue already bene with the emperour, and diſpatched your affaires (I truſt to your graces contentation) and with that preſented vnto the king his letters of credence from the emperour.

The king being in a great maze and wonder of his ſpedie returne and proceedings, diſsembled all his wonder, and demanded of him whether he encountered not his purſuant in that behaile he ſent vnto him, ſuppoſing him not to be out of London, with letters concerning a verie neceſſarie matter, neglected in their conſultation; Pea ſoorth (quoth the chapleine) I met with him yeſterdaie by the waie, and hauing no vnderſtanding by your graces letters of your pleaſure, haue notwithstanding bene ſo bold vpon mine owne diſcretion (perceiuing that matter to be verie neceſſarie in that behaile) to diſpatch the ſame. And ſo ſomuch as I haue excused your graces commiſſion, I moſt humble require your graces pardon. The king reiſing not a little, ſaid; We do not onlie pardon you thereof, but alſo giue you our princelie thanks, both for the proceeding therein, and alſo for your good and ſpedie exploit, commanding him for that time to take his reſt, and repaire againe after dinner for the further relation of his ambaffage.

The ambaffador, when he ſaw time, repaired before the king and counsell, where he declared the effect of all his affaires ſo exactlie, with ſuch grauitie and eloquence, that all the counsell that heard him, commended him, eſteeming his expedition to be almoſt beyond the capacite of man. The king gaue him at that time the deariie of Lincolne. From thence ſoorthward he grew more and more into eſtimation and authoritie, and after was promoted by the king to be his almoner. After the death of king Henrie the ſeuenth, and in the ſoorthing youth of king Henrie the eight, this almoner handled himſelfe ſo politicklie, that he ſone found the meanes to be made one of the kings counsell, and to grow in fauor with the king, to whom the king gaue an houſe at Whitehall in Fleetſtreet, ſometime ſir Richard Empſons, where he kept houſe for his familie; and ſo daile attended vpon the king, and in his eſpecial fauor, who had great ſute made vnto him.

His ſentences & wittie perſuaſions in the counſell chamber were alwaies ſo piſſie, that the counsell (as occaſion moued them) continually aſſigned him to

Thomas Wolleſe was beneficed.

His returne into England after his ambaffage.

The king maruelled at the cardinals ſpedie returne.

Thomas Wolleſe deare of Lincolne.

Thomas Wolleſe counſellor to the king.

The cardinal
which upon
the death of
his
predecessor.

to be the depositor to the king in all their proce-
dings, in whome the king received such a leaning
fantasie, for that he was most earnest and readiest of
all the counsell to advance the kings will and plea-
sure: the king therefore esteemed him so highly, that
all the other counsellors were put from the great fa-
vor that they before were in, insomuch that the king
committed all his will unto his disposition, which the
almoner perceiving, took upon him therefore to dis-
charge the king of the weightie and trouble some bu-
sinesse, persuading the king that he should not need
to spare any time of his pleasure for any businesse
that should happen in the counsell.

And whereas the other counsellors would divers
times persuade the king to have sometime recourse
into the counsell chamber, there to heare what was
done; the almoner would persuade him to the con-
trarie, which delighted him much: and thus the al-
moner ruled all them that were before him, such did his
politic and wit bring to passe. Who was now in high
favor but master almoner: And who ruled all under
the king, but master almoner: Thus he persecuted in
favor, untill at last in came presents, gifts, and re-
wards so plentifullie, that he lacked nothing that
might either please his fantasie, or enrich his coffers.

And thus proceeding in fortunes blissfulnesse, it
chanced the warres betwene the realmes of Eng-
land and France to be open, insomuch as the king
was fullie persuaded in his most roiall person to
invade his forein enemies with a puissant armie;
wherefore it was necessarie that this roiall enter-
prise should be speedilie provided and furnished, in e-
verie degree of things apt & convenient for the same,
for the expedition wherof the king thought no mans
wit so meet for politic and painefull travell, as was
his almoner, to whome therefore he committed his
whole trust therein, and he took upon him the whole
charge of all the businesse, and brought all things to
good passe in a decent order, as all manner of vittels,
provisions, and other necessaries convenient for so
noble a voyage and armie.

All things being by him perfected, the king ad-
vanced to his roiall enterprise, passed the seas, and
marched forward in good order of battell, untill he
came to the strong towne of Teruine, to the which
he laid his siege, and assailed it verie strongly con-
tinuallie with such vehement assaults, that within
short space it was yielded unto his maiestie, unto the
which place the emperor Maximilian repaired unto
the king with a great armie like a mightie prince, ta-
king of the king his graces wages: which is a rare
thing, and but seldom scene, an emperor to fight
under a kings banner.

Thus after the king had obtained this puissant fort
and taken the possession thereof, and set all things
there in due order, for the defense and preservation
therof to his use, he departed thence, and marched
toward the citie of Torneie, and there laid his siege
in like manner, to the which he gave so fierce & sharpe
assault, that they were constrained of fine force to
render the towne unto his victorious maiestie: at
which time the king gave the almoner the bishopricke
of the same see, towards his paines and diligence su-
sained in that tourne. Now when the king had esta-
blished all things agreeable to his will and pleasure,
and furnished the same with noble captaines & men
of warre for the safeguard of the towne, he returned
again into England, taking with him divers no-
ble personages of France being prisoners, as the
duke of Longue, and vicount Clarimont, with o-
ther which were taken there in a skirmish.

After whose returne, immediatlie the see of Lin-
colne fell void, by the death of doctor Smith late bi-
shop there, the which benefice his grace gave to his

almoner, late bishop of Torneie elect, who was not
negligent to take possession therof, and made all the
speed he could for his consecration: the solemnization
therof ended, he found meanes that he gat the pos-
session of all his predecessors goods into his hands.
It was not long after that doctor Benbrike archbi-
shop of Yorke died at Rome, being there the kings
ambassador, unto the which see the king immediatlie
presented his late and new bishop of Lincolne; so
that he had these bishoprics in his hands in one pere
given him.

When prepared he for his translation from the see
of Lincolne, unto the see of Yorke, after which sole-
mnization done, he being then an archbishop *Primas*
Anglia, thought himselfe sufficient to compare with
Canturburie, and thereupon erected his crosse in the
court, and everie other place, as well within the pre-
cinct and jurisdiction of Canturburie, as in any o-
ther place. And forsomuch as Canturburie claimeth
a superiortie over Yorke, as over all other bishop-
rics within England, and for that cause claimeth as
a knowledge of an ancient obedience of Yorke, to
abate the advancing of his crosse, in presence of
the crosse of Canturburie: notwithstanding, the
archbishop of Yorke nothing minding to desist from
bearing thereof, in manner as I said before, cau-
sed his crosse to be advanced, as well in the pre-
sence of Canturburie as elsewhere. Wherefore Can-
turburie being moved therewith, gave unto Yorke
a certaine checke for his presumption, by reason
therof, there ingendered some grudge betwene
Yorke and Canturburie; Yorke intending to pro-
vide some such meanes, that he would be rather su-
perior in dignitie to Canturburie, than to be either
obedient or equall to him. Wherefore he obtained to
be made priest cardinall, and *Legatus de latere*: unto
whome the pope sent a cardinals hat with certeine
buls for his authoritie in that behalfe. Yet you shall
understand, that the pope sent him this worthie hat
of dignitie, as a reward of his honor and authoritie,
the which was conveyed in a barlets budget, who se-
med to all men to be but a person of small estima-
tion.

Wherefore Yorke being advertised of the basenes
of this messenger, & of the peoples opinion, thought
it mete for his honor, that this reward should not be
conveyed by so simple a person, and therefore caused
him to be stopped by the waie immediatlie after his
arrivall in England, where he was newlie furnished
in all manner of apparell with all kind of costlie silks,
which seemed decent for such an high ambassador, and
that done, he was encountered upon Blackheath,
and there received with a great assemblie of prelates,
and lustie gallant gentlemen, and from thence con-
ducted thorough London with great triumph. Then
was great and speedie preparation made in West-
minster abbey, for the confirmation and acceptance
of this high order and dignitie, the which was execu-
ted by all the bishops and abbats about or nigh Lon-
don, with their rich miters and copes, and other orna-
ments, which was done in so solemn wise, as had
not bene scene the like, unlesse it had bene at the co-
ronation of a mightie prince or king. Obtaining this
dignitie, he thought himselfe meet to beare rule a-
mong the temporall power, & among the spirituall
jurisdiction: wherefore, remembering as well the taunts
sustained of Canturburie, as having respect to the ad-
vancement of his owne honor & promotion, he found
the meanes with the king, that he was made lord
chancellor of England, and Canturburie which was
chancellor dismissed, who had continued in that some
long since before the decesse of Henrie the seventh.
Now being in possession of the chancellorship, and
induced with the promotions of the archbishop, & car-
dinall.

Thomas
wolfeie bi-
shop of Lin-
colne.

See pag. 835.

Thomas
wolfeie arch-
bishop of
Yorke.

Note the
pride of wol-
feie and his
ambition.

The two
archbishops
at strife for
the prerogative.

Thomas
wolfeie car-
dinall, see
pag. 837.

The cardinall
in all his ac-
tions flattereth
upon his re-
putation.

Thomas
wolfeie lord
chancellor or
rogateth all
that he may
to himselfe by
virtue of his
promotions.

See before
pag. 822.

Thomas
wolfeie bi-
shop of Tor-
neie.

dinall *De Latere*, hauing power to correct Canturburie, and all other bishops and spirituall persons, to assemble his conuocation when he would assigne, he took upon him the correction of matters in all their iurisdiccions, and visited all the spirituall houses, hauing in euerie diocesse all maner of spirituall ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparatores, and all other officers to furnish his courts, and presented by pteuention whome he pleased vnto all benefices throughout all this realme.

Thomas wolfe bishop of Winchester, he had also these other bishopricks in his hands as it were in farme,

what kind of persons he retained in his service,

The order of the cardinals house, and first of his hall,

The hall kitchen,

The priuite kitchen.
The scalding house.
The pantrie.
The butterie.
The puerie.
The cellar.
The chandrie.
The wafarie, &c.

And to the aduancing further of his legantine iurisdiction and honor, he had masters of his faculties, masters *Ceremoniarum*, and such other, to the glorifying of his dignitie. Then had he his two great crosses of silver, the one of his archbishopricke, the other of his legacie, borne before him whither soeuer he went or rode, by two of the tallest priests that he could get within the realme. And to increase his gaines, he had also the bishopricke of Durham, and the abbete of saint Albons in commendation. And after, when doctor For bishop of Winchester died, he surrendered Durham into the kings hands, and took to him Winchester. Then had he in his hand (as it were in farme) the bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, & Hereford, for so much as the incumbents of them were strangers, and made their abode continually beyond the seas in their owne countreies, or else at Rome, from whence they were sent in legation to this realme vnto the king, and for their reward at their departure, king Henrie the seventh gaue them those bishopricks.

But they being strangers, thought it more meet for the assurance to suffer the cardinal to haue their benefices for a conuenient sum of monie paid them yearly, where they remained, than either to be troubled with the charges of the same, or to be yearly burdened with the conuenance of their reuenues vnto them: so that all the spirituall linings and presentations of these bishopricks were fullie in his disposition, to prefer whom he listed. He had also a great number daillie attending vpon him, both of noblemen & gentle men, with no small number of the tallest yeomen that he could get in all the realme, in so much that well was that nobleman and gentleman, that could preferre a tall yeoman to his service.

He shall vnderstand, that he had in his hall continually three boards, kept with three severall principall officers, that is to saie, a steward which was alwaies a priest; a treasurer a knight; and a comptroller an esquier; also a cofferer being a doctor; three marshals; three yeomen officers in the hall, besides two gromes, and almoners. Then in the hall kitchen, two clerks of the kitchen; a clearkie comptroller; a suruetoer of the oressor; a clearkie of the spicerie, the which together kept also a continuall messe in the hall. Also in his hall kitchen he had of master cooks two, and of other cooks, laborers and children of the kitchen, twelue persons; foure yeomen of the scullerie, and foure yeomen of the silver scullerie; two yeomen of the pastrie, with two other passellers vnder the yeomen.

Then in his priuite kitchen a master coke, who went daillie in velvet or in sattin, with a chaine of gold, with two other yeomen and a grome: in the scalding house, a yeoman and two gromes: in the pantrie two persons: in the butterie two yeomen, two gromes, and two pages: and in the puerie likewise: in the cellar three yeomen, and three pages: in his chandrie two: in the wafarie two: in the wardrobe of beds, the maister of the wardrobe, and ten other persons: in the laundrie, a yeoman, a grome, thirtie pages, two yeomen purueioers, & one grome: in the bake-house, a yeoman and two gromes: in

the wood-yard a yeoman, and a grome: in the barne one: in the garden a yeoman and two gromes: porters at the gate, two yeomen, and two gromes: a yeoman of his barge: and a maister of his horse: a clearkie of the stable, a yeoman of the same: the stable: the ferrier: a yeoman of his chariot: a sumpter man: a yeoman of his stirrop: a muleter: furtiue gromes of his stable, euerie of them kept foure geldings.

In the almozie a yeoman and a grome: in his chapel he had a deane, a great dine, and a man of excellent learning: a subdeane: a repeater of the quire: a gospeller: a piffler: of singing priests ten: a maister of the children: seculars of the chapel, singing men twelue: singing children ten, with one servant to await vpon the children: in the reuerberie a yeoman, and two gromes, ouer and besides diuerse retainers that came thither at principall feasts, for the furniture of his chapel, it passeth my capacitie to declare the number of costlie ornaments and rich jewels that were to be occupied in the same continually: there hath bene scene in procession, about the hall, foure and fortie verie rich coapes of one sute two: ne, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks, and other ornaments to the furniture of the same.

He had two crossbearers, and two pillbearers in his great chamber: and in his priuite chamber these persons: first the chiefe chamberleine, and vicechamberleine: of gentlemen vshers, besides one in his priuite chamber, he had twelue daillie waiters; and of gentlemen waiters in his priuite chamber he had six, and of lords nine or ten, who had each of them two men allowed them to attend vpon them, except the earle of Darbie, who had allowed five men: then had he of gentlemen, of cupbearers, caruers, and sewers, both of the priuite chamber, and of the great chamber, with gentlemen daillie waiters there, fortie persons: of yeomen vshers six: of gromes in his chamber eight: of yeomen in his chamber five and fortie daillie: he had also almes men sometime more in number than other sometime.

There was attending on his board of doctors and chapleins, besides them of his chapel, sixtene daillie: a clearkie of his closet: secretaries two: and two clearks of his signet: and foure counsellors learned in the law. And for so much as it was necessarie to haue diuerse officers of the Chancerie to attend vpon him, that is to saie, the clerke of the crowne: a reading clearkie: a clearkie of the hamper: and a chafer of the war: then a clearkie of the cheke, aswell vpon the chapleins, as of the yeoman of his chamber: he had also foure footmen which were garnished in rich running coats, whensoever he rode in anie tourneie: then had he an herald of armes: and a sergeant of armes: a physician: an apothecarie: foure minstrels: a keeper of his tents: an armorier: an instructor of his wards: two yeomen of the wardrobe of his robes: and a keeper of his chamber continually in the court: he had also in his house the suruetoer of Dorke, and a clearkie of the greene cloth.

All these were daillie attending, downe lieng and vprising, and at meales: he kept in his great chamber a continuall board for the chamberers and gentlemen officers, hauing with them a messe of the pong lords, and another of gentlemen. Besides all these, there was neuer an officer, gentleman, or worthy person, but he was allowed in the house, some three, some two, and all other one at the least, which grew to a great number of persons. Thus farre out of the checker roll, besides other officers, seruants, retainers, and suters, that most commonlie dined in the hall. After that he was thus furnished, he was sent twice in ambassage to the emperor Charles the first, for diuerse urgent causes touching the kinges maiestie,

Thomas wolfe chapel and such as bare office there,

The furniture of his chapel,

Officers of credit about Thomas wolfe in his priuite chamber,

Attendants on his board,

Officers of the Chancerie

His footmen,

His herald of armes & other officers,

Thomas wolfe & his ambassage to the emperor Charles the first,

maiestie, it was thought, that so noble a prince (the cardinal) was most meet to be sent: wherefore being ready to take upon him the charge thereof, he was furnished in all degrees and purposes, most like a great prince.

For first he proceeded forth furnished like a cardinal: his gentlemen being verie manie in number, were clothed in luerie coats of crimsin veluet of the best, with chaines of gold about their necks, and his yeomen and meane officers in coats of fine scarlet, garded with blacke veluet an hand broad. Thus furnished, he was twise sent into Flanders to the emperor then lying in Bruges, whome he did most highlie intertaine, discharging all his charges and his mens. There was no house within the towne of Bruges, wherein anie gentleman of the cardinals was lodged, or had recourse, but that the owners were commanded by the emperours officers, that they, upon paine of their liues, should take no monie for anie thing that the cardinals servants did take of anie kind of vittels, no although they were disposed to make anie costlie bankets.

Commanding furthermore their said hostes, to see that they lacked no such things as they honestlie required for their honestie and pleasure. Also the emperours officers euerie night went through the towne from house to house, whereas anie English gentlemen did repast or lodge, and serued their liueries for all night, which was done in this maner. First, the officers brought into the house a cart of fine manchot, and of siluer two great pots with white wine, and sugar to the weight of a pound: white lights and yello lights of wax: a boll of siluer with a goblet to drinke in, and euerie night a staffetoch: this was the order of the liueries euerie night. And in the morning, when the same officers came to fetch awaie their stuffe, then would they account with the hostes for the gentlemen's costs spent in the daie before. Thus the emperor interteined the cardinal and all his traine for the time of his ambassage there. And that done, he returned into England with great triumph.

Now of his order in going to Westminster hall daile in the tearme. First per he came out of his private chamber, he heard seruice in his closet, and there said his seruice with his chapleine; then going againe to his private chamber, he would demand if his servants were in a readinesse, and furnished his chamber of presence, and waiting chamber. Being thereof then aduertised, he came out of his private chamber about eight of the clocke, apparelled all in red, that is to say, his upper garment either of fine scarlet, or else fine crimsin taffata, but most comonlie of fine crimsin sattin ingrained, his pillion of fine scarlet, with a nerke set in the inner side with blacke veluet, and a tippet of fables about his necke, holding in his hand an orange, whereof the substance within was taken out, and filled up againe with the part of a sponge, wherein was vineger and other confections against the pestilent aires, the which he most commonlie held to his nose when he came among anie prease, or else that he was pestered with manie suffers.

Before him was borne first the broad scale of England, and his cardinals hat, by a lord, or some gentleman of worship, right solemnelie: as some as he was once entered into his chamber of presence, his two great crosses were there attending to be borne before him: then cried the gentlemen officers, going before him bare headed, and said: On before my lords and maisters, on before, make waie for my lords grace. Thus went he downe through the hall with a sergeant of armes before him, bearing a great mace of siluer, and two gentlemen carleng two great pillars of siluer. And when he came at the

hall doze, there was his mule, being trapped all in crimsin veluet, with a saddle of the same stuffe, & gilt stirrups. Then was there attending upon him when he was mounted, his two cross-bearers: & his pillar-bearers in like case upon great horses, trapped all in fine scarlet. Then marched he forward with a traine of noble men and gentlemen, having his footmen foure in number about him, bearing ech of them a gilt poller in their hands.

Thus passed he forth untill he came to Westminister hall doze, and there lighted, and went by after this maner into the Chancerie, or into the Starre-chamber: howbeit, most commonlie he would go into the Chancerie, and stae a while at a barre made for him beneath the Chancerie on the right hand, and there commune sometime with the iudges, and some time with other persons: and that done, he would repaire into the Chancerie, and sitting there untill eleuen of the clocke, hearing of lutes, and determining of other matters, from thence he would diuers times go into the Starre-chamber, as occasion serued. There he neither spared high nor low, but iudged euerie state according to his merits and deserts.

He used also euerie fundaie to resort to the court, then being for the most part of all the yeare at Grenewich, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his owne staires, furnished with yeomen standing upon the baile, and his gentlemen being within about him, and landed againe at the three cranes in the Wintrie: and from thence he rode upon his mule with his crosse, his pillars, his hat and broad scale carried afore him on horsebacke through James street, untill he came to Billingsgate, and there toke his barge againe, and so was rowed to Grenewich, where he was receiued of the lords and chiefe officers of the kings house, as the treasurer, comptrolloz and others, and so conueied unto the kings chamber. Then the court was wonderfullie furnished with noblemen and gentlemen: and after dinner among the lords, having some consultation with the king or with the counsell, he would depart homeward with the like triumph.

Thus in great honour, triumph, and glorie, he reigned a long season, ruling all things within the realme appertaining unto the king. His house was resorted to with noblemen and gentlemen, feasting and banketting ambassadoz diuerse times, and all other right noble. And when it pleased the king for his recreation to repaire to the cardinals house (as he did diuerse times in the yeare) there wanted no preparations or furniture: bankets were set forth with maskes and innumeries, in so gorgeous a sort and costlie maner, that it was an heauen to behold. There wanted no dames or damosels meet or apt to danse with the maskers, or to garnish the place for the time: then was there all kind of musike and harmonie, with fine voices both of men and children.

On a time the king came suddenlie thither in a maske with a dozen maskers all in garments like shepheards, made of fine cloth of gold, and crimosin sattin pained, & caps of the same, with visards of god phynomie, their haire & beards either of fine gold: witre silke, or blacke silke, having sixteen torch-bearers, besides their drums and other persons with visards, all clothed in sattin of the same color. And before his entring into the hall, he came by water to the water gate without anie noise, where were laid diuerse chambers and guns charged with shot, and at his landing they were shot off, which made such a rumble in the aire, that it was like thunder: it made all the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, to muse what it should meane, comming so suddenly, they sitting quiet at a solemne banquet, after this sort.

His behauior
in the court of
Chancerie &
Starre-chamber

His order of
going to and
coming from
the court.

The cardinals house
like a princes
court for all
kind of壮
agerie & sumptuousness.

A maske and
banquet, the
king in person
present at the
cardinals
house.

The cardinals
noble flatelie
sitting at ta-
ble like a
prince.

First ye shall vnderstand, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence iust covered, & the lord cardinal sitting under the cloth of estate, there hauing all his seruice alone: and then was there set a table with a noble man, or a gentleman and a gentlewoman throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and ioined as it were but one table, all which order and deuise was done by the lord Sandes then lord chamberleine to the king and by sir Henrie Willford comptrollo: of the kings maiesties house. Then immediatlie after the great chamberleine, and the said comptrollo, sent to loke what it should meane (as though they knew nothing of the matter) who looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe and shewed him, that it seemed they were noblemen and strangers that arrived at his bridge, comming as ambassadours from some forren prince.

The cardinal
knew not that
the king was
in the number.

With that (quoth the cardinal) I desire you, because you can speake French, to take the paines to go into the hall, there to receiue them according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see vs, and all these noble personages being met at our banquet, desiring them to sit downe with vs, and to take part of our fare. Then went he incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they receiued them with twentie new torches, and conueied them vp into the chamber, with such a noise of drums and flutes, as seldom had bene heard the like. At their entring into the chamber two and two together, they went directlie before the cardinal, where he sat and saluted him reuerentlie.

The cardinal
reuerentlie sa-
luted of the
maskers.

To whom the lord chamberleine for them said: Sir, for as much as they be strangers, and can not speake English, they haue desired me to declare vnto you, that they hauing vnderstanding of this your triumphant banquet, where was assembled such a number of excellent dames, they could doe no lesse vnder support of your grace, but to repaire hither, to view as well their incomparable beautie, as for to accompanie them at mum-chance, and then to danse with them: and sir, they require of your grace licence to accomplish the said cause of their coming. To whom the cardinal said he was verie well content they should so doe. Then went the maskers, and first saluted all the dames, and returned to the most worthie, and there opened their great cup of gold filled with crownes and other peeces of gold, to whome they set certeine peeces of gold to cast at.

The cardinal
playeth at dice.

Thus perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they lost, and of some they wone: and marking after this manner all the ladies, they returned to the cardinal with great reuerence, potizing downe all their gold so left in their cup, which was about two hundred crownes: At all (quoth the cardinal) and so cast the dice and wane them, whereat was made a great noise and ioy. Then quoth the cardinal to the lord chamberleine, I praise you (quoth he) that you would shew them, that me seemeth there should be a nobleman amongst them, who is more meet to occupie this seat and place than I am, to whome I would most gladlie surrender the same according to my dutie, if I knew him.

He suspecteth
that the king
is present and
abareth his
estate.

Then spake the lord chamberleine to them in French, and they rounding him in the eare, the lord chamberleine said to my lord cardinal: Sir (quoth he) they confesse, that among them there is such a noble personage, whome, if your grace can appoint him out from the rest, he is content to disclose himselfe, and to accept your place. With that the cardinal taking good aduilement among them, at the last (quoth he) me seemeth the gentleman with the blacke beard, should be even he: and with that he arose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the gentleman in the

blacke beard with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered the chaire was sir Edward Penill, a comelie knight, that much more resembled the kings person in that maske than any other.

The king perceiuing the cardinal so deceived, could not forbear laughing, but pulled downe his visar and maske, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and there, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiuing the king to be there among them, reioiced verie much. The cardinal estons desired his highnesse to take the place of estate. To whom the king answered, that he would go first and thist his apparell, and so departed into my lord cardinals chamber, and there new apparelled him: in which time the dishes of the banquet were cleane taken vp, and the tables spread againe with new cleane perfumed cloths, euerie man and woman sitting still, vntill the king with all his maskers came among them againe all new apparelled.

Then the king toke his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding euerie person to sit still as they did before: in came a new banquet before the king, and to all the rest throughout all the tables, wherein were serued two hundred diuerse dishes, of costlie deuises and subtilties. Thus passed they forth the night with banquetting, dancing, and other triumphs, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobilitie there assembled. And thus spent this cardinal his time from daie to daie, and yeare to yeare, in such wealth, ioy, triumph, and glorie, hauing alwaies on his side the kings especial fauour, vntill fortune cruied his prosperitie, and ouerthrew all the foundations of his glorie, which as they were laid vpon sand, so they thwone and slipt awaie, whereby ensued the ruine of his estate, euen to the verie losse of his life, which (as a man of a guiltie conscience, and fearing capitall punishment due by law for his vndoutfull demeanour against his souereigne) Edward Hall saith (vpon report) he partly procured, willinglie taking so great a quantitie of a strong purgation, as nature was therewith oppressed, and vnable to digest the same; so that in fine he gaue by the ghost, and was buried in Weicester abbete: of whome to late more I will surcease, concluding onelie with a description which I find of him not impertinent for this place, sith wholie concerning his person.

This cardinal (as you may perceiue in this storie) was of a great stomach, for he compted himselfe equal with princes, & by craftie suggestion gat into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pittifull, and stood affectionate in his owne opinion: in open presence he would lie and saie vntruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: he would promise much & performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, & gaue the clergie euill example: he hated force the citie of London & feared it: it was told him that he should die in the waie toward London, wherefore he feared least the commons of the citie would arise in riotous maner and so slaie him, yet for all that he died in the waie toward London, carrieng more with him out of the world than he brought into it; namely a winding sheete, besides other necessaries thought meet for a dead man, as christian comeliesse required. This ruine of the cardinal was not so much as once dreamt vpon, when I. Leland the famous antiquarie wrote this welwishing oration vnto the said Wolfeie (being then in the flower of his glorie, and the pearle of his pride) as hereafter followeth.

*Sic tunc Emericus, regum qui glorijs florens,
Perpetuo studio te colat, ornet, amet:
Sic pia coniungat proceres concordia magnas,
Piusq; bellis fulmine Turcas ruat:*

Ab. Fl. ex
Edw. Hal.
Cxxxviii.
The descrip-
tion of the
cardinal.
Ad Th. W.
us legatus
piscopus
Harcourt.

The king and
some
chambers
at Greenwich

The cleargie
in charge of a
parsonage.

The offer of
the cleargie
to the king.

The king
first named
supreme head.

Thomas Audley
speaker for
the commons.

The summe
of the kings
sole answer.

His vastis optum tantorum denigmoles
Asphalus, summo templa dicata Deo
Sic bonus (d) felix) mihi tutela Camina
Dicere merito blasphemum me.

After the cardinall was dead, the king remoued
from Hampton court to Greenwich, where he with
quene Katharine kept a solemne Christmasse, and
on the Twelfe night he sat in the hall at his estate,
whereas were diuerse enterludes, rich maskes and
disports, and after that a great banquet. Now after
Christmas he came to his manour of Westminster,
which before was called Poike place: for after that
the cardinall was atainted in the premunire, & was
gone northward, he made a feoffment of the same
place to the king, and the chapter of the cathedrall
church of Poike by their writing confirmed the
same feoffment, & then the king changed the name
and called it the kings manor of Westminster, and
no more Poike place.

The whole cleargie of England euer supported
and maintained the power legantine of the cardinall,
wherefore the kings learned counsell said plainlie
that they were all in the premunire: the spirituall
lords were called by proccesse into the kings Bench
to answer, but before their date of appearance they
in their comocacion concluded an humble submittion
in writing, and offered the king a hundred thousand
pounds to be their god lord, & also to giue them
a pardon of all offenses touching the premunire by
act of parlement, the which offer with much labour
was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this
submittion the cleargie called the king supreme
head of the church of England, which thing they neuer
confessed before, whereupon manie things folloved
after, as you shall heare.

When the parlement was begun the first daie of
January, the pardon of the spirituall persons was
signed with the kings hand, and sent to the lords,
which in time conuenient assented to the bill, and sent
it to the commons in the lower house. Now when it
was read, diuers forward persons would in no wise
assent to it except all men were pardoned, saying
that all men which had any thing to do with the cardinall
were in the same case. The wisser sort answered,
that they would not compell the king to giue
them his pardon, & beside that it was uncharitable
done of them to hurt the cleargie, and do themselves
no good: therefore they aduised them to consent to
the bill, and after to sue to the king for their pardon,
which counsell was not folloved, but they determined
first to send the speaker to the king: per they
would assent to the bill.

Whereupon Thomas Audley speaker for the
commons, with a conuenient number of the common
house, came to the kings presence, and there eloquentlie
declared to the king, how the commons sore lamented
and bewailed their chance, to thinke or imagine
themselves to be out of his gracions fauor, because
that he had grationlie giuen his pardon of the
premunire to his spirituall subiects and not to them:
wherefore they most humbly besought his grace
of his accustomed godnesse and clemencie to include
them in the same pardon. The king wiselie answered
that he was their prince and soueraigne lord, and
that they ought not to restraine him of his libertie,
nor to compell him to shew his mercie: for it was
at his pleasure to vse the extremitie of his lawes
or mitigate and pardon the same: wherefore sith they
denied to assent to the pardon of the spirituall persons,
which pardon (he said) he might giue without
their assent by his great seale, he would be well aduised
per he pardoned them, because he would not be
noted to be compelled to it.

With this answer the speaker and the commons

departed verie sorrowfull and pensue, and some light
persons said that Thomas Cromwell, which was
newlie come to the fauour of the king, had disclosed
the secrets of the commons, which thing caused the
king to be so extreame. The king like a good prince
considered how sorrowfull his commons were of the
answer that he made them, and thought that they
were not quiet: wherefore of his owne motion he
caused a pardon of the premunire to be drawne, and
signed it with his hand, and sent it to the common
house by Christopher Hales his attorneie, which bill
was soon assented to. Then the commons louinglie
thanked the king, and much praised his wit, that he
had denied it to them when they unworthilie demanded
it, and had bountifullie granted it when he perceived
that they sorrowed and lamented.

While the parlement sat, on the thirtieth daie of
March at afternone, there came into the common
house the lord chancellor, and diuerse lords of the
spiritualtie and temporaltie, to the number of twelue,
and there the lord chancellor said: You of this worshipfull
house (I am sure) be not so ignorant, but you know
well, that the king our soueraigne lord hath married
his brothers wife, for she was both wedded and
bedded with his brother prince Arthur, and therefore
you may well saie that he hath married his
brothers wife. If this marriage be good or no manie
clerkes do doubt. Wherefore the king like a vertuous
prince willing to be satisfied in his conscience, &
also for the quiettie of his realme, hath with great
deliberation consulted with profound clerkes, & hath
sent my lord of London here present, to the chiefe
vniuersities of all christendome, to know their opinion
and iudgement in that behalfe. And although
that the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford had
bene sufficient to discusse the cause, yet because they
be in his realme, and to auoid all suspicion of partialtie
he hath sent into the realme of France, Italie,
the popes dominions and Venecians, to know their
iudgement in that behalfe, which haue concluded,
written, and sealed their determinations according
as you shall heare read: Then sir William Luke toke
out of a box certeine writings sealed, and read them
word by word as after in such translated out of Latine
into the English tongue.

The kings
voluntarie
inclination to
pardon the
premunire.

Touching the
kings marriage.

Samuel Edmund Bonner.

Determinations of diuerse vniuersities touching the vnlawfulnessse of the kings marriage, and first the determination of the vniuersitie of Orleans.

As long since there were put forth to vs
the college of doctors, regents of the vniuersitie
of Orleans, these two questions that follo. The first,
whether it be lawfull by the law of God for the
brother to take to wife that woman whom his
brother hath left: The second, if this be forbidden
by the law of God, whether this prohibition of the
law of God may be remitted by the pope his
dispensation: The foresaid college of doctors
regents, according to our custome and vsage
came manie times together, and did sit diuerse
times vpon the discussing of these foresaid
doubts and questions, and did examine and
weigh as much as we might diuerse and manie
places, both of the old testament and the new,
and also the interpreters and declarers both of
the law of God and the canon law.

After we had weighed & considered all things
eractlie, with god leisure and deliberation we
haue all determined and concluded, that these
foresaid marriages cannot be attempted, nor
enterprised, except a man do wrong, and
plaine contrarie to the law of God:

God: yea and that although it be done by pardon and sufferance of the pope. And in witnesse of this conclusion and determination, we haue caused this present publike wryting to be signed by the scribe of our said vniuersitie, and to be strengthened & fortified with the seale of the same. Enacted in the chapel of our ladie, the annuntiation, on the good tidings that the had of Christ comming in Myleance, the yere of our Lord 1529, the 5. date of Aprill.

The determination of the facultie
of decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris.

Lawiers of
Paris.

In the name of the Lord so be it. There was put forth before vs the deane and college of the right counsellfull facultie of decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris, this question: Whether that the pope might dispense, that the brother might marrie the wife that his brother hath left, if mariage betwene his brother now dead and his wife were once consummate? The deane and college of the said facultie after manie disputations and reasons made of both sides vpon this matter, and after great and long turning and searching of booke, both of the law of God, and the popes law, and of the law ciuill, we counsell and saie that the pope hath no power to dispense in this foresaid case. In witnesse whereof we haue caused this present wryting to be strengthened with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our scribe or chiefe bedle. Given in the congregation or assemble at saint Iohn Laterense in Paris the second daie of Maie 1530.

The determination of ciuilians
and canonists of the vniuersitie
of Aniou.

Aniou.

Not long time since there were proposed vnto vs the rector and doctors regents in law canon and ciuill of the vniuersitie of Aniou, these two questions here following, that is to wit; Whether it is lawfull by the law of God & the law of nature for a man to marrie the wife of his brother, that is departed without children, so that the mariage was consummate? And againe, whether it is lawfull for the pope to dispense with such mariage? We the aforesaid rector and doctors haue according to our custome and vsage manie times communed together, and sitten to dispute these questions, and to find out the certaintie of them. And after that we had discussed and examined manie and diuerse places, aswell of the law of God as of the law of man, which seemed to pertaine to the same purpose, and after we had brought reasons for both parties, and examined them: all things faithfullie and after good conscience considered, and vpon sufficient deliberation and aduise-ment taken, we define and determine that neither by the law of God nor of nature, it is permitted for any christian man, no not euen with the authoritie of the see apostolicke, or with anie dispensation granted by the pope, to marrie the wife that his brother hath left, although his brother be departed without children, after that the mariage is once finished and consummate. And for witness of the aforesaid things, we haue commanded the scribe of our said vniuersitie to signe this present publike instrument, and it to be fortified with the great seale of our vniuersitie. Enacted in the church of saint Peter in Aniou, the yere of our Lord 1530, the 7 date of Maie.

The determination of the facultie of
diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris.

Paris.

The deane and the facultie of the holie diuinitie of the vniuersitie of Paris, to all them to whom

this present wryting shall come, wissheth safetie in our sauour Iesu Christ, which is the verie true safetie. Where of late there is risen a great controuersie of great difficultie, vpon the marriage betwene the most noble Henrie the eight king of England defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland, &c: and the noble ladie Katharine queene of England, daughter to the catholike king Ferdinand, which mariage was not onelie contract betwene hir and hir former husband, but also consummate and finished by carnall intermeddling.

This question altho was proposed to vs to discusse and examine according to iustice and truth, that is to saie; Whether to marrie hir that one brother dead without children hath left, being so prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it can not be lawfull by the popes dispensation, that any christian man shuld marrie the wife that his brother hath left? We the foresaid deane and facultie calling to our remembrance, how vertuous, and how holie a thing, and how agreeable to our profession, vnto our dutie of loue and charitie it is for vs to shew the waie of iustice and right, of vertue and honestie, to them which desire to lead and passe ouer their life in the law of our Lord with sure and quiet conscience: could not but be readie to satisfie so honest and iust requests: wherevpon after our old wont, we came together vpon our oth in the church of S. Spaturine, and there for the same cause had a solemne masse with deuout prayer to the Holie-ghost.

And also we toke an oth, euerye man to deliuer and to studie vpon the foresaid question, as should be to the pleasure of God & according to conscience. And after diuerse & manie sessions or sittings, which were had and continued in the church of saint Spaturine, and also in the college called Sorbon, from the eight daie of June to the second daie of Iulie; when we had searched and examined through and through, with as much diligence as we could, and with such reuerence and religion or conscience as becometh in such a matter, both the booke of holie scripture, and also the most approued interpreters of the same: finally the generall and synodall counells, decrees and constitutions of the sacre and holie church, which by long custome hath bene receiued and approbate.

We the foresaid deane and facultie, disputing vpon the foresaid question, and making answer to the same, and that after the iudgement and full consent of the most part of the said facultie, haue concluded and determined, that the foresaid mariage with the brothers wife, departing without children, be so forbidden both by the law of God & of nature, that the pope hath no power to dispense with such mariages, whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, belaeve, and witnesse of this our assertion and determination, we haue caused the seale of our facultie, with our notaries signe, to be put vnto this present wryting. Dated in our generall congregation that we keepe by an oth at saint Spaturines, the yere of our Lord 1530, the second daie of Iulie.

The determination of the vniuersitie
of Burges in Berrie or Biturs.

We the deane and facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Burges (because we will do according to the example of S. Paule doctor of the gentiles, which doth likewise) will begin our wryting with prayer for all the beloued of God, among whom you most deare readers, vnto whom we wrytte, be called: grace, peace, and quietnesse of conscience come to you from God the father, and from our Lord Iesu Christ. While we were gathered together

together all into one place (in the octaves of Whit-
suntide) both in bodie and mind, and were sitting in
the house of the said deane, there was a question put
to vs againe, which had bene proposed to vs often-
times before, being no small question, which was
this: Whether the brother taking the wife of his bro-
ther now dead, and the marriage once consummate
and perfect, doth a thing unlawfull or no?

At the last when we had sought for the truth of the
thing, and had perceived and found it out by much la-
bour and studie of euerie one of vs by himselfe, and
by much and often turning of holie bookes, euerie
one of vs not corrupt, whereby we might the lesse o-
bscure the truth, began as the holie ghost did put in his
mind, to giue euerie man one arbitrement and sen-
tence, which was this. I haue well perceived in ve-
rie truth, without regard or respect of anie person,
that those persons which be rehearsed in the 18 chap-
ter of the Leviticall law, be forbidden by the verie
law of nature to contract matrimonie together, and
that this law can in no wise be released by anie au-
thoritie of anie man, by the which there is made an
abominable discovering of his brothers foulness. And
this is the signe of our common bedell or nota-
rie, and the seale of our foresaid facultie put vnto
this present writing the 10 daie of June, in the yeare
of our Lord 1530. And because the foot of our wi-
ting shall be of one forme and fashion with the head,
as we began with prayer, so let vs end after the ex-
ample of S. Paule that we spake of before, and saie, 30
the grace and fauour of our Lord Iesu Christ, the cha-
ritie and loue of God and the communication of the
holie ghost be with you all, Amen.

The determination of the diuines
in the popes vniuersitie of Bononie.

GOD best and mightiest taught first the old law
and testament with his owne mouth, to forme
and fashion according to loue and charitie the ma-
ners and life of men. And secondarilie the same God
did take after wards manhood vpon him for to be the
redemer of man, and so made the new law or new
testament, not onlie to forme and fashion according
to loue and charitie the life and manners of men, but
also to take awaie and to declare doubts, the which
did arise in manie cases, which when they be once
clerelie determined, shall helpe greatlie to perfect
vertue and godnesse, that is to saie, to perfect loue
and charitie.

Wherefore we thought it euermore, that it should
be our part to followe these most holie doctrines and
lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightened
by the light of God aboue & of the holie ghost, should
giue our sentence and iudgement in high and doubt-
full matters, after that we haue once leasurelie and
sufficientlie taken aduise vpon the cause, and
haue clerelie searched out and opened the thing by
many reasons and writings of holie fathers, as well
for the one part as for the other, doing nothing (as
nere as we can) rashlie or without deliberation.
Therefore where certeine great and noble men did
instantlie desire vs, that we would with all dili-
gence possible loke for this case that after insurth, &
afterwards to giue our iudgement vpon the same,
according to most equitie, right, and conscience, sit-
ting onlie to the truth.

All the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuersitie,
when we had euerie one by himselfe examined the
matter at home in our houses, came all together in-
to one place, and there treated vpon it manie daies
with as much cunning and learning as we could, we
anon looked on the case together, we examined it to-
gether, we compared all things together, we handling

euerie thing by it selfe, did trie them euen as you
would saie by line and rule, we brought forth all ma-
ner of reasons which we thought could be brought
for the contrarie part, and after wards solved them,
yea euen the reasons of the most reuerend father car-
dinal Caietane, yea and moreover the Deuterono-
mic dispensation of stirring vp the brothers seed, and
shortlie all other manner of reasons and opinions of
the contrarie part, as manie as seemed to belong to
this purpose.

And this question that was asked of vs, was
this: Whether it was forbidden onlie by the ordi-
nance of the church, or else by the law of God, that a
man might not marrie the wife left of his brother de-
parted without children? And if it were comman-
ded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the
pope may dispense with anie man to make such ma-
riage? The which question now that we haue exami-
ned both by our selfe secretlie, and also openlie as
diligentlie and exactlie as we could possible, and dis-
cussed it after the best manner that our wits would
serue: we determine, giue iudgement, and saie, and
as stille as we can we witnesse, and without anie
doubt do stedfastlie hold, that this marriage should
be horrible, accursed, and to be cried out vpon, and
vtterlie abominable not onlie for a chistian man,
but for an infidell, vnfaithfull or heathen.

And that it is prohibited vnder greuous paines
and punishments by the law of God, of nature, and
of man, and that the pope, though that he almost may
do all things, vnto whome Christ did giue the keyes
of the kingdome of heauen, hath no power to giue a
dispensation to anie man for to contract such mar-
riage for anie manner of cause, consideration or sugge-
stion: and all we be readie at all times & in all pla-
ces to defend & mainteine the truth of this our con-
clusion. In witnesse whereof we haue made this pre-
sent writing, and haue fortified the same both with
the seale of our vniuersitie, and also with the seale
of our college of doctors of diuinitie, and haue sub-
scribed & signed it with our generall and accustomed
subscription in the cathedrall church of Bononie, the
tenth daie of June, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The determination of the facultie of
diuinitie in the vniuersitie of
Padua in Italie.

They that haue written for the maintenance of
the catholike faith, affirme that God (best and
mightiest) did giue the precepts & commandements
of the old law with his owne mouth, to be an exam-
ple for vs, wherein we might see how we should or-
der our life and manners, and this God had done be-
fore he became man: and after that he had put vpon
him our manhood, & was become redemer or buier
of mankind, he made the new law or testament,
and of his mere liberalitie did giue it vs, not onlie
for the cause aforesaid; but also to take awaie and de-
clare all manner of doubts and questions that might
arise, the which once opened and declared, that their
verie true meaning is, to the intent that thereby we
might be made perfectlie good, which be greatlie
fruitfull vnto vs and wholesome.

And seeing that this was the mind of God in ma-
king these lawes, it hath bene our intent, and euermore
shall be, as it becommeth chistian men, to fol-
lowe these most solemnne ordinances of the most high
workemaster God, & the helpe of his light, that is
about the capacitie of nature, to vtter our iudgement
in all manner of doubts and hard questions. After we
had once considered the thing after the best manner,
and had by sufficient leasure made it clere by manie
evident reasons of both parties, and by manie au-
thorities

theories of the fathers of the church, determining nothing (as nere as we can) rashlie or without convenient deliberation. Seeing therfore that certeine great orators or ambassadoys did humble require and prae vs, that we would vouchsafe to search out with all the diligence we could this case following, and afterwards to giue our sentence vpon the same, plainlie and simple looking onelie on the truth.

After the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuersitie came togither, and after that we had euerie man examined the thing particularlie in our owne houses, and had beaten it with all learning and cunning that we were able: anon when we were togither, we considered, examined, and weighed all things by themselves, and brought in all maner of reasons, which we thought might by anie meanes be made to the contrarie, and without all colour or cloke did wholie and clærlie dissolue them and take them awaie. And amongst all, the dispensation by the law of Deuteronomie, of stirring vp the brothers seed, and all maner other reasons and determinations to the contrarie, that seemed to vs to pertaine anie thing to that purpose, we utterly confuted and dispatched them.

The question that is put vnto vs is this: Whether to marrie the wife of our brother departed without children, is forbidden onelie by the law of the church, or by the law of God also? And if it be forbidden by both these laws, whether the pope maie dispense with anie man for such matrimonie or no? Which question now that we haue discussed it, and as farre as we could, haue made it clære, both priuatlie euerie man by himselfe, and after all togither openlie, we fate, iudge, decre, witnesse, and for a truth affirme, that such marriage is no marriage; yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euerie chistian man, and to be abhominable as a grieuous sinne; and that it is as clære as can be forbidden vnder most cruell penalties by the lawes of nature, of God, and of man; and that the pope, vnto whome the heies of the kingdome of heauen be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispense by the right of law for anie cause, suggestion, or excuse, that anie such matrimonie should be contracted.

For these things which be forbidden by the law of God, be not vnderneath his power, but aboue it; nor he is not the beare of God as concerning those things, but onelie in such things as God hath not determined himselfe in his law; but hath left them to the determination and ordinance of man. And to mainteine the truth of this our sentence and conclusion, and for the most certeine and vndoubted defense of the same, we all of one mind and accord shall at all times and in euerie place be readie. In witnesse whereof we haue made this writing, and haue authorized it with the accustomed seale of our vniuersitie and also of our college of diuines. Dated at Padua in the church of the heremites of saint Augustine the first daie of Iulie, in the yere of our Lord 1530.

The determination of the vniuersitie of Tholose.

Tholose.

There was treated in our vniuersitie of Tholose a verie hard question; Whether it be lawfull for the brother to marrie his which had bene wife to his brother now departed, that without children: There was besides this an other thing that troubled vs verie fore; Whether, if the pope which hath the cure of Christs flocke, would by his dispensation (as men call it) suffer this, that then at the least wile it might be lawfull? The rector of the vniuersitie called to counsell all the doctors regents, that were at that time at Tholose for to shew thei minds on this que-

stion, and that not once, but twise: for he iudged that counsell giuing ought not to be halsted nor done vpon head, and that we had need of time and space to do anie thing conuenientlie and as it ought to be.

At the last there came togither into one place all the best learned and cunningest doctors, both of holie diuinitie, and also doctors that were best learned in both lawes; yea, and finally as manie as had anie experience in anie matter, and were able to do anie thing either by iudgement and discretion, or by eloquence or their excellent wits; and there did sweare that they would obeie the sacred and holie counceils, and would follow the decrees of the fathers, which no man that hath anie god conscience wile violat or breake. And so euerie man said his mind, & the matter was debated and reasoned diffuselie and at large for both parts.

In conclusion, we fell so fast to this point, that this was the sentence and determination that our vniuersitie, with one voice of all, did determine and conclude with most pure and clære conscience, and defiled with no maner of leuen of corruption: That it is lawfull for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take his wife that his brother hath left: and seeing that it maie not be done by the law of God nor of nature, we answered all, that the pope can lose no man from that law, nor dispense with him. And as for that thing can not be contrarie to our sentence and verdict, that the brother in old time was compelled by the law of Deuteronomie to marrie the brothers wife departed without issue. For this law was but a shadow and a figure of things to come, which vanished awaie as soone as euer the light and truth of the gospel appeared. And because these things be thus, we haue given our sentence after this forme aboue, and haue commanded the same to be signed by our notarie which is our secretarie, and to be fortified and authorized by the putting to of our authentical seale of our vniuersitie aforesaid, at Tholose the calendrs of first daie of October, the yere of our Lord 1530.

After these determinations were read, there were shewed aboue an hundred books drawn by doctors of strange regions, which all agreed the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, which were not read, for the daie was spent. Then the chancelor said: Now you of this common house maie report in your countries what you haue seene and heard, & then all men shall openlie perceiue, that the king hath not attempted this matter of will and pleasure, as some strangers report, but onlie for the discharge of his conscience and suretie of the succession of his realme: this is the cause of our repaire hither to you, and now will we depart.

When these determinations were published, all wise men in the realme much abhorred that marriage: but women, and such as were more wilfull than wise or learned, spake against the determination, and said that the vniuersities were corrupt and inticed so to do, which is not to be thought. The king himselfe fore lamented his chance, and made no maner of mirth nor pastime as he was wont to do. He dined and reioyced to the quene as he was accustomed, and diminished nothing of his estate, and much loued and cherished their daughter the ladie Marie: but in no wile he would not come to his bed. When Easter began to draw nere, the parliament for that time ended, and was proroged till the last daie of March, in the next yere. In the parliament aforesaid was an act made, that whosoever did poison any person, should be boiled in hot water to the death: which act was made, because one Richard Rafe, in the parliament time had poisoned diuerse persons at the bishop

shop of Rochesters place, which Richard, according to the same act, was boyled in Smithfield the teneber wednesdaie following, to the terrible example of all other.

150 Reg. 23.

150 Reg. 23.
The queene sent
the queene
the king.

When the vniuersitie aforesaid, and a great number of clearks and well learned men had determined the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, detestable, and against Gods law (as you haue heard) the king willing the queene to haue knowledge of the same, sent to his diuerse lords of the counsell, the last daie of Maie, being the wednesdaie in Whitsun weeke: the which lords, in his chamber at Grenewich, declared to him all the determinations (as you haue heard) and asked him whether he would (for the quietnesse of the kings conscience) put the matter to foure prelates, and foure temporall lords of this realme, or abide by his appeale: The queene answered: The king my father which concluded my marriage, I am sure, was not so ignorant but he asked counsell of clearks and well learned men before he married me the second time: for if he had had anie doubt in my marriage, he would not haue disturbed so great a treasure as he did, & then all the doctors in a manner agreed my marriage to be good, inasmuch that the pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be done, did both dispense and ratifie the second marriage, against whose doings I maruell that any person will speake or write.

And as to the determination of the vniuersitie, I am a woman, and lacke wit and learning to answer to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue done iustlie or parciallie: for this I am sure, that neither the kings father, nor my father would haue condescended to our marriage, if it had bene declared to be vnlawfull. And where you saie that I should put the cause to eight persons of this realme for quietnesse of the kings conscience, I pray God send his grace a quiet conscience. And this shall be your answer: that I saie I am his lawfull wife, and to him lawfullie married, and by the order of holie church I was to him espoused as his true wife (although I was not so worthie) and in that point I will abide till the court of Rome, which was prime to the beginning, haue made thereof a determination and final ending. With this answer the lords departed to the king, which was sozie to heare of his willfull opinion, and in especiall that the more trusted in the popes law, than in keeping the precepts of God.]

150 Reg. 23.
The queene
sent the king.

Forasmuch as merchant strangers, bringing their wares into the realme, did receiue readie monie for them, and ener deliuered the same monie to other merchants by exchange, not emploeing it vpon the commodities of the realme, a proclamation was set forth and made, that no person should make anie exchange, contrarie to the meaning of a statute ordeined in the time of king Richard the second: by reason whereof, clothes and other commodities of this realme shortly after were well sold, till they fell to exchange againe, and that this proclamation was forgotten. After Whitsuntide, the king & the queene remoued to Windsor, and there continued till the fourteenth of Iulie, on the which daie the king remoued to Woodstocke, and left the queene at Windsor, where she remained a while, & after remoued to the Horse, and from thence to Elmsfield, whither the king sent to his diuerse lords, to aduise him to be conformable to the law of God, shewing sundrie reasons to perswade him to their purpose, and one among the rest vled for that present this communication, as I find it left in writing, in the behoufe of the king.

150 Reg. 23.
The queene
sent the king.

Adam, the kings highnesse hath commanded vs repairing vnto you, on his highnesse behalfe to

shew vnto you thus much, that his maiestie hauing heretofore sent vnto you a great number of his counsellors and learned men, to declare what great iniuries and wrongs by your procurement and solicitation were and yet be done vnto his maiestie and this his realme, in citing his highnesse in his owne person, or by his proxy to appeare at Rome, to make answer to your sute, contrarie to the determination of all lawes, as not onelie the famous vniuersities of Oxiffendome, as Paris and Aleance, but also as the most part of the learned men here or elsewhere in that facultie affirme, and as maister deane learned in that facultie can and will testifie vnto you, on his conscience, if it shall please you to heare him, and contrarie also to his estate roiall, and to the priuileges and prerogatiues of this his graces realme.

His highnesse perceiuing your grace not to regard their aduertisements in right and iustice, but still to perseuere and continue, and rather increase your inturious procurements and solicitations in that behalfe, is not a little grieved & displeased with your continuance and prosecution of this iniurie and manifest wrong towards his maiestie, and this his graces realme. The continuance of which your vnkind dealing hath compelled his highnesse not onelie to abstaine from the sight of you, but also to forbear to receiue anie of your tokens, which do nothing else but renew and refresh his displeasure, inforcing him also to an indignation, to see tokens offered and sent by him, who continueth in prosecuting of so notable an iniurie and manifest wrong towards his maiestie, & this his realme, perceiuing also what boldnesse other outward princes might take to misintreat his highnesse, when they should vnderstand how his maiestie suffereth himselfe to be wronged by his pretended subiect, and so notable wrong to be done to this his realme.

And vpon this cause and ground, like as the kings highnesse these certeine moneths past, hath disceuered your grace from his presence, so he intendeth yet to continue, and hath commanded vs to shew you, that his pleasure is ye shalbe at your libertie, (as ye shall thinke most commodious) repaire to either of these three places, his manour of Woking, his manour of Elmsfield, or the monasterie of Wylham, and there to continue without further molesting of his highnesse with your sutes or requests to the contrarie, as wherewith ye shall not preuaile; but more and more molesting and troubling his highnesse, procure his further displeasure towards you.

And though percase the pope shall desire, as perceiuing now the matter of right he will, yet the kings highnesse cannot digest in his stomach this iniurie done, not to be amended or reformed at your graces procurement, but your grace rather suing and instanting the contrarie. And this is the charge, madam, which the kings highnesse hath committed vnto vs, to be spoken vnto you on his highnesse behalfe. And to saie to you as of my selfe, concerning the iustnesse of the kings cause, as I haue heretofore said, I shall now repeat and rehearse againe vnto your grace; which is, that your grace being knowne by prince Arthur, ye be not lawfull wife to the kings highnesse our soueraigne lord in my conscience. This speech ended, others of the companie vled their persuasorie talke to the queene: whose words notwithstanding did so little moue her, that she stood still in her first opinion, that she was his true and lawfull wife, and from the same would not by anie meanes be remoued.]

The priests of London being called afoze the bishop that would haue had them contributaries to the payment of the hundred thousand pounds granted to the king for his pardon of the premunire, kept each a fire

The queene
standeth still
in her opinion
concerning
the contrarie
of his
marriage.

John Sow.

1532

Crueltie of
ordinaries.The parliament
prologued.
Annates for-
bidden to be
paid.A fifteenth
granted.A toll deman-
ded in the low
countrie.substant
shall be
com.The place of
white hall
now the palace
of westmin-
ster.
Ed. James.

in breaking into the chapel house (where the bishop sat) all at once, and striking and buffeting the bishops servants which gave them evil language, that the bishop was faine to give them his blessing, and suffer them to depart in quiet for that time. But after, upon complaint made to the lord chancellor, divers of them and of their partakers were arrested, and committed to prison, to the number of sixteen priests, and five lay men, some to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and to other places, where they remained long after. ¶ Thomas Wilshe, bachelor of law, was burnt at Dozwich the nineteenth of August, and the fourth of December sir Rics Griffin was beheaded at the Tower hill, and his man named John Hewes was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered.

The five and twentieth of Maie, betwene London and Cranesend, were taken two great fishes called whorlepoles, male and female. ¶ In this season, there was in the realme much preaching, one learned man holding against another, namely in the matter of the kings marriage. After Christmas, the parliament began to sit againe, in the which the commons found themselves sore grieved with the crueltie of ordinaries, that called men before them *Ex officio*. At length, a booke was drawne of all the griefes of the commons, for the cruel demeanour of the cleargie, and the same delivered to the k. by the speaker; humbly beseeching him in the name of all the commons, to take such direction therein, as to his high wisdom might seeme most expedient. The king answered, that he would take advise, and heare the parties accused speake. He was not so ready to gratifie the commons in their requests, as some thought that he would have done, if they had not ticked and refused to passe a statute, which he had sent to them touching wards and prisoner seasons.

After this, was the parlement prologued till the tenth of Aprill. In this parlement was an act made, that bishops should paie no more annates or monies for their bulles to the pope: for it was proved that there had bene paid for bulles of bishops, since the fourth yeare of Henrie the seventh an hundred threescore thousand pounds sterling, beside other dispensations & pardons. When the parlement was begun againe after Easter, there was a motion made to helpe the king with monie toward his charges about the edifying of houses, piles, and other fortifications, upon the borders for against Scotland, both for better habitation to be had there, & also for the restraint of the Scots that used to make invasions. There was therefore a fifteenth granted, but not enacted at this session, because the king began a pestilence in Westminster, where the parlement was prologued, as ye shall heare in the next yeare.

In this yeare was an old toll demanded in Flanders of Englishmen called the toll of the hound, which is a river and a passage. The toll is twelve pence of a fardell. It had bene often demanded, but neuer paid, inasmuch that king Henrie the seventh for the demand of that toll, prohibited all his subjects to keepe any mart at Antwerpe or Barrow, till it was promised that upon their returne the said toll should neuer be demanded. The king sent doctor Knight, and others to Calis, whither came the emperours commissioners, and there (upon talke) the matter was put in suspension for a time. The king having purchased of the cardinall after his attendure in the perru-nire his house at Westminster, called Porke place, and got a confirmation of the cardinals feoffment thereof, made of the chapter of the cathedrall church of Porke, purchased this yeare also all the medows about saint James, and there made a faire mansion and a park for his greater commoditie & pleasure.

And because he had a great affection to the said house at Westminster, he bestowed great cost in going forward with the building thereof, and changed the name, so that it was after called the kings palace of Westminster.

The fourteenth daie of Maie, the parlement was prologued till the fourth of February next coming. After which prologation, sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, after long lutes made to the king to be discharged of his office, the sixteenth of Maie he delivered to the king at Westminster the great seale of England, and was with the kings favour discharged, which seale the king kept till mondaie in Whit-suntwaeke, on which daie he dubbed Thomas Audley speaker of the parlement, knight, and made him lord keeper of the great seale, and so he was called. ¶ The king being informed, that the pope and the French king should meet in the beginning of the next spring at Paris, he thought good for divers considerations, to speake with the French king in his own person, before the pope and he should come together; whereupon it was concluded, that in October following, both the princes should meet betwene Calis and Bullongne. Therefore the king of England sent out his letters to his nobles, prelates, and servants, commanding them to be ready at Cantuerburie the six and twentieth of September, to passe the seas with him, for the accomplishment of the interuiew betwixt him and the French king.

On the first of September being sundae, the k. being come to Windsor, created the lady Anne Bullongne marchionesse of Denbroke, and gave to her one thousand pounds land by the yeare; and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the college, where after that service was ended, a new league was concluded and sworn betwene the king, and the French king, Messire Pomouaie the French ambassador being present. On the tenth of October, the king came to Douer, and on the eleventh daie in the morning at three of the clocke he took shipping at Douer rode, and before ten of the same daie, he with the lady marchionesse of Denbroke landed at Calis, where he was received with all honour, and lodged at the Eschequer. There came to him while he laie in Calis, divers lords from the French court, and amongst other the lord great maister of France, and the archbishop of Roane, which were honorable of him received, and with them he took a daie and place of meeting with the king their maister.

Whereupon the one and twentieth of October, he marched out of Calis, accompanied with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, the marqueses of Dorset and Excester, the earles of Arundell, Erford, Surrey, Essex, Warbie, Rutland, Huntington, and Suffolk, with divers vicounts, barons, knights of the garter, and other of the nobilitie and gentlemen freshly appareled, and richly trimmed; and coming to the place appointed, he there met with the French king, who was come to receive him with all honor that might be: and after salutations and embracinges used in most loving manner, the king of England went with the French k. to Bullongne, and by the waie was encountered by the French kings three sons, and other great lords that attended them, with welcomming the king of England; he them gentlie received, and so all this noble company came to Bullongne, where the king of England and his nobles were so noblie intertained, feasted, banqueted, and cheered, that wonder it was to consider the great plentie of viands, spices, wines, and all other provision necessarie for man and horse, so that there was no more but aske and haue; and no man durst take any monie, for the French king paid for all.

The

Reg. 24.

The dukes of
Bullogne
and Suffolke
were
brought into
the order of
the garter.

The duke of
Richmond.

The great
maire and
admirall of
France made
knights of
the garter.

The king re-
turned into
England.
He married
the lady Anne
Bullogne.

The five and twentieth of October, whilst the king laie thus in Bullongne, the French king called a chapter of the companions of his order named S. Michael, of whom the king of England was one, and so there elected the dukes of Suffolke and Bullogne to be companions of the same order: and being brought to the chapter, they had their collars delivered to them, and were sworn to the statutes of the order, their obedience to their sovereign lord allwaie reserved. Thus the two kings laie in Bullongne, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday: and on Friday the five and twentieth of October, they departed out of Bullongne to Calis. Without the towne of Calis about the distance of two miles, the duke of Richmond the kings base son, with a great companie of noble men, which had not bene at Bullongne, met them, and saluting the French king, embraced him in most honorable and courteous manner.

Thus they passed forward, and came to Newham bridge, and so to Calis, where was such provision made for the receiving of them, as well for lodgings, plate, and all such other furniture of household, as also of all sorts of viands, wines, and other necessities, that it seemed wonderfull: in so much as the proportion assigned to the French lords oftentimes was so abundant, that they refused a great part thereof. The French kings traine was twelve hundred horses, or rather above. But there was lodging enough in Calis, not onlie for them, but also for manie other, so that there were above eight thousand persons lodged within the towne in that season. The French king coming thither on the Friday, tarried there till Tuesday the thirtieth of October, and then departed; the king of England accompanying him out of the towne, till he came to enter into the French ground, and there either took leave of other with right princelie countenance, loving behaviour, and so hartie words, that all men resolved that saw them.

Whilst the two kings laie in Calis, the lord Anas de Montmozanck earle of Beaumont, great master of the French kings house, & Philip de Chabot earle of Newblanke, great admirall of France, were admitted into the order of the garter, the king calling a chapter for that purpose, of the knights of that order, at the which the French king was present, and wore a blew mantell, because he was one of the same order. Whilst the king was in the French kings dominion, he had the upper hand, and likewise had the French king in his dominion. And as the French king paid all the Englishmens charges at Bullongne: so did the king of England at Calis. There rose about the same season such sore weather, storms and rigorous winds, continuing for the more part at north and north-west, that the king staid at Calis for a convenient wind till Tuesday the thirtieth of November at midnight, and then taking his ship, landed at Dover the next daie about five of the clocke in the morning. And herewith upon his returne, he married princelie the lady Anne Bullogne the same daie, being the fourteenth daie of November, and the feast daie of saint Erkenwald; which marriage was kept so secret, that verie few knew it till Easter next ensuing, when it was perceived that she was with child.

When the king should passe over the sea, he considered that the Scots would happlie attempt some what to the prejudice of his subjects in his absence, which sicked not (he being within the realme) to rob both by sea and land. Wherefore to resist their malice, he appointed sir Arthur Darcie with three hundred men to go into Berwicke, to defend the borders from invasions of the Scots, who shortly after by

the middle marches entered the realme, and came to a place called Fowbertie, and firing certeine villages in their waie, returned. The erle of Angus as then was at Berwicke as a banished man; and the said sir Arthur determined to revenge this displeasure: and thereupon with foure hundred men made a rode into Scotland, and set a village on fire. Then immediatlie assembled together eight hundred Scots, and began to approach nere to the English men, who perceiving them, caused their trumpet to blow the retreat, and the erle and twentie with him shewed himselfe on an hill, euen in the face of the Scots, and the trumpet blew at their backs, so that the Scots thought that there had bene two companies, which caused the Scots to flee, and the English men followed and slew a great number of them, and took manie of them prisoners.

After Christmasse sir Thomas Audleie lord keeper of the great seale was made high chancelloz of England. And when the parlement began, because the office of the speaker was void, Humfreie Wingfield of Greis inne was chosen speaker. In this parlement was an act made, that no person should appeale for any cause out of this realme to the court of Rome, but from the commissarie to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop, and from the archbishop to the king; and all causes of the king to be tried in the upper house of the convocation. It was also enacted the same time, that quene Katharine should no more be called quene, but princesse Dowager, as the widow of prince Arthur. In the season of the last summer died William Warham archbishop of Canturburie, and then was named to that sea Thomas Cranmer the kings chapleine, a man of god learning, and of a vertuous life, which larelie before had bene ambassadoz from the king to the pope.

After that the king perceived his new wife to be with child, he caused all officers necessarie to be appointed to hir, and so on Easter euen she went to hir closet openlie as quene; and then the king appointed the daie of hir coronation to be kept on Whitsunday next following: and writings were sent to all shiriffs, to certifie the names of men of fortie pounds to receive the order of knightthod, or else to make fine. The assessment of the fine was appointed to Thomas Cromwell, master of the kings icwell house, & counsellor to the king, a man newlie received into high favour. He so vied the matter, that a great summe of monie was raised to the kings use by those fines. The matter of the quenes appeale whereunto she still sticked, and by no means could be removed from it, was communed of both in the parlement house, and also in the convocation house, where it was so handled, that manie were of opinion, that not onelie hir appeale, but also all other appeales made to Rome were void and of none effect: for that in ancient times it had bene determined, that a cause rising in one province should be determined in the same.

This matter was opened with all the circumstances to the lady Katharine Dowager (for so was she then called) the which persisted still in hir former opinion, and would revoke by no means hir appeale to the court of Rome. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and divers other learned men in great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Amptill, where the princesse Dowager laie, and there by one doctor Lee she was cited to appeare before the said archbishop in cause of matrimonie in the said towne of Dunstable, and at the daie of appearance she appeared not, but made default, and so she was called peremp-

Scots dis-
comited by
the English-
men.

1533.
Sir Thomas
Audleie lord
chancelloz.

Quene Katharine to be
named prin-
cisse Dowager.

Quene
Anne.

Anno reg. 15.

The lady
Catherine
Dowager
called per-
emptrix.

Henrie the eight.

An. Dom. 1548.

forie euerie date fiftene daies together, and at the last, for lacke of appearance, by the assent of all the learned men there present, the was dissolved from the king, and the marriage declared to be void and of none effect. Of this divorce and of the kings marriage with the lady Anne Bullongne men spake diuerse-ly; some said the king had done wisely, and so as became him to do in discharge of his conscience. Other otherwise iudged, and spake their fantasies as they thought good: but when euerie man had talked enough, then were they quiet, and all rested in good peace.

Ambassadors
to the French
king.

In the pope Clement sent an orator to the king, requiring him to appeare personallie at the generall counsell which he had appointed to be kept the next following. But when his commission was shewed, at the earnest request of the king, there was neither place nor time specified for the keeping of that counsell; and so with an uncerteine answer to an uncerteine demand he departed, but not unrewarded. The king understanding that the pope, the emperor, & the French king shuld meet at Pise in Julie following, appointed the duke of Norfolk, the lord Rochford brother to queene Anne, sir William Boleet controller of his house, sir Anthoine Browne, and sir Francis Bryan knights, to go in ambassage to the French king, and both to accompanie him to Pise, and also to commune with the pope there concerning his state in the kings divorce. These worthie personages made their provision readie; and so with the number of eight score horses they went to Douer, and passing ouer to Calis, toke their waie through France, to accomplish their ambassage as they had in commandement.

Proclamation
on for the co-
ronation of
queene Anne.

The severall
claims of di-
uerse hono-
rable and wor-
thy person-
ages.

In the beginning of Maie, the king caused open proclamations to be made, that all men that claimed to do anie service, or execute anie office at the solemne feast of the coronation by the waie of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put their grant three weekes after Easter in the Starre chamber before Charles duke of Suffolke, for that time high steward of England, and the lord chancellor and other commissioners. The duke of Suffolke claimed to be erle marshall, and to exercise his office at that feast; the erle of Arundell claimed to be high butler, and to exercise the same; the erle of Oxford claimed to be chamberlaine; the vicount Aile claimed to be painter; the lord Aburgauennie to be chiefe larderer; and the lord Wate claimed to be almoner, and sir Henrie What knight claimed to be tower. All these noble personages desired their offices with their fees.

The recei-
ving, con-
ferring, and co-
ronation of
queene Anne,
wife to the
high & mightie
prince king
Henrie the
eight.
Edw. Hall.
CXXij.
The kings
letters to the
mayor of Lon-
don, touching
the coronation.

Beside these, the mayor of London claimed to serue the queene with a cup of gold, and a cup of assaie of the same, and that twelue citizens should attend on the cupbord, and the mayor to haue the cup and cup of assaie for his labor: which petition was allowed. The six porters claimed to beare a canopie ouer the queens head the daie of the coronation with foure gilt belles, and to haue the same for a reward, which to them was allowed. Diuerse other put in petie claimers which were not allowed, because they seemed onlie to be done at the kings coronation. All this season great purchase was made of all manner of vittels: & lords, knights & squiers were sent for out of all countries, which came to London at their daie with a great number of people.

After that the kings highnesse had adressed his gracious letters to the mayor and communalitie of the cite, signifying to them, that his pleasure was to solemnize and celebrate the coronation of his most deare and welbeloued wife queene Anne, at Westminster the Whitsundae next ensuing, willed them to make preparation, as well to fetch his

grace from Greenwich to the Tower by water, as to see the cite ordered and garnished with pageants in places accustomed, for the honor of his grace. When she shuld be conueried from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsell called, and commandement was giuen to the haberdashers (of which craft the mayor sir Stephan Beccoke then was) that they should prepare a barge for the bachelors, with a waile and a foist, garnished with banners and streamers likewise, as they use to do. When the mayor is presented at Westminster on the morrow after Simon and Jude. Also all other crafts were commanded to prepare barges, and to garnish them, not onelie with their banners accustomed, but also to decke them with targets by the sides of the barges, and to set by all such seemelie banners and banners as they had in their halles, or could get met to furnish their said barges, and euerie barge to haue minstrelle: according to which commande-ments great preparation was made for all things necessarie for such a noble triumph.

The cities
preparation.

The nineteenth daie of Maie, the mayor and his brethren all in scarlet, and such as were knights had collars of SS, and the remnant having god chains, and the commell of the cite with them, assembled at saint Martie hill, and at one of the clocke descended to the new staire to their barge, which was garnished with manie goodlie banners and streamers, and richlie couered. In which barge were shalmes, bagpipes, and diuerse other instruments, which continuallie made goodlie harmonie. After that the mayor and his brethren were in their barge, seeing that all the companies to the number of fiftie barges were readie to wait vpon them, they gaue commandement to the companies, that no barge should rowe nicher to another than twise the length of the barge vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were three light wheries prepared, and in euerie one of them two officers to call on them to keepe their order, after which commandement giuen, they set forth in order as hereafter is described.

The com-
ing by wa-
ter from
Greenwich
on Thursday.

First before the mayors barge was a foist or waile full of ordinance, in which foist was a great dragon continuallie mouing and casting wild fire: and round about the said foist stood terrible monsters and wild men casting fire, and making hideous noises. Next after the foist a good distance came the mayors barge: on whose right hand was the bachelors barge, in the which were trumpets and diuerse other melodious instruments; the decks of the said barge and the sailyards, with the top castles were hangd with rich cloth of gold and silke: at the foreship and the sterne were two great banners rich, beate with the armes of the king and the queene, and on the top castell also was a long streamer netlike beate with the said armes. The sides of the barge was set full of flags and banners of the deuises of the companie of the haberdashers and merchants aduenturers, and the cords were hangd with innumerable pennelles, having little belles at the ends, which made a goodlie noise and a goodlie sight, waue- ring in the wind. On the outside of the barge were three dozen sentillions in mettal of arms of the king and the queene, which were beate vpon square bucrum diuided, so that the right side had the kings colours, and the left side the queens, which sentillions were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer, hanging on the decks on the left hand.

The mayors
barge with
the concuss
and deuises
thereof.

On the left hand of the mayor was another foist, in the which was a mount, and on the same stood a white falcon crowned, vpon a roste of gold intircined with white roses and red, which was the queens deuise: about which mount sat virgins singing and plaieng sweetlie. Next after the mayor, followd his fellic wship

A foist with
mount and
other deuises.

fellowship the haberdashers; next after them the mercers, then the grocers, and so euerie companie in his order, and last of all the maior and shiriffes officers, euerie companie hauing melodie in his barge by himselfe, and goodlie garnished with banners, and some garnished with silke, and some with arras and rich carpets, which was a goodlie sight to behold: and in this order they rowed to Greenwich, to the point next beyond Greenwich, and there they turned backward in another order, that is to wit, the maior and shiriffes officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascending to the uttermost crafts in order, and the maior last, as they go to Danles at Christmas, and in that order they rowed downe toward to Greenwich towne, and there cast anchor, making great melodie.

Orator: Some
nearly barge
with his
traine attend-
ing upon him.

At three of the clocke the quene appeared in rich cloth of gold, entring into hir barge accompanied with diuerse ladies and gentlewomen: and incontinent the citizens set forwards in their order, their mistresses continuallie plaing, and the bachelors barge going on the quenes right hand, which she took great pleasure to behold. About the quenes barge were manie noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dorset, the erle of Wiltshire hir father, the erles of Arundell, Warbie, Rutland, Worcester, Huntingdon, Sussex, Oxford, and manie bishops and noble men, euerie one in his barge, which was a goodlie sight to behold. She thus being accompanied rowed toward the tower: and in the meane while the ships which were commanded to lie on the shore for letting of the barges, shot diuerse peales of guns, and yet she was landed, there was a marvellous shot out of the tower as euer was heard there. And at hir landing there, met with hir the lord chamberlaine with the officers of armes, and brought hir to the king, which receiued hir with loving countenance at the porterne by the water side, and then she turned backe againe, and thanked the maior and the citizens with manie goodlie words, and so entred into the tower. After which entrie the citizens all this while howred before the tower, making great melodie, and went not on land, for none were assigned to land but the maior, the recorder, and two aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stood on either shore to behold the sight, he that saw it not would scarce beleue it.

Knights of
the bath serve
at dinner.

On Fridaye at dinner, serued the king all such as were appointed by his highnesse to be knights of the bath, which after dinner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and shiuered, according to the old vsage of England; and the next daie in the morning the king dubbed them according to the ceremonies thereto belonging; whose names infue; the marques Dorset, the erle of Warbie, the lord Cliford, the lord Fitzwater, the lord Hastings, the lord Mounteagle, sir John Howard, the lord Blay, sir Henrie Parker, sir William Willoughby, sir Francis Weston, sir Thomas Arundell, sir John Hulston, sir Thomas Pointings, sir Henrie Hauell, sir George Fitzwilliam, sir John Tindall, sir Thomas Cromwell.

The record-
ing and con-
singing of the
quene through
London.

So the intent that the horses should not slide on the pavement, nor that the people should not be hurt by horses, the high streets where the quene should passe were all grauelled from the tower to temple barre, and railed on the one side, with which railed stood the crafts along in their order from Grace church, where the merchants of the shew had till the little conduit in Cheape, where the aldermen stood; and on the other side of the street stood the constables of the citie, apparelled in velvet and silke, with great staves in their hands, to cause the people to keepe comen and good order. And when the streets

were somewhat ordered, the maior clothed in a gowne of crimsin velvet, and a rich collar of S S S, with two footmen clad in white and red damaske, rode to the tower to giue his attendance on the quene, on whom the shiriffes with their officers did wait till they came to tower hill, where they taking their leaue, rode downe the high streets, commanding the constables to see comen and good order kept, and so went and stood by the aldermen in Cheape.

The maior in
a gowne of
crimsin vel-
uet.

Now before the quene and hir traine should come, Cornhill and Gracious street were hanged with fine scarlet, crimsin, and other grained cloths, and in some place with rich arras, tapistrie, and carpets; and the most part of the Cheape was hanged with cloth of tissue, gold, velvet, and manie rich hangings, which made a goodlie shew, and all the windowes were replenished with ladies and gentlewomen, to behold the quene and hir traine as they should passe by. The first of the quenes companie that set forward were twelue Frenchmen, which were belonging to the French ambassado; clothed in coates of blew velvet, with sleeves of pellice and blew velvet, and their horses trapped with close trappers of blew sarsenet powdered with white crosses: after them marched gentlemen, esquires and knights two and two: after them the iudges, and after them the knights of the bath in violet gownes, with hoods purpled with minster like doctors; after them abats, then barons; after them bishops, then earls and marquesses; then the lord chancellor of England; after him the archbishop of Yorke, and the ambassado of Venice, after him the archbishop of Canturburie and the ambassado of France, after rode two esquires of honor with robes of estat rolled and woone bauldrike-wise about their necks, with eggs of estat, representing the dukes of Normandie & Aquitaine; after them rode the maior of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, which maior bare his mace to Westminster hall.

The attire
of certaine
Frenchmen
belonging to
the French
ambassado.

After all these rode the lord William Howard with the marshalles rod, deputie to his brother the duke of Norfolk the marshall of England, which was ambassado; then in France: and on his right hand rode Charles duke of Suffolke, for that daie high constable of England, bearing the verder of silver appertaining to the office of constableness, and all the lords for the most part were clothed in crimsin velvet, and all the quenes servants or officers of armes in scarlet. Next before the quene rode hir chancellor bareheaded, the sargeants and officers of armes rode on both the sides of the lords. Then came the quene in a litter of white cloth of gold, not covered, nor hailed, which was lead by two palfries clad in white damaske downe to the ground, head and all, led by hir footmen. She had on a circot of white cloth of tissue, and a mantell of the same furred with ermine; hir haire hanged downe, but on hir head she had a colffe with a circlet about it full of rich stones. Over hir was bozne a canopie of cloth of gold, with foure gilt staves and foure silver belles. For the bearing of which canopie were appointed sixteen knights, foure to beare it one space on foot, and other foure another space, according to their owne appointment.

The two
dukes of
Norfolk
and Suffolke
in their
offices.

Quene
Annes attire
verie sumptu-
ous and royal

Next after the quene rode the lord Borough hir chamberlaine, next after him William Coffin master of the horses, leading a spare horse with a fode saddle trapped downe with cloth of tissue. After him rode seauen ladies in crimsin velvet turned by with cloth of gold and of tissue, and their horses trapped with cloth of gold, after them two chariots covered with red cloth of gold. In the first chariot were two ladies, which were the old dutchesse of Norfolk, and the old marchionesse Dorset. In the second chariot

These chari-
ots with
goodlie ladies
and gentle-
women.

were foure ladies all in crimson beluet. Then rode seauen ladies in the same sute, their horses trappers and all. Then came the third chariot all white, with six ladies in crimson beluet; next after them came the fourth chariot all red with eight ladies also in crimson beluet: after whom folloved thirtie gentlewomen all in beluet and silke in the luerie of their ladies, on whom they gaue their attendance. After them folloved the gard in cotes of goldsmiths worke.

Shundre pageants with the descriptions of their devises.

Thus they rode forth till they came to Fanchurch, where was made a pageant all with children, apparelled like merchants, which welcommed hir to the citie, with two proper propositions both in French and English. And from thence she rode to Gratious church corner, where was a collicie and a marvelous cunning pageant made by the merchants of the Stillard, for there was the mount Parnassus with the founteine of Helicon, which was of white marble, and foure streames without pipe did rise an ell high, and met together in a little cup above the founteine, which founteine ran abundantlie racked withenith wine till night. On the mounteine sat Apollo, and at his feet sat Calliope, and on euery side of the mounteine sat foure muses plaing on severall sweet instruments, and at their feet epigrams and poesies were written in golden letters, in the which euery muse according to hir propertie praised the quene.

The quene from thence passed to Leaders hall, where was a goodlie pageant with a type and a heavenly rose, and under the type was a roset of gold set on a little mounteine intironed with red roses and white: out of the type came downe a falcon all white & sat upon the roset, and incontinent came downe an angell with great melodie, and set a close crowne of gold on the falcons head. And in the same pageant sat saint Anne with all hir issue beneath hir, and under Marie Cleop sat hir foure children, of the which children one made a goodlie oration to the quene of the fruitfulness of saint Anne and of hir generation, trusting that like fruit should come of hir. Then she passed to the conduit in Cornhill, where were three graces set in a throne, above whom was the spring of grace continually running wine. Above the founteine sat a poet declaring the properties of euery grace: and that done euery lady by hir selfe, according to hir propertie, gaue to the quene a severall gift of grace.

In oration made to the quene by one of the children in the pageant.

The conduit in Cheape runneth wine white and claret.

The recorder presenteth a 1000 marks in gold to the quene for a gratuite in cities behalfe.

That done, she passed by the great conduit in cheape, which was newlie painted with armes of devises: out of the which conduit by a goodlie founteine set at the one end ran continually wine both white and claret all that afternone, and so she rode to the Standard which was richlie painted with images of kings and quenes, and hanged with banners of armes, and in the top was marvellous sweet harmonie both of song and instrument. Then she went forward to the crosse, which was newlie gilt, till she came where the aldermen stood, and then master Baker the recorder came to hir with low reverence, making a proper and blyse proposition, and gaue to hir in the name of the citie a thousand marks in a purse of gold, which she thankfullie accepted with manie goodlie words, and so rode to the little conduit, where was a rich pageant full of melodie and song.

In this pageant was Pallas, Juno and Minerva, and before them stood Mercurie, which in the name of the three goddesses gaue to hir a ball of gold divided in three, signifying three gifts which the three goddesses gaue to hir, that is to saie, wisdom, riches, and felicitie. As she entered into Paules gate there was a pretie pageant, in which sat three ladies richlie clothed, and in a circle on their head was written

Regina Anna prosperi procede regna. The lady in the middes had a tablet, in the which was written Veniamina coronaberis, and under the tablet sat an angell with a close crowne, and the lady sitting on the right hand had a tablet of silver in which was written Domine dirige gressus meos, & the third lady had a tablet of gold with letters azure written, Confido in Domino, & under their feet was written in legible letters:

Regina Anna novum regis de sanguine natum Cum paries populus aurea seclatus.

And these ladies cast downe wafers, on the which the two verses were written. From thence she passed to the east end of Paules churchyard against the schole, where stood on a scaffold two hundred children well apparelled, which said to hir diverse goodlie verses of poets translated into English, to the honour of the king and hir, which she highlie commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newlie garnished with gold & silke. And on the leads of saint Martins church stood a goodlie quere of singing men and children, which song new balads made in praise of hir. After that she was passed Ludgate, she proceeded toward Fleetstreet, where the conduit was newlie painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, & the chime melodiously sounding. Upon the conduit was made a towe with foure turrets, and in euery turret stood one of the cardinal virtues with their tokens and properties, which had severall speeches, promising the quene never to leave hir, but to be aiding and comforting hir: and in the middell of the towre closerie was such severall solemne instruments, that it seemed to be an heavenly noise, and was much regarded and passed: and beside this the said conduit ran wine claret and red all the afternone.

So she with all hir companie and the maior rode forth to Temple barre, which was newlie painted and repared, where stood also diverse singing men and children, till she came to Westminster hall, which was richlie hanged with cloth of arras, and new-glased. And in the middell of the hall she was taken out of hir litter, & so led up to the higher deske under the cloth of estate, on whose left hand was a cupboard of ten stages marvellous rich and beautiful to behold: and within a little season was brought to the quene with a solemne service in great standing spice plates, a bold of spice and subtilties with porras and other wines, which she sent downe to hir ladies, and when the ladies had dined, she gaue hartie thanks to the lords and ladies, with the maior and other that had given their attendance on hir, and so with downe hir selfe with a few ladies to the White hall and so to hir chamber, and there bided hir, and after went into hir barge secretly to the king to his manour of Westminster, where she rested that night.

On Sunday the maior clad in crimson beluet and with his collar, and all the aldermen and shiriffes in scarlet, and the counsell of the citie took their barge at the stand by seauen of the clocke and came to Westminster, where they were welcomed & brought into the hall by master Treasurer, and others of the kings house, and so gaue their attendance till the quene should come forth. Betwene eight and nine she came into the hall and stood under the cloth of estate, and there staid in the kings chapel, and the monks of Westminster all in rich copes, and manie bishops and abbats in copes and miters, which went into the middell of the hall, and there stood a balon. Then was there a raie cloth spred from the quenes standing in the hall through the palace and sandwiche, which was raied on both sides to the high altar of Westminster. After that the raie cloth was cast, the officers of armes appointed the order accustomed.

Two hundred children began a scaffold against the 22. with verses.

Goodlie met. 1016.

The quene cometh to Westminster hall and the manner of her receiving.

Sunday being whitsunday the first date of June, and the date of hir coronation.

The comite
of the
coronation
of Henrie
the eighth
in
the
year
1534.

First went gentlemen, then esquires, then knights, then the aldermen of the cite in their cloaks of scarlet, after them the judges in their mantels of scarlet and coiffes. Then followed the knights of the bath being no lords, euerie man hauing a white lace on his left sleue, then followed barons and vicounts in their parlement robes of scarlet. After them came earls, marquesses and dukes in their robes of estate of crimsin veluet furred with ermine powdered according to their degrées. After them came the lord chancellor in a robe of scarlet open before, bordered with lettise: after him came the kings chapell and the monks solemnlie singing with procession, then came abbats and bishops mitred, then sargeants and officers of armes, then after them went the maior of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, then went the marquess Dorset in a robe of estate which bare the scepter of gold, and the earle of Arundell which bare the rod of suzerie with the doue both together.

The quene
with a canopy
borne by
four of the
chief porters.

Then went alone the earle of Orford high chamberleine of England which bare the crowne, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that daie being high steward of England, hauing a long white rod in his hand, and the lord William Howard with the rod of the marshalship, and euerie knight of the garter had on his collar of the order. Then proceeded forth the quene in a circot and robe of purple veluet furred with ermine in hir here coiffe and circlet as she had the saturdaye, and ouer hir was borne the canopy by foure of the chief porters, all crimsin with points of blue and red hanging on their sleeves, and the bishops of London and Winchester bare up the laps of the quenes robe. The quenes traine which was verie long was borne by the old duchess of Dorset: after hir folowed ladies being lords wiues, which had circots of scarlet with narrow sleeves, the best all lettise with bars of borders according to their degrées, and ouer that they had mantels of scarlet furred, and euerie mantell had lettise about the necke like a neckercher likewise powdered, so that by the powderings their degrée was knowen. Then folowed ladies being knights wiues in gownes of scarlet, with narrow sleeves without traines, onlie edged with lettise, and likewise had all the quenes gentlewomen.

The manner of
the coronation
of Henrie
the eighth.

When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middell of the church, betwene the quere and the high altar, she was set in a rich chaire. And after that she had rested a while, she descended downe to the high altar and there prostrate hir selfe while the archbishop of Canturburie said certeine collectes: then she rose, and the bishop annointed hir on the head and on the brest, and then she was led vp againe, where after diuerse orisons said, the archbishop set the crowne of saint Edward on hir head, and then deliuered hir the scepter of gold in hir right hand, and the rod of suzerie with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quere song *Te Deum, &c.* Which done, the bishop take off the crowne of saint Edward being heauie and set on the crowne made for hir. Then went she to saint Edwards syene and there offered, after which offering done she withdrew hir into a little place made for the nones on the one side of the quere.

The quene
with the ladies
and gentlewomen
went to the
table.

Now in the meane season euerie duchess had put on their bonets a coronall of gold wrought with flowers, and euerie marquess put on a denie coronall of gold, euerie countesse a plaine circlet of gold without flowers, and euerie king of armes put on a crowne of coper and gilt, all which were woene till night. When the quene had a little reposed hir, the other ladies and gentlewomen returned in the same order that they set forth, and the quene went crowned and so did the la-

dis aforesaid. Hir right hand was sustened by the earle of Wiltshire hir father, and hir left hand by the lord Albot deputie for the earle of Shrewesburie and lord Fozinsall his father. Now when she was out of the sanctuary and appeared within the palace, the trumpets played marvellous frellie, then she was brought to Westminster hall, & so to hir withdrawing chamber: during which time the lords, iudges, maior and aldermen put off their robes, mantels and clokes, and toke their hoods from their necks and cast them about their shoulders, and the lords sat onlie in their circots, and the iudges and aldermen in their gownes. And all the lords that serued that daie serued in their circots and their hoods about their shoulders: also diuerse officers of the kings house being no lords had circots and hoods of scarlet edged with mineuer, as the treasurer, controulor, & master of the iewel house, but their circots were not gilt.

The attire of
the lords all
the time that
they serued.

While the quene was in hir chamber, euerie lord and other, that ought to do seruice at coronations, did prepare them according to their dutie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England which was richly apparelled, his doublet and iacket set with orient pearle, his gowne of crimsin veluet imbodered, his courter trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of crimsin veluet, set full of letters of gold of goldsmiths worke, hauing a long white rod in his hand; on his left hand rode the lord William, deputie for his brother as earle marshall with the marshalls rod, whose gowne was crimsin veluet, and his horse trapper purple veluet cut on white sattin imbodered with white lions. The earle of Drenford was high chamberleine, the earle of Essex caruer, the earle of Suffolke sewer, the earle of Arundell chiefe butler, on whom twelue citizens of London did glue their attendance at the cupbord. The earle of Warbie cupbearer, the vicount Aile pantler, the lord of Arburgaine chiefe larder, the lord Haste almoner for him and his coparteners, and the maior of Orford kept the buttrie bar, and Thomas What was chiefe eurer for sir Henrie What his father.

The order
and sitting
at dinner.

Twelue citi-
zens of Lon-
don attendant
at the cupbord.

When all things were redie, the quene vnder hir canopy came to the hall, and washed and sat downe in the middell of the table vnder the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chaire stood the countesse of Orford widow, and on the left side stood the countesse of Gloucester all the dinner season, which diuerse times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the quenes face when she list to spee or do otherwise at hir pleasure. At the tables end sat the archbishop of Canturburie on the right hand of the quene, and in the middell betwene the archbishop and the countesse of Orford stood the earle of Orford with a white staffe all dinner time, and at the quenes feet vnder the table sat two gentlewomen all dinner time. When all these things were thus ordered, in came the duke of Suffolke and the lord William Howard on horsebacke, and the sargeants of armes before them, and after them the sewer, and then the knights of the bath bringing in the first course which was eightene dishes, besides subtilties and ships made of wax marvellous gorgeous to behold, all which time of seruice the trumpets standing in the window at the nether end of the hall played melodiously.

The manner of
sitting at the
table.

The bringing
in of the first
course.

When hir grace was serued of two dishes, then the archbishops seruice was set downe, whose sewer came equall with the third dish of the quenes seruice on his left hand. After that the quene and the archbishop was serued, the barons of the ports began the table on the right hand next the wall, next them at the table sat the masters and clerks of the Chancerie, and beneath them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the wall on

How the ser-
uall tables
were furni-
shed.

At t.ij. the

the left hand by the cupbord, was begun by the maior and aldermen, the chamberleine and the counsell of the citie of London, and beneath them sat substantiall merchants, and so downward other worshipfull persons. At the table on the right hand in the middell of the hall sat the lord chancellor, and other temporall lords on the right side of the table in their circots: and on the left side of the same table sat bishops and abbats in their parlement robes: beneath them sat the iudges, sargeants, & the kings counsell, beneath them the knights of the bath. At the table on the left hand, in the middle part, sat dutchesses, marquesses, countesses, baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circots, and gentlewomen in gownes: All which ladies and gentlewomen sat on the left side of the table along, and none on the right side.

The maior of London's service.

The duke of Suffolke and Dorset rode about the hall.

The claine of the citie of London.

Ranning at tilt.

When all were thus set, they were incontinent serued, and so quicklie that it was maruell: for the seruitors gaue such good attendance, that meat or drinke nor any thing else needed not to be called for, which in so great a multitude was maruell. As touching the fare, there could be deuised no more costlier dishes nor subtilties. The maior of London was serued with three and thirtie dishes at two courses, and so were all his brethren, and such as sat at his table. The quene had at hir second course foure and twentie dishes, and thirtie at the third course: & betwene the two last courses, the kings of armes cried larges, in three parts of the hall: and after stood in their place, which was in the bekins at the kings bench. And on the right hand out of the cloister of S. Stephens, was made a little closet, in which the king with diuerse ambassadoes stood to behold the seruice. The duke of Suffolke and the lord William rode often times about the hall, chering the lords, ladies, and the maior and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had wafers and ipocras, and then they washed, and were commanded to rise, and to stand still in their places, before the table on the formes till the quene had washed.

When she had taken wafers and ipocras, the table was taken vp, and the earle of Rutland brought vp the furnap, and laid it at the boords end, which immediately was drawne, and cast by master Rode, marshall of the hall: and the quene washed, and after the archbishop, and when the furnap was drawne off, she arose and stood in the middell of the palace hall: to whom the earle of Suffex in a goodlie spice plate brought a viall of spice and comfets. After him the maior of London brought a standing cup of gold, set in a cup of assaie of gold, and after that the had drinke, she gaue the maior the cup, with the cup of assaie, because there was no letar, according to the claime of the citie, thanking him and all his brethren, for their paine. When the order hir canopie departed to hir chamber, and at the entrie of hir chamber, she gaue the canopie with bells and all, to the barons of the ports, according to their claime, with great thanks. Then the maior of London bearing his cup in his hand, with his brethren, went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was six of the clocke. On mondaie were the tilts at the tilt, before the kings gate, where the maior and his brethren had a goodlie standing: but there were verie few speares broken, by reason the bozles would not cope. On wednesdaie, the king sent for the maior and his brethren to Westminster, and there he himselfe gaue to them hartie thanks, with manie goodlie words. On Midsummer daie after, the ladie Marie the French quene died in Suffolke, who was the late wife to Lewis the twelfth, & after married to Charles duke of Suffolke, & was buried at S. Edmundsburie. The king kept his progresse about London, because

of the quene. The seventh of September being sundae, betwene three & foure of the clocke in the afternone, the quene was deliuered of a faire young ladie, on which daie the duke of Suffolke came home to the christening, which was appointed on the wednesdaie next following, and was accordingly accomplished on the same daie, with all such solemne ceremonies as were thought convenient. The godfather at the font, was the lord archbishop of Canturburie, the godmothers, the old dutches of Suffolke, & the old marchionesse Dorset widow, and at the confirmation the ladie marchionesse of Excester was godmother: the child was named Elizabeth.

Edw. Hall, Croy.

Upon the daie of the christening, the maior sir Stephan Beacocke, in a gowne of crimlin velvet, with his collar of S.S. and all the aldermen in scarlet, with collars and chaines, and all the counsell of the citie with them, took their barge after dinner, at one of the clocke, and the citizens had another barge, and so rowed to Greenwich, where were manie lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled. All the walles betwene the kings palace & the friers were hanged with arras, and all the waie strawed with greene rushes: the friers church was also hanged with arras.

The font was of silver, and stood in the middell of the church, three steps high, which was couered with a fine cloth, and diuerse gentlemen with aprens and towels about their necks gaue attendance about it, that no filth should come in the font, ouer it hong a square canopie of crimlin sattin, fringed with gold, about it was a raille couered with red saie: betwene the quier and the bodie of the church was a close place with a pan of fire, to make the child readie in. When all these things were ordered, the child was brought to the hall, and then euerie man set forward: first the citizens two and two, then gentlemen, equiers and chapeleins, next after them the aldermen and the maior alone: next the maior the kings counsell, the kings chappell in copes: then barons, bishops, earles, then came the earle of Essex, bearing the couered bakins gilt, after him the marquesse of Excester with the taper of virgin wax, next him the marquesse Dorset bearing the salt.

The christening of quene Elizabeth.

Behind him the ladie Marie of Suffolke, bearing the crêsome which was verie rich of pearle and stone, the old dutches of Suffolke bare the child in a mantell of purple velvet, with a long traine furred with ermine. The duke of Suffolke with his marshall rod went on the right hand of the said dutches, and the duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before them went the officers of armes. The countesse of Kent bare the long traine of the child's mantell, and betwene the countesse of Kent and the child went the earle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the earle of Darbie on the left hand, supporting the said traine: in the middell ouer the said child was borne a canopie, by the lord Rochford, the lord Husie, the lord William Howard, and by the lord Thomas Howard the elder, after the child followed manie ladies and gentlewomen. When the child was come to the church doore, the bishop of London met it with diuerse bishops and abbats mitred.

The honourable traine of courtiers in their degrees.

When the ceremonies and christening were ended, Carter cheefe king of armes cried aloud, God of his infinite goodnesse send prosperous life & long to the high and mightie princeesse of England Elizabeth: & then the trumpets blew. When the archbishop of Canturburie gaue to the princeesse a standing cup of gold: the dutches of Suffolke gaue to hir a standing cup of gold, fittred with pearle: the marchionesse of Dorset gaue three gilt bolles, pounced with a couer: and the marchionesse of Excester gaue three standing bolles grauen, all gilt with a couer. Then

A canopie borne ouer the young princeesse.

Which shee sturued to the princeesse.

to have the
gifts prefer-
red to the
princesse.

When was brought in waifers, comfits, & spice cake in
such plenty, that every man had as much as he
would desire. Then they set forthward, the trumpets
going before in the same order towards the kings
palace, as they did when they came thitherward; so
using that the gifts that the godfather and the god
mothers gave, were borne before the child by four
persons, that is to say, first Sir John Dacre bore
the gift of the ladie of Cestre, the Lord Thomas How-
ard the younger bore the gift of the ladie of Dorset, 10
the Lord Fitzwater bore the gift of the ladie of North-
folke, and the earle of Worcester bore the gift of the
archbishop of Canturbury, all the onside as they
went was full of kasse torches to the number of five
hundred, borne by the gard and other of the kings
servants, and about the child were borne manie by
their proper torches by gentlemen.

In this order they brought the princesse to the
chamber, & carried there a while with the mayor & his
brethren the aldermen, and at the last the dukes of
Northfolke & Suffolke came out frō the k. thanking
them hartlie, who commanded them to give thanks
in his name: which being done with other courtesses
they departed, & so went to their barges. From that
time forthward (God himselfe undertaking the tuition
of this young princesse, having predestinated her to
the accomplishment of his divine purpose) she pro-
spered under the Lords hand, as a chosen plant of his
watering, & after the revolution of certeine yeares
with great felicitie and top of all English hearts at-
tained to the crowne of this realme, and now reign-
eth over the same: whose heart the Lord direct in his
waies, and long preserve her in life, to his godlie will
and pleasure, and the comfort of all true and faithfull
subiects. Of the blessed natiuitie of this most graci-
ous virgine quene, as also of her baptism and con-
firmation in the christian faith, with all the solemn-
ties and ceremonies recorded in our English an-
nales, her education, her knowledge in diuerse lan-
guages, her peaceable gouernement, and manie o-
ther trim discourses C. O. in his Eirenarchia, &c.
Elizabetha hath made honorable mention, saing:

Septimo Septem-
bris, videlicet die
Dominici natiui-
tatis Elizabethe.

*Septembri (Deus hoc voluit) qua septima lux est
Consecrata venit Domino volentibus annis.
Parturit coniux Henrica principis Anna,
Vt dolor increuit, praescripto sedula nutrit.
Perstat in officio, matronaque nobilis instat
Auxilium latuere suum, cum pondus in auras
Maturum genitrix enixa puerpera languet.
Certa tamen verax salubris signa dabatur.
Postquam pulchella facies prodijt infans
Compositis membris, speciosam ut cerni liquescent
Fingitur in formam, populo mirante, peritis
Artificis manibus: tensis ad sidera palmis.
Femina conclamat senior, Benedicite Christo
Praesentes Domino, o vos benedicite Christo,
Virgo beat matrem, Virgo modo nate patrēque,
Britannos omnes posthac haec Virgo beabit,
Hac sola est nostra spes & solatia gentis.
Rex pater iniuste celeri sua gaudia passis
Matrem & filiolam, verbus solatus amicis
Languidam adhuc illa paritq; doloribus egram, &c.]*

Edw. Hal.
Coxon.
Dancer a con-
fessor of the
goldwell, & his
cousin all end.

This yeere also one Dancer the towne clerke of the
cittie of London hanged himselfe, which suerly was a
man that in no wise could abide to heare the gospel
shoulde be in English. And I my selfe heard him once
saie to me and other that were by, swearing a great
oth, that if he thought the kings highnesse would let
forth the scripture in English, and let it be read of
the people by his authoritie, rather than he would so
long live, he would cut his owne throat, but he brake
promise, for (as you have heard) he hanged himselfe:
but of what mind and intent he so did, maie be some
gathered. For God had (no doubt) appointed him to

that iudgement: no lesse henrie than his offense
was heinous; namely the contempt of Gods word,
the knowledge of Gods damnable, preferring it
before gold and silver, yea before pearles & precious
stones in richnesse; and before honie and the honye
combe in sweetness, as the psalme note, saing:
Quid michi dabo ut faciam iudicium palato?
Nihil michi dabo ut faciam iudicium palato?
Nihil michi dabo ut faciam iudicium palato?
Nihil michi dabo ut faciam iudicium palato?

Eob. Hessingfal.
119.

About this time the pope, by lingering sicknesses,
(whose greif in the first apprehension was the pains
of the stomach, which by doing with them to passions
of a feuer and other accidents, kept him long time
tired and tormented) sometimes seeming to be re-
duced to the point of death, and sometimes so eased
and relieved, that he gave to others but not to him-
selfe a kind of hope of recovering, being no longer
able to make resistance against his maladic, & chan-
ged his life the five and twentieth of September, lea-
ving behind him in the castell of saint Angelo manie
rich stones and iewels, more than was expected of
him; and in the chamber of the see apostolike infinit
offices, contrarie to custome and god order; but in
the treasure a verie small store of monie, wherein he
deguiled the opinion of all men. He was raised from
base degree to the place of the pope dome with won-
derfull felicitie; but in managing the place he pro-
ued a verie great variation of fortune, wherein if
both the properties of fortune be euellie balanced
the one with the other, the worse fortune without all
comparison was farre more familiar with him than
the better.

Guic. pag.
1182, &c.

Death of pope
Clement the
seventh.

For as there could happen to him no greater in-
felicitie than the adueritie of his imprisonment (for
that with his owne eyes he beheld with so great a
ruine and destruction the sacke of Rome; a desola-
tion which his fortune suffered him to bewaile with
pittie and compassion, but not to turne awaie & re-
medie the harme) so also by him moued the generall
desolation of his naturall countrie, to the which by
how much more he was bound by perpetuall obliga-
tions, by so much greater was his adueritie to be a
chiefe instrument in the ruine of the place where he
had taken his first being.

Pope Cle-
ment more
infortunate
than fortune
nate.

He died hated of all the court, suspected to most
princes, and for the discourse of his life, he left behind
him a retortome rather hatefull than acceptable: for
he was accounted couetous, of little fidelitie, and
naturallie farre off from doing pleasures to men.
And in that humo; albeit during his time of pope he
created one and thirtie cardinals; yet upon none of
them did he impose that dignitie to content himselfe
but was drawne as it were by the violent law of ne-
cessitie and to please others: yea he called to that dig-
nitie the cardinall of Medici, not of his proper and
free election, but at the contemplation and persuation
of others, and at that time when being oppressed with
a dangerous maladic, if he had died, he had left his
friends and kindred in the state of beggers and de-
prived of all aid. Fewer thelesse he was in counsell
verie grane, and in his actions much foreshewing; tou-
ching passions and affections a conqueror of him-
selfe, and for the facultie of his mind & spirit of great
capacitie and power, if timorousnesse had not often-
times corrupted his iudgement.

How manie
cardinals he
created du-
ring his
pope dome.

Immediatlie after his death the cardinals going
the same night into the conclave, elected in his place
with full voice, Alexander of the familie of Jarne-
sa, a Roman by nation, and for his time the most an-
cient cardinall of the court: in which election their
voices seemed conformable to the iudgement and in-
stance that Clement had made, the person elected be-
ing most worthy to be preferred before all the other

Creation of
pope Paule
the third a
Roman
boyme.

ment in the pzoize of saint Sepulchres at Canturburie, to whom the said Edward Boeking had com-
monlie his resort, not without suspicion of inconti-
nencie, pretending to be his ghostlie father by Gods
appointment. And by conspiracie betwene hir & him,
the still continued in practising hir dissembled tran-
ses, alledging, that in the same she had revelations
from almightie God and his saints, and amongst o-
ther, that which (as before we have mentioned) tou-
ched the kings marriage, as ye have heard.

This matter proceeded so farre, that there was
a booke written by hir complices, and namelie by
Thomas Laurence, register to the archbishop of
Canturburie, of hir feigned and counterfeit mi-
racles, revelations, and hypocriticall holiness.
All things were handled so craftilie, that not one-
lie the simple, but also the wise and learned sort
were deceived by the same, insomuch that Wil-
liam Warham the late archbishop of Canturbu-
rie, and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and di-
uerse others, being informed thereof, gaue credit
thereto. All which matters and manie other had bene
traitorouslie practised and imagined amongst the
parties manie yerres, chiefly to interrupt the diuor-
se and to destroe the king, and to depriue him from the
croune and dignitie roiall of this realme, as in the
act of their attainder made more at large it maie
appeare, and likewise in the chronicles of maister
Edward Hall. Therefore to conclude with hir and
hir adherents, on the one and twentieth of Aprill next
following, the with diuerse of them before condem-
ned, was dralwen to Tiburne, and there executed, as
iustlie they had deserued; where and when she made
this confession following, even at the present time
that she suffered, in the hearing of the people.

The words of Elizabeth Barton, other-
wise called the holie maid of Kent at the
houre of hir death in manner of a confession.

Either am I come to die, and I
haue not bene the onelie cause of
mine owne death, which most
iustlie I haue deserued, but also
I am the cause of the death of all these
persons which at this time here suffer: and
yet to say the truth, I am not so much to be
blamed, considering that it was wel known
vnto these learned men, that I was a poore
wench, without learning, and therefore
they might haue easilie perceived, that the
things that were done by me, could not
proceed in any such sort, but their capaci-
ties and learning could right well iudge
from whence they proceeded, and that they
were altogether feined: but bicause the
things which I feined were profitable vn-
to them, therefore they much praised me,
and bare me in hand that it was the holie
ghost, and not I that did them, and then I
being puffed up with their praises, fell into
a certeine pride and foolish fantasie with
my selfe, and thought I might feine what
I would, which thing hath brought me to
this case, and for the which now I crie
God and the kings highnes most hartilie
mercie, and desire all you good people to
praise to God to haue mercie on me, and on
all them that suffer here with me.

In this parlement also was made the act of suc-
cession, for the establishing of the croune, to the
which euerie person being of lawfull age should be

sworne. On mondaie the thre & twentieth of March
in the parlement time, were solemnlie receiued into
London ambassadours from James the first king of
Scots, the bishop of Aberdine, the abbat of Killos,
and Adam Otterborne the kings attourneie, with
diuerse gentlemen on them attendant, which were
brought to the tailors hall, and there lodged. And
on the daie of the Annunciation, they were brought
to the kings palace at Westminster, where they
shewed their commission and message, for the which
the king appointed them daies to counsell. During
the parlement time, euerie sundaie at Pauls crosse
preached a bishop, declaring the pope not to be su-
preme head of the church.

The thirtieth of March was the parlement proce-
ded, and there euerie lord, knight, and burges, and all
other were sworne to the act of succession, and sub-
scribed their hands to a parchment fixed to the same.
The parlement was prorogued till the thirde of No-
uember next. After this were commissioners sent
into all parts of the realme, to take the oth of all
men and women to the act of succession. Doctor John
Fisher, and sir Thomas More knight, and doctor
Nicholas Wilson parson of Saint Thomas apostles
in London, expressely denied at Lambeth before the
archbishop of Canturburie, to receiue that oth. The
two first stood in their opinion to the verie death (as
after ye shall heare) but doctor Wilson was better
advised at length, and so dissembling the matter es-
caped out of further danger.

In this yere it chanced that two merchant stran-
gers fell in loue with a harlot, which was called
Wolfes wife, and this harlot had often hanted the
strangers chambers. And so on a time the said harlot
appointed these strangers to come to Westminster,
and she had prepared for them a bote, in the which bote
was but one man to row which was a strong theefe,
and in the end of the bote laie Wolfe his husband,
couered with a leather that botemen vse to couer
their cushions with, and so these strangers sat them
dowen mistrusting nothing. Now when this boteman
had brought them as farre as a place called the tur-
ning tre, suddenlie stepped by the said Wolfe, and
with his dagger thrust the one of them through: the
other cried out to save his life, and offered great sums
of monie to the boteman and him to saue his life.
But no proffers would be heard, nor mercie would
they extend, but as cruell murderers without pitie
slue the other also, and bound them face to face, and so
threw them into the Thames in the foresaid place,
where they were long after before they were found.
But immediatlie the harlot Wolfes wife went to
the strangers chambers, & toke from thence so much
as she could come by. And at the last she and her hus-
band (as they deserued) were apprehended, arraigned,
and hanged at the aforesaid turning tre.

On the ninth of Julie was the lord Dacres of
the north arraigned at Westminster of high trea-
son, where the duke of Norfolkke late as iudge, and
high steward of England. The said lord Dacres be-
ing brought to the barre, with the are of the Tower
before him, after his indictment read, so impeached
the same, answering euerie part and matter therein
contained, and so plainlie and directlie confuted his
accusers, which were there readie to anouch their ac-
cusations, that to their great shame, and his high
honor, he was found that day by his peeres not guiltie,
whereof the commons not a little reioiced, as by
the shryll and crie made at those wordes, not guiltie,
they frelie testified.

The two and twentieth of Julie was John Feith
burned in Smithfield, for the opinion of the sacra-
ment: and with him the same time, and at the same
stake, suffered also one Andrew Hewet, a young man,
by

Embassadoers
fourth of
Scotland.

The pope
supernature
denied in
sermons.

The lords
sworne to the
succession.

Ab. Fl. ex
Edw. Hall 224.
Wolfe's wife
a notable
harlot.

The end of
unlawful loue
and lust.

The reward
of murder
committed
through cou-
arousnesse.

Anno Reg. 26.
The lord Da-
cres of the
north ar-
raigned.

John Feith
burned.

John Feith
burned.

John Stow.
Frieres
suppressed.

The parliament
againe be-
gunne.

The admerall
of France co-
meth in am-
bassage into
England.
1535

Anno Reg. 27.

John Stow.
Certaine pri-
ors arreigned
and executed
for treason.

John Stow.
pag. 1004.
Dollanders
condemned for
heretics.

John Stow.
pag. 1004.
Dollanders
condemned for
heretics.

John Stow.
pag. 1004.
Dollanders
condemned for
heretics.

The bishop of
Worcester
beheaded.

by his occupation a tailor. The eleventh of August were all the places of the obervant friers suppressed, as Greenwich, Canterbury, Richmond, Newark, and Newcastle, and in their places were set Augustine friers, and the obervant friers were placed in the houses of the grate friers. ¶ The one and twentieth of September, doctor Tailor, master of the rolles, was discharged of that office, and Thomas Cromwell sworne in his place the nineteenth of October. Moreover the third of November, the parliament began againe, in the which was concluded the act of supremacie, which authorised the kings highnes to be supreme head of the church of England, and the authoritie of the pope abolished out of the realme. ¶ In the same parliament also was given to the king, the first fruits and tenths of all spirituall dignities and promotions. This yeare came the great admerall of France into England, ambassadour from the French king, and was honourable received.

In this time died the earle of Hilbare, prisoner in the Tower, and his sonne Thomas Fitzgaret began to rebell, and toke all the kings ordinance, and sent to the emperour, requiring him to take his part: also he slew the bishop of Dublin, and robbed all such as would not obrie him. In the beginning of this yeare, the duke of Suffolke and the bishop of Ely went to Calis, and thither came the admerall of France. On the two and twentieth of Aprill the prior of the Charterhouse at London, the prior of Wescall, the prior of Wyham, Reinalds a brother of Sion, and John bicar of Chisleworth, were arreigned and condemned of treason: and thereupon sworne, hanged and quartered at Tiburne the fourth of Maie: their heads and quarters were set over the bridge & gates of the citie, one quarter excepted, which was set up at the Charterhouse at London. ¶ On the eight of Maie, the king commanded that all belonging to the court should poll their heads, & to give example, caused his owne head to be polled, and his beard from thenceforth was cut round, but not shaven, which fashion the courtiers imbraced, and would (no doubt) have put in practice, though they had not bene there, unto bound by precept: for the people imitate the prince, as the poet long ago well noted, saieing:

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

¶ The five and twentieth daie of Maie, was in saint Pauls church at London examined nineteene men and six women borne in Holland, whose opinions were, first, that in Christ is not two natures, God and man: secondlie, that Christ toke neither flesh nor blood of the virgin Marie: thirdlie, that children borne of infidels shall be saved: fourthlie, that baptisme of children is to none effect: fifthlie, that the sacrament of Christs bodie is but bread onelie: sixthlie, that he, who after his baptisme sinneth wittinglie, sinneth deathlie, and cannot be saved. Fourtene of them were condemned, a man & a woman of them were burned in Smithfield, the other twelue were sent to other townes there to be burnt.]

On the nineteenth of June were three monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tiburne, and their heads and quarters set up about London, for denying the king to be supreme head of the Church: their names were, Erneste, Middleton, and Audigate. Also the one and twentieth of the same month, and for the same cause, doctor John Fisher bishop of Rochester was beheaded for denying the supremacie, and his head set upon London bridge, but his bodie buried within Bartholomew churchyard. This bishop was of manie foze lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning, and of a verie good life. The pope had elected him a cardinall, and sent his hat as far as Calis, but his head was off before his hat was on: so that

they met not. On the first of Julie was sir Thomas More beheaded for the like crime, that is to wit, for denying the king to be supreme head. And then the bodie of doctor Fisher was taken up, and buried with sir Thomas Mores in the Tower. This man was both learned and wise, and given much to a certaine pleasure in merie taunts and teasting in most of his communication, which manner he forgot not at the verie houre of his death.

¶ I cannot tell (saith master Hall) whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man, for undoubtedly he beside his learning, had a great wit, but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken except he had misstred some mocke in the communication. Inso-much as at his coming to the Tower, one of the officers demanded his upper garment for his use, meaning his gowne: and he answered, he should have it, and toke him his cap, saieing it was the uppermost garment that he had. A like wise euen going to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called unto him, and besought him to declare what he had done with evidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreat she might have them againe, or else she was wdone. He answered, good woman, have patience a little while, for the king is so good unto me, that euen with in this halfe houre he will discharge me of all businesse, and helpe thee himselfe.

Also when he went up the stairs on the scaffold, he desired one of the chirifes officers to give him his hand to helpe him up, and said: When I come downe againe, let me shift for my selfe as well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him, asking him forgiveness of his death (as the manner is) to whom he said, I forgive thee, but I promise thee thou shalt never have honestie by striking off my head, my necke is so short. Also euen when he should laie downe his head on the blocke, he having a great graie beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, I praye you let me laie my beard over the blocke, least you should cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended his life.

God had in most bountifull sort polized his blessings upon this man, induing him with eloquence, wisdom and knowledge: but the grace of God withholden from him, he had the right use of none, no not of reason as it should be rightlie used. God had extraordinary blessed his children, and namelie his three daughters, to whom he had given an admirable dexteritie in the science of tongues and arts, as John Leland our reverend antiquarie noteth in a proper and learned epigramme, saieing:

*Define sacundas nimium laudare disenti
Natas Hortensii maxima Roma tuq;
Candida tres Charites nam Mori cura politi
Obscurant multis nomina vestramoda.
Non illis studium Mulesia velleret dextra
Carpere, non facili discere filiamanus
Sed innuat eloquij crebra monumenta Latini
Persare, et doctis pingere verba notis.
Nec minus auctores Gracos evolueret, Homerum
Et quem dicendi gloria prima manet.
Et nec Aristotelis dicam quo pectore libri
Scrutentur, sophie mystica dona dea.
Turpe virum posthac erit ignorare Minerva
Artes, grex adeo quas mulieribus amet.*

And yet was not the will of God for the infusing of spirituall graces, so linked to that of temporall, as because the one was granted, therefore the other must not be denied. For the blessings of God which be outward, are common to the wicked with the good:

An. Dom. 1535

Ab. Pl. ex
Edw. H. 1535

Ab. Pl. ex
Edw. H. 1535

J. Lelandi Not
ndes, sine C
1535

Spiritual
graces do not
necessitate
concupiscence
temporal

god: the sun shined upon all, the raine is kept from none: naie, God with a sparing hand reacheth out those things to the faithfull, which with full gripes he filleth out and powreth into the laps and bosoms of infidels and epicures: insomuch that the prophet Dauid noting no lesse, with a kind of indignation opened his mouth saying; I was grieved at the wicked, I do also see the vngodlie in such prosperitie, these flourish in the world, these haue riches in possession, and I said; When haue I cleansed my heart in vaine, and washed my hands in innocencie: yea, and I had almost said euen as they; but lo, then should I haue condemned the generation of Gods children. But the end of these men, being set in slippery places, are cast downe and destroyed, yea suddenlie do they consume and come to a fearefull end: euen like as a dreame when one awaketh, so doth God make thir image to banish out of the citie.

And albeit the fall of this sir Thomas More was reprochfull, issuing from a treasonable offense: yet as in pagans manie times there is somewhat which may teach christians lessons for their learning to their shame: so in this papist was one praise-worthy propertie among the rest most eminent, which I will note to the rebuke of protestants. ¶ The reuerend father doctor Cramer bishop of London, in a sermon at Pauls crosse by him made in a solemne audience assembled at the parlement time 1584, teaching diuerse points of doctrine, and the duties of sundrie degrees, said, that it was commendable for noble men and gentlemen, and a great furtherance to the loue of religion, to be deuout: he brought an example of sir Thomas More, a man for his zeale (saith the bishop) to be honored, but for his religion to be abhorred.

This knight would diuerse times put on a surplese, and helpe the priest in proper person to saie service: insomuch that vpon a time being at Chelise, and busie about that exercise, the duke of Norfolk then liuing, came to the said sir Thomas, then lord chancelor of England, about speciall affaires: and being informed that sir Thomas was at the church; thither went the duke, expecting the end of service. In the end, the duke and the lord chancelor met, and after mutuall greeting the duke said thus: What! is my lord chancelor become a parish clurke? What will the kings maiestie saie to this geere, when he shall vnderstand that the lord chancelor of England, a speciall pære of the realme, and in highest reuene of honors in the land next the prince is become a parish clurke? Now tralie (saith sir Thomas) I thinke, and verelie beleue, that his highnesse will be so farr to misdeeme or mislike me herein, that when he shall heare of the care which I haue to serue both his maiester and mine, he will accept and take me for a faithfull seruant. And thus much of him.]

This yere in the time that the king went his progress to Gloucester, and to other places westward, the king of Scots was installed knight of the garter at Winsore by his procurator; the lord Erskin: and in October following, Stephen Gardiner (which after the cardinals death was made bishop of Winchester) was sent ambassado: into France, where he remained thre yeres after. ¶ In August the lord Thomas Fitzgerard, sonne to the earle of Bilsbare, was taken in Ireland, and sent to the tower of London.

In the moneth of October, doctor Lee and other were sent to visit the abbeyes, priories, and nuntries in England, who set all those religious persons at libertie that would forsake their habit, and all that were vnder the age of foure and twentie yeres, and the residue were closed vp that would remaine. Further, they took order that no men should haue accesse

to the houses of women, nor women to the houses of men, except it should be to heare their service. The abbat or prior of the house, where any of the brethren was willing to depart, was appointed to giue to euerie of them a priests gowne for his habit, and forty shillings in monie, the nunnies to haue such apparel as secular women ware, and to go whither they liked best. ¶ The eleuenth of November was a great procession at London for iote of the French kings recouerie of health from a dangerous sicknesse. ¶ In December a surrie was taken of all chanteries, and the names of them that had the gift of them.

The princeesse Dowager lieth at Kimbalton, fell into hir last sicknesse, wherof the king being aduertised, appointed the emperors ambassado: that was legier here with him named Eustachius Caputinus, to go to visit hir, and to do his commendations to hir, and wish hir to be of good comfort. The ambassado: with all diligence did his doctie therein, comforting hir the best he might: but she within six daies after, perceiving hir selfe to waxe verie weake and feeble, and to faile death appoynting at hand, caused one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commending to him hir daughter and his, beseeching him to stand good father vnto hir: and further desired him to haue some consideration of hir gentlewomen that had serued hir, and to see them bestowed in marriage. Further, that it would please him to appoint that hir seruants might haue their due wages, and a yeres wages beside. This in effect was all that she requested, and so immediatlie hereupon she departed this life the eight of Januarie at Kimbalton aforesaid, and was buried at Peterborough. ¶ The nine and twentieth of Januarie quene Anne was deliuered of a child before hir time, which was bozne dead.

On the fourth of Februarie the parlement began, in the which (amongst other things) enacted, all religious houses of the value of thre hundred marks and vnder, were giuen to the king, with all the lands and goods to them belonging. The number of these houses were thre hundred seauentie and six; the value of their lands yearlie about two and thirtie thousand pounds; their mouable goods one hundred thousand; the religious persons put out of the same houses, amounted to the number of about 10000. This yere was William Lindall burnt at a towne betwixt Burels and Sparlin called Willefox. This Lindall, otherwise called Wichins, was bozne in the marches of Wales, and hauing a desire to translate and publish to his countrie diuerse books of the bible in English, and doubting to come in trouble for the same, if he should remaine here in England, got him ouer into the parties of beyond the sea, where he translated not onelie the new testament into the English tong, but also the five bookes of Moses, Zofua, Iudicum, Ruth, the bookes of the kings, and Paralipomenon, Iechemias, or the first of Ezechias, and the prophet Jonas.

Beside these translations, he made certeine treatises, and published the same, which were brought ouer into England, and read with great desire of diuerse, and of many soe despised and abhorred, so that proclamations were procured forth for the condemnation and prohibiting of his books (as before you haue heard.) Finallie, he was apprehended at Antwerpe by meanes of one Philips an Englishman, and then scholer at Louaine. After he had remained in prison a long time, and was almost forgotten, the lord Cromwell wrote for his deliuerance; but then in all hast, because he would not recant any part of his doctrine, he was burned (as before you haue heard.) Of whose conuersation and doctrine, innocent in the world, and sincere for truth, as al-

1536.
The ladie
Katharine
Dowager
deceaseth.

Religious
houses giuen
to the king.

1. Stow.

William Lindall
burnt.

The Thomas
More in some
times com-
mend.

Ac. Rem.
and a for-
warded at
Pauls crosse
by him made
in a solemne
audience
assembled at
the parlement
time 1584.

Whether it
be a matter
concerning
the king's
cause.

The Thomas
More do-
ing a great
work in his
time.

The king of
Scots knight
of the garter.

The bishop of
Winchester
sent ambassado:
into France,
1584.

Visitation of
monasteries
1584.

to of his death and martyrdom, read the martyrologie of Iohn Fox our ecclesiasticall chronographer Anno 1536. *sub Hen. 8.*

Anno reg. 28.

On Paie daie were solemne iusts kept at Grænewich, and suddenlie from the iusts the king departed, not hauing aboue six persons with him, and in the euening came to Westminster. Of this sudden departing many mused, but most chaste the quene.

Abr. Fl. ex
I. Stow. 1006.
Quene Anne
committed to
the tower.

On the next morrow, the lord Rochford brother to the quene, and Henrie Portis were brought to the tower of London prisoners. Also the same daie about fve of the clocke in the after none, quene Anne of Bullongne was brought to the tower of London, by sir Thomas Audleie lord chancelor, the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell secretarie, and sir William Kingston constable of the tower;

Hir imprecation
at the
tower gate on
hir knees.

and when she came to the tower gate, entring in she fell on hir knees before the said lords, beseeching God to helpe hir, as she was not guiltie of that whereof she was accused, and then desired the said lords to beseech the kings grace to be good unto hir, and so they left hir there prisoner. On the sixteenth of Paie

She is ar-
reigned in the
tower.

quene Anne was arreigned in the tower of London on a scaffold for that purpose, made in the kings hall, before the duke of Norfolk, who sat under the rioth of estate as high steward of England, with the lord chancelor on his right hand, the duke of Suffolke on his left hand, with marquesses and lords, &c. and the earle of Surrie sat before the duke of Norfolk his father, as earle marshall of England. The kings commission being read, the constable of the tower, and the lieutenant brought the quene to the barre, where was made a chaire for hir to sit downe in, and there hir indictment was read, whereunto she made so wisse and discret answers, that she seemed fullie to clere hir selfe of all matters laid to hir charge: but being tried by hir peeres, whereof the duke of Suffolke was chiefe, she was by them found guiltie, and had iudgement pronounced by the duke of Norfolk.

The lord
Rochford
condemned.

Immediatlie the lord Rochford the quenes brother was likewise arreigned and condemned: the lord maio of London, his brethren the aldermen, the wardens and foure persons mo of euerie the twelue principall compantes being present. The seauenteenth of Paie, the lord Rochford brother to the quene, Henrie Portis, Marke Smeton, William Brierton, and Francis Nelson, all of the kings priuie chamber, about matters touching the quenes were beheaded on the tower hill: the lord Rochfords bodie with the head was buried in the chappell of the tower, the other foure in the churchyard there. On the nineteenth of Paie quene Anne was on a scaffold (made for that purpose) upon the græne within the tower of London, beheaded with the sword of Calis, by the hands of the hangman of that towne: hir bodie with the head was buried in the quere of the chappell in the tower.]

Quene Anne
and diuerse
others behead-
ed.

The words of queene Anne at hir death.

GOD christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law I am iudged to die, and therefore I will speake nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speake anie thing of that whereof I am accused & condemned to die, but I praise God saue the king and send him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler, nor a more mercifull prince was there neuer, and to me he was euer a good,

a gentle, and a souereigne lord. And if anie person will meddle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I hartilie desire you all to praise for me, Oh Lord haue mercie on me, to God I commend my soule, Iesu receiue my soule: diuerse tunes repeting those words, till that hir head was striken off with the sword,

Now because I might rather saie much than soffer gentle inough in praise of this noble quene, as well for hir singular wit and other excellent qualities of mind, as also for hir fauouring of learned men, zeale of religion, and liberalitie in distributing almes in reliefe of the poore, I will refer the reader unto master Fox his volume of Acts and Monuments, where he commendeth hir mild nature in taking admonition, proueth hir marriage lawfull, defendeth hir succession, ouerthroweth the finisser iudgements, opinions and objections of backbiters against that vertuous quene, sheweth hir faith and trust in Christ at hir death, and finallye how the protestants of Germanie forsooke king Henrie for the death of so good a princeesse. ¶ Anglorum prelia faith, that this good quene was forwarned of hir death in a dreme, wherein Morpheus the god of slepe (in the likeness of hir grandfather) appeared unto hir, and after a long narration of the vanities of this world (how enuie reigneth in the courts of princes, maligning the fortunate estate of the vertuous, how king Henrie the eight and his issue should be the bitter overthrow and expulsion of poperie out of England, and that the gouernment of quene Elizabeth should be established in tranquillitie & peace) he saith vnto hir in conclusion by waie of prophesie, as our poet hath recorded:

*Fortis animo, tristis si nunciatus adsum,
Insuperata tua velox necis aduenit hora,
Intra triginta spacium moriere diemum:
Hoc magnum mortis solamen habetis futura,
Elizabetha suis præclare filia gestis
Nomen ad astra feret patris, matrisque, suumque.]*

Immediatlie after hir death, in the weeke before Whitsonde, the king married the ladie Jane Seimer, daughter to sir John Seimer knight, which at Whitsonde was openlie shewed as quene. And on the tuesday in Whitsonweeke, hir brother sir Edw. Seimer was created vicount Beauchampe, and sir Walter Hungerford, lord Hungerford. The eight of June began the parliament, during the which the lord Thomas Howard, without the kings assent, asked the ladie Margaret Douglas daughter to the quene of Scots, and nece to the king, for which act he was atteinted of treason, and an act made for like offenders, and so he died in the tower, and he remained long there as prisoner. In the time of this parliament the bishops and all the cleargie of the realme held a solemne conuocation at Pauls church in London,

where after much disputation and debating of matters, they published a booke of religion, intituled Articles deuised by the kings highnesse, &c. In this booke is speciallie mentioned but three sacraments. Also beside this booke certeine injunctions were giuen forth, wherby a number of their holie daies were abrogated, & speciallie those that fell in harvest time. ¶ The nine & twentieth of June, the king held a great iusting and triumph at Westminster, where were ordeined two lighters made like ships to fight vpon the water, one of the which brake in the midst, whereby one Gates a gentleman, & a seruant to M. Knicut was drowned in his harnesse. In the other a gun brake hir chamber, & maimed two of the mariners. Thomas Cromwell secretarie vnto the king, and

I. Fox in mas-
tyrologia.

Ang. prelia

Anna mar-
tiris, Pl. 12
Phe. Socra-
tule quidam
formam,

The king mar-
ried Jane Seimer

¶ parliament.

The lord Th-
Howard ac-
cused of
treason.

¶ booke pub-
lished concern-
ing religion
by the king.

I. Stow.
¶ triumph at
Westminster

maister of the tols, was made lord keeper of the priuie seale, and the ninth of Julie the lord Fitzwarren was created erle of Bath, and the morrow after the said lord Cromwell was created lord Cromwell. The eighteenth of Julie he was made knight, and became generall under the king ouer the spiritualtie, and sat diuerse times in the conuocation amongst the bishops as head ouer them. The two and twentieth of Julie, Henrie duke of Richmond and Summerfet, earle of Northampton, base sonne to the king, begot of the ladie Taillebois then called Elizabeth Blunt, departed this life at saint James, and was buried at Sherford in Dorsetholke, of whome you shall find more in the treatise of the dukes of this land.

In September, Thomas Cromwell lord priuie seale and vicegerent, sent abroad under the kings spiritual priuie seale certeine inuincions, commanding that the persons and curats should teach their parishioners the Pater noster, the Ave & Creed, with the ten commandements, and articles of the faith in English. These articles and inuincions being established by authoritie of parlement, and now to the people deliuered, bred a great mistaking in the hartes of the common people, which had bene euer brought up and trained in contrarie doctrine. And herewith diuerse of the cleargie as monks, priests, and others, took occasion herby to speake euill of the late proceedings of the king, touching matters of religion, affirming that if speedie remedie were not in time prouided, the faith would shortly be utterly destroyed, and all praiser and diuine seruice quite abolished and taken awate.

Spanis sinister reports, slanderous tales, and feigned fables were blowne abroad, and put into the peoples eares, and diuerse of the nobilitie did also what they could to stir the commons to rebellion, faithfullie promising both aid and succour against the king. The people thus prouoked to mischief, and deceived through ouer light credence, incontinentlie as it were to mainteine that religion, which had so manie peares continued, and bene esteemed, they stiffelie and stoutlie conspired together, and in a part of Lincolnshire they first assembled, and shortly after joined into an armie, being (as it was supposed) of men apt for the warres, in number about twentie thousand. Against these rebels with all the hast that might be, the king in his proper person vpon intelligence therof had marched towards them, being furnished with a warlike armie, perfectlie appointed of all things that to such a companie should apperteine.

The rebels hearing that his person was present with his power to come thus against them, began to feare what would follow of their doings: and such nobles and gentlemen as at the first fauoured their cause, fell from them and withdrew, so that they being destitute of capteines, at length put certeine petitions in writing, which they exhibited to the king, professing that they neuer intended hurt towards his roiall person. The king receiued their petitions, which consisted in choise of counsellors, suppression of religious houses, maintenance of the seruice of almightie God, the statute of vses, the release of the fifteenth, and receiuing of the first fruits, with such other matters as nothing appertained to them: whereupon he made them answer in pithie sentence, repprouing them of their presumptuous follie and rebellious attempt, to meddle in anie such matters and weightie affaires, the direction whereof onelie belonged to him, and to such noble men and counsellors as his pleasure should be to elect and chuse to haue the ordering of the same.

Wherefore he aduised them to remember their rash and inconsiderate doings, and that now in anie wise

they should resort home to their houses, and no more to assemble contrarie to his lawes and their owne allegiances; and also to cause the prouokers of this mischief to be deliuered to the hands of his lieutenant, and further to submit themselves wholie to such punishment as he and his nobles should thinke them worthy to receiue: for otherwise he would not suffer that insurie at their hands to go vnrueged. After the Lincolnshire men had receiued the kings answer thus made to their petitions, each mistrusting other, who should be noted the greatest meddler, suddenly they began to thinke, and got them home to their houses without longer abode.

Herewith the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant was appointed to go with the armie, to see the countrie set in quiet, accompanied with the lord admirall, sir Francis Blun, and sir John Russell that were joined with him also in commission for the ordering of things there within the countie of Lincoln. The duke entred into the citie of Lincoln the seventeenth of October. On the nineteenth all the inhabitants of Louth (according to order giuen by the duke) came to Lincoln, and there in the castell made their submission, holding vp their hands, and crying for the kings mercie. And herewith were chosen forth Nicholas Pelton, capteine Cobler, & thirteene more, which were commanded to ward, and all the residue were new sworn to the king, renouncing their former oath receiued in time of their rebellion, and then departed home to their houses in the kings peace. After this were proclamations made abroad in the countrie in euerie market towne by the heralds of armes, Summerfet and Willinsore, that the capteins and souldiers of the dukes armie should not take anie mans goods, cattels, or vittels, except they paid or agreed with the owners of the same.

And further commandement was giuen, that all inhabitants and dwellers within the townes and villages about, should repaire to the citie of Lincoln, with all maner of vittels as well for men as for horses, where they should receiue payment at reasonable prices for the same. After this, there was likewise proclamation made for the apprehending of all such lewd persons, as had sowne anie false rumors abroad in the countrie (the chiefe occasion of this rebellion) butting that the king pretended to haue the gold in the hands of his subjects brought into the tower to be touched, and all their cattell unmarked, the chalices, gods, and ornaments of parish churches, fines for christenings, weddings, and buriings, licences to eat white meat, bread, pig, goose or capon, with manie other slanderous, false, and detestable tales and lies, forged of diuelish purpose to incourage the people to rebellion. If therefore anie man could apprehend such as had bene the setters forth and sowers of such seditious reports, they that brought them in, should be so rewarded, as they should thinke their labour well bestowed.

Moreover, if there were anie assemblies made in anie part of the realme without the kings licence, by anie burlesque persons, and would not depart to their houses vpon warning by his graces proclamations, they should not looke for further mercie at the kings hand, but to be prosecuted with fire and sword to the uttermost. To conclude, by the wise and sage direction taken in appeasing the countrie by that noble duke, all things were quieted in those parties. Diuerse of the principall offenders were sent vnto London. He that took vpon him as chiefe capteine of the rout, was the same that called himselfe capteine Cobler: but he was indeed a monk named doctor Wakarell, which afterwards with diuerse others was executed.

But now in the meane time, whilst the duke was

The Lincolnshire men had receiued the kings answer thus made to their petitions, each mistrusting other, who should be noted the greatest meddler, suddenly they began to thinke, and got them home to their houses without longer abode.

The rebels submit themselves and receive a new oath of fealtie to the king.

False rumors the occasion of rebellions.

The people gathered at the commons to be set out of parliament.

Stratagems and artifices.

The Lincolnshire men in armes against the king.

The petitions of the rebels received of the king and of what points they consisted.

It cometh notion
in the north
partes.

An holie pil-
grimage.

The faithfull
diligence of
the earle of
Shrewesburie

A good mean-
ing of intent
may not be
and by iustice
and make good
the action.

The loialtie
of the earle.

was sent forwards into Lincolnshire, within six daies after the king was trulie informed, that there was a new sir begun in the north parts by the people there, which had assembled themselves into an huge armie of warlike men & well appointed, both with capteins; horses, armor, and artillerie, to the number of fortie thousand men, which had incamped themselves in Yorkshire. These men declared by their proclamations solemnlie made, that this their rising and commotion should extend no further, but onelie to the maintenance and defense of the faith of Christ, and deliuerance of holie church, sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtherance as well of priuate as publick matters in the realme, touching the wealth of all the kings poore subjects.

They named this their seditious voiage, an holie and blessed pilgrimage: they had also certeine banners in the field, in which was painted Christ hanging on the crosse on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with diuers other banners of like hypocritie and feigned holinesse. The souldiers had also imbrodered on the sleeves of their cotes in stead of a badge, the similitude of the flue wounds of our sauour, and in the middell thereof was written the name of our Lord. Thus had the rebels host of sathan with false and counterfeite signes of holinesse set out themselves, onelie to deceiue the simple people in that their wicked and rebellious enterprise against their liege lord and naturall prince, whome by the law of nations and by Gods commandments they were bound in conscience to obey, and so farre to be from lifting up the least finger of their hand, as rather to put life and goods in hazard for his sake, to testifie their allegiance.

The speedie diligence and loiall dutie which was found at that present in the worthie counsellour George earle of Shrewesburie, is not to be forgotten, who immediatlie after he understood how the northerne men were thus up in armes, considering how much it imported to stop them of their passage before they should aduance too far forwards, whereby they might both increase in power, and put all other parts of the realme in hazard, though scarce or hope to incline to their wicked purposes, he sent abroad with all speed possible to raise such power of his seruants, tenants, and friends, as by anie means he might make, and withall dispatched one of his seruants to the king, both to aduertise him what he had done, and also to purchase his pardon, for making such leuie of power, before he had receiued his maiesties commission so to do.

I haue heard by relation of men of good credit that were there present: that when such knights and gentlemen as were of his counsell, and other of his respectall friends were come vnto him, he put forth this question to them; Whether his fact in raising a power of armed men without the kings commission (although he had done it to resist the rebels) were treason or not? Wherevnto when answer was made by some that were knowne to haue skill in the laws of the realme, how that by no means it could be intended treason, sith his intent was good, and no euill thereby meant, but contrarie the aduancement of the kings seruice dutifullie fought: He answered (quoth the earle) I know it in substance to be treason, and I would thinke my selfe in an hard case, if I thought I had not my pardon comming.

Such a reuerend regard had this noble earle vnto his bounden allegiance towards his prince, that whatsoeuer seemed but as it were to sound in anie behalfe to the breach thereof, it so troubled his loiall mind, that he could not be satisfied, till as it were in confessing his fault: where according to the truth there was none at all. He had signified his assured si-

delitie in craving pardon, where otherwise he might haue looked for thanks, which indeed he receiued with his pardon, according to his petition, and a commission to proceed as he had begun. Wherevnto, whereas there were diuerse speeches amongst the souldiers in the armie, uttered by some not altogether hapilie well disposed, that the said earle had so good liking of the northerne mens cause, that when it came to the point of triall, he would surelie ioine with them against that part, which he yet pretended to mainteine.

To put that matter out of doubt, he caused the multitude of his souldiers to come before him, and there declared to them, that he understood what lewd talke had bene raised of his meaning among them in the campe, as if he had fauoured the part of the rebels: But (saith he) whatsoeuer their colourable pretense may be, true it is, that traitors they are in this their wicked attempt. And whereas my ancestors haue bene euer true to the crowne, I meane not to staine my blood now in joining with such a sort of traitors, but to liue and die in defense of the crowne, if it stood but vpon a stake: and therefore those that will take my part in this quarrell, I haue to thanke them, and if there be anie that be otherwise minded, I would wish them hence. And herewith he caused his chaplaine to minister an oth to him, which he receiued to the effect aforesaid, in the presence of them all.

And verelie this was thought to be done not without great cause that moued him thereto: for whereas the more part of his souldiers consisted of the countrie people, who with forged tales and wicked surmises were easilie led to belaeue whatsoeuer was reported in fauor of the rebels, and disfauor of such as were then chiefe counsellors to the king, against whome they pretended to rise (although there was no reasonable occasion leading them thereto) it was greatlie to be suspected, least they might through some traitorous practise haue bene induced to forget their dutifull allegiance to their soueraigne, and souldi-like obedience to their leaders, inasmuch that the captiues of the rebels were perswaded (and some of them reported no lesse) that they might haue fought with the duke of Suffolke, and the earle of Shrewesburie, on this higher side of the river of Dun, euen with their owne men, not needing to haue brought a man of their armie with them.

Therefore it was thought, that the oth which the earle of Shrewesburie in that sort receiued before all his people there openlie in field, serued to great purpose; to put out of his souldiers wauering heads all such lewd expectation that he would turne to the enemies, staing thereby their fickle minds; sith they were now assured, that he being their chiefeine meant no dissimulation. A matter trulie of no small importance, considering the fauor which the commons bare towards him, and the opinion they had conceiued of his high prowesse; so that which waie he inclined, it was thought verelie the game were likelie to go. But now after the king was aduertised of that perillous commotion of the northerne men, he appointed not onlie the said earle of Shrewesburie to raise a power to resist them: but also ordeined the duke of Suffolke his lieutenant generall, with the marquesse of Exeter, and the said earle of Shrewesburie, the earles of Huntington and Rutland, accompanied with a mightie power to go against them.

These lords raising such retinues of souldiers and men of warre as were to them assigned, made forward to the place where the armie of the rebels was then incamped, which was beyond the towne of Doncaster, in the high waie towards Poike. But

whether the earle
said to them
that talke
lewdly of him
in the campe.

the was pro-
posed of all
souldiers that
so dutifullie
to deale with
him should be
induced.

the oth of the
earle of Shrewes-
burie in
presence of
the people at
ecclesias.

the duke of
Suffolke the
king's lieutenant.

first the said earle of Shrewesburie, with the earles of Huntington, and Rutland, and such other that were next adjoining to those parties, with their powers assembled out of the shires of Salop, Stafford, Leicesters, Rutland, Nottingham, and Derby, came to a place in Nottinghamshire called Blithlow, and there taking the masters of their people, freights, waies passed forth to Doncaster, and appointed certaine bands of their men, to lie in places where anie fords or passages late ouer the riuer of Dun, that runneth by the northside of Doncaster, to staie the enimies if they should attempt to come ouer. Shortly after came the duke of Suffolke, and finallye the marquisse of Excester with a iollie companie of bester men, well and perfectly appointed.

When these capteins and sage counsellors being here assembled, understood the manner of the northerne men, their number, and readinesse to battell, they first practised with great policie, to haue pacified the matter without bloodshedding: but the northerne men were so bent to mainteine their willfull enterprisse, that there was no hope to take by the matter without battell: the refore a daie was set, on the which they should trie the quarrell betwixt them with dint of sword. But for the chance. The night before the daie assigned for this bloodie and unnatural battell, to haue bene fought betwixt men of one nation, and subiects to one king; there fell a raine not great to speake of, but yet as it were by miracle, the riuer of Dun rose suddenly on such a height, that felddome had bene scene there the like hugeness of water: so that the daie when the houre of battell should come, it was not possible for the one armie to come at the other, and so the appointment made betwixt both the armies for trial of the matter by force of armes, was by Gods good prouidence disappointed, and manie an innocent mans life preferred, that should haue died, if their purposes had taken place.

After this by the great wisdom and policie of the nobles and capteins, a communication was had, and an agreement made vpon the kings pardon, obtained for all the capteins and chiefe doers in this insurrection, and promise made that they should be gentle heard, to declare such things as they found themselves greued with: and that vpon their articles presented to the king, their reasonable petitions should be granted, as by him & his counsell it should be thought expedient, whereby all troubles might be quieted, and eue thing brought to a good conclusion. Wherewith euerie man departed, and those which before came as hot as fire to fight, letted of their desperate purpose, by Gods mercifull prouidence, returned now peaceable to their houses without ains more business.

At the selfe same time that these northerne men were lodged nere to Doncaster, and the kings power readie to stop them of their passage (as before ye haue heard) there was an other armie readie to haue marched southwards thorough Lancashire: but by the faithfull diligence of the earle of Derby, who with the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire was appointed to resist them, they were likewise kept backe and brought to quiet; notwithstanding they were a verie great number assembled together of the commons out of Cumberland, Westmerland, and of the north parts of Lancashire. The earle of Sussex was sent downe by the king, to ioine in assistance with the earle of Derby; who causing diuerse of the chiefe procurers of that rebellion in those parties to be apprehended and arreigned, they being found guiltie had iudgement, and were executed, as the abbats of Malleie, Sauleie, and others.

In time of this rebellion, a priest that by a butcher dwelling within five miles of Windsoz had been

procured to preach in fauor of the rebels, and the butcher (as well for procuring the priest thereto, as for words spoken as he sold his meat in Windsoz) were hanged: the priest on a tree at the foot of Windsoz bridge, and the butcher on a paire of new gallows set vp before the castell gate, at the end of the same bridge. The words which the butcher spake were these. When one had him lesse for the carcase of a sheepe than he thought he could make of it: Saie by Gods soule (said he) I had rather the good fellows of the north had it, and a score more of the best I haue, than I would so sell it. This priest and butcher being accused on a monday in the morning whilst the kings armie was in the field, and the king himselfe lying at Windsoz, they confessed their faults vpon their examinations, and by the law martiall they were adiudged to death, and suffered as before is mentioned. This yeare in December, the Thames was frozen ouer: insomuch that the king and quene rode thorough London to Grenewich.

In Christmas the king by his messengers and heralds sent downe into the north his generall pardons to all the offenders; and shortly after like that had bene the principall procurer, & as it were chiefe capteine of the northerne rebels, came to London, and now was both pardoned and receiued into fauor, receiuing of the kings bounteous liberalitie, apparell, and diuerse other rewards, whereof he was most vntowzthie: for there liued not (as Hall saith) a better wretch, as well in person as conditions and deeds, speciallie towards the kings maiestie, as after appeared. Sir Rafe Cuers kept Scarbroz castell in the north, being six weeks besieged by the rebels, twentie daies whereof he and all his companie (which were his onelie friends, seruants, and tenants, and serued for good will to him) were forced to susteine themselves with bread and water, and yet he kept the same to the end of that rebellion; and so deliuered it to king Henric, who sent him soon after to serue in the borders against Scotland, where in great credit he continued his seruice, keeping the Scots without doing hurt to England, and with such obedience of them, as within twentie miles of the borders of Scotland fore against him, there was not a Scot but at his commandement: and so continued, till he was killed in the yeare 1545.

The twelfe of Nouember, sir Thomas Petowman priest bare a faggot at Paules crosse, for singing masse with god ale. On the third of Februarie, Thomas Fitzgaret sonne and heire to the earle of Arundell was beheaded, and six of his vnckles were dialone, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne for treason. In the same moneth Nicholas Wulgrane, Thomas Tibbie, with others, began a new rebellion at Kirkbie Stephan in Westmerland, who having got together eight thousand men, besieged the citie of Carleill, from whence they were beaten with the onelie power of the citie: and in returning from thence, the duke of Suffolke, who then was lieutenant of the north, incountered with them, toke the capteins, and according to the law martiall arreigned seuentie and foure of them, whome he hanged on Carleill walls; but Wulgrane escaped.

In the same moneth of Februarie began a new commotion, by the procurement of sir Francis Bisgod, who being intised to that mischieuous enterprisse by certaine wicked persons, forgot his dutie to his prince, although he had bene a man (as Hall saith) that vndoubtedlie loved God, and reuerenced his prince with a right obedient and louing feare: but such are men when God leaueth them, and that they will take in hand things which Gods most holie word utterlie forbiddeth. This last rebellion began in Settrington, Piskering, Leigh, and Scarbroz; but

and the cause why.

Generall pardons.
1537
The rewards
bed.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 1010.
Sir Rafe Cuers his god
seruice in the
north.

Denance as
Denies
crosse.
The earle of
Arundell executed.

Tibbie.
A new rebellion.

Sir Francis
Bisgod procured
a new
commotion.

The earle of
Sussex and
John.

1540.

Gods prouidence
thwarted
them from
battell.

The matter
wasen by.

In other
armies
marching
through Lancashire.

Butcher &
which hanged

The purpose
of the rebels.

it was quicklie suppressed, and the said sir Francis Bigod apprehended, and brought to the Tower. The said sir Francis & one Halam, having raised a great companie of rebels, meant to have taken the towne of Hull, there to have fortified themselves, and to have assembled more power; but by the wisdom of sir Rafe Ellerker, & the mayor of the towne of Hull, the said Halam, & threescore other of the rebels without anie slaughter were taken, which Halam was afterwards hanged in chaines, and two other with him, at the said towne of Hull. Sir Francis Bigod fled, & could not be heard of for a time, but at length he was also apprehended.

Like & others
practise to
raise a new
rebellion.

Moreover, about the latter end of this twentieth and eight yeare, the lord Darcie, Alke, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer and his wife, sir Thomas Persie brother to the erle of Northumberland, sir Stephan Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest elquier, William Lomleie, began effones to conspire, although euerie of them before had received their pardons: and now were they all taken and brought to the Tower of London as prisoners. This yeare Robert Packington a mercer of London, a man both rich, wise, and of good credit, dwelling at the signe of the leg in Cheapside, on a morning going (as his custom was) about foure of the clocke to heare masse, in the church then called St. Thomas of Acres, & now the Percers chapell, as he crossed ouer the street from his house to the church, was suddenlie murdered with a gun, the cracke whereof was heard of the neighbors, and of a great number of laborers that stood at Soper lane end, and saw the said Packington go forth of his house: but there was such a thicke mist that morning, as the like had not bene seene, by couert whereof the murderer found thiff the more easilie to escape.

Robert Packington mur-
thered.

Marie were suspected, but none found in fault, albeit forsomuch as he was one that would speake his mind frelie, and was at the same time one of the burgesses of the parlement for the cite of London, and had talked somewhat against the couetousnesse and crueltie practised by the cleargie, it was mistrusted least by some of them he came thus to his end. At length the murderer in deed was condemned at Banburie in Northfolke, to die for a felonie which he afterwards committed: and when he came to the gallows on which he suffered, he confessed that he did this murder, and till that time he was neuer had in anie suspicion thereof. The nine and twentieth of March, were twelue of the Lincolnshire rebels drayned to Thurne, and there hanged and quartered, five of them were priests, the residue laic men. One of the priests was doctor Wakarell, and another was the vicar of Louth.

Rich. Grafton.
The inuenti-
on of casting
pipes.

About this season the manner of casting pipes of lead for the conuiance of water under the ground, without occupieng of soulder to the same, was inuented by Robert Focke clearke, then one of the kings chapleins, an inuention right necessarie for the sauing of expenses: for two men and a boie will do that in one date, which before could not be done by manie men in manie dates. Robert Coper goldsmith was the first that made the instruments, and put this inuention in practise. In the berie beginning of this yeare, certeine commissioners being sent into Summersteshire to take by coine, the people began to make an insurrection: but by the wisdom and diligence of young master Paulet & others the same was suppressed, and the beginners thereof, to the number of threescore, were apprehended & condemned, and fourtene of them were hanged and quartered, one of the number being a woman, the residue were saued by the kings mercifull pardon.

Anno reg. 29.

In June the lord Darcie & the lord Huseie were arreigned at Westminster before the marquesse of Crecier then high steward, where they were found guiltie, and had iudgment, as in cases of high treason. Shortly after also were arreigned sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Persie, sir Francis Bigod, sir Stephan Hamilton, sir John Bulmer, and his wife, or rather (as some report) his paramour: also William Lomleie, Nicholas Tempest, William Thurst abbat of Mountfains, Adam Sudburie abbat of Terneor, William Wold prior of Birlington, also the abbat of Kiuers, and Robert Alke. They were all found guiltie of high treason, and all put to death. Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains ouer Beuerleie gate at Hull, and Robert Alke was also hanged in chains on a tower at Porke, and Margaret Cheineie sir John Bulmers paramour burnt in Smithfield in London. The other suffered at Thurne.

Arreign-
ment.

Execution.

In the latter end of June, was the lord Darcie beheaded at the Tower hill, and shortly after the lord Huseie was likewise beheaded at Lincolne. This yeare at saint Georges feast, was the lord Cromwell made knight of the garter. In October on saint Edwards euen, which falleth on the twelfth of that moneth, at Hampton court the queene was deliuered of hir sonne named Edward, for whose birth great iote was made thorough the realme, with thanksgiving to almighty God, who had sent such a young prince to succeed his father in the crowne of this realme (as afterwards he did) by the name of king Edward the first. His godfathers at the fontstone were the archbishop of Canturburie & the duke of Northfolke, the ladie Marie was his godmother, and at the bishopping, the duke of Suffolke was his godfather. On the eighteenth of October he was made prince of Wales, duke of Cornetwall, and erle of Chester.

The birth of
king Edward
the first.

But as iote is often mixed with sorrow, so at that time it came to passe by the death of his mother, that noble and vertuous ladie queene Jane, which departed out of this life the fourteenth date of this moneth of October, to the great griefe of the whole realme: but namely the king hir husband took it most grievouslie of all other, who removing to Westminster, there kept himselfe close a great while after. The eight of November, the corps of the queene was carried to Windsor, with great solemnitie, and there buried in the midst of the quire in the castell church. There was also a solempne hearse made for hir in Pauls church, and funerall requies celebrated, as well as in all other churches within the cite of London. Thus was the king left againe a widower, and so continued the space of two yeares together. Upon the death of which queene Jane, and the birth of prince Edward hir son this distinction following was made:

The death of
queene Jane.

John Fox in
Jas & Sep-
timontis.

*Phoenix Jana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Secula Phœnice nulla tulisse duos.*

These verses
were thought
to be made by
master Ar-
gill Wade.

The king held his Christmas at Crænetolch, and as well he as all the court were mourning apparell, till the morrow after Candlemas date, & then he and all other changed. This yeare Edward Selmer viscount Beauchampe the queens brother was created earle of Hertford, & sir William Fitzwilliams lord high admerall was created earle of Southampton, & and master Paulet was made viceroy, sir John Russell comptroller of the kings house, master Henedge, master Long, master Knevet of the kings private chamber, knights; master Coffin, master Elstar, & master Selmer the queens brother, knights. On Allhallowes euen, the lord Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Northfolke, died prisoner in the Tower of London, and was buried at Thetford, and then the ladie Margaret Douglas was pardoned, and

1538
Creation of
officers.

Abt. El. et
15 pag. 101.
101a.

Lord Tho-
mas Howard
beheaded.

and released out of the Tower. The foure and twentieth of Februarie, being fundae, the rood of Worleie in Kent, called the rood of grace, made with diuerse vices, to moue the eyes and lips, was shewed at Pauls crosse by the preacher, which was the bishop of Rochester, and there it was broken and plucked in pieces.

The five and twentieth of Februarie, sir Thon Allen priest, and also an Irish gentleman of the Carets were hanged & quartered at Tiburne. The second of March, the image of the rood, called saint Sancio at Bermoneise abbey in Southworke, was taken downe by the kings commandement. The one and twentieth of March, Henrie Hartam customer of Plimmouth, and Thomas Cwell, were hanged and quartered at Tiburne. In Aprill a frier obseruant called frier Forrest was apprehended, for that he was knowne in secret confessions to haue declared to manie of the kings liege people, that the king was not supreme head of the church, where he had by his oth neuertheless affirmed him so to be. Whereupon in his examination, that point being laid to his charge, he answered that he took his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer consented thereunto. But being further accused of diuerse hereticall and damnable opinions that he held & maintained contrarie to the scripture, at length being not able to defend the same, he submitted himselfe to the punishment of the church.

Now when upon this his submission, hauing more libertie than before he had to talke with whome he would, and other hauing libertie to talke with him, he was incited by some such as had conference with him, that when his so small aburration was sent him to read and peruse, he vtterlie refused it, and obstinatelie stood in all his heresies and treasons. Whereupon he was condemned, & afterwards on a paire of new gallowes prepared for him in Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle and armes holes all quicke, and vnder the gallowes was made a fire wherewith he was consumed and burnt to death. There were diuerse of the counsell present at his death ready to haue granted him pardon, if any sparke of repentance would haue appeared in him. There was also a pulpit prepared, in which that renowned preacher Hugh Latimer, then bishop of Worcester, by manifest scriptures confuted the friers errors, and with manie godlie exhortations moued him to repentance, but he would neither heare nor speake.

A little before the execution, an huge and great image was brought to the gallowes. This image was fetched out of Wales, which the Welshmen had in great reuerence: and it was named Daruell Ga theren. They had a prophesie in Wales, that this image should set a whole forest on fire, which prophesie was now thought to take effect, for he set this frier Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The frier when he saw the fire come, caught hold on the ladder, which he would not let go, but in that sort impatientlie took his death, so as if one might iudge him by his outward man, he appeared (saith Hall) to haue small knowledge of God, and lesse trust in him at his ending: otherwisse he would haue bene persuaded to patience, and a christian farewell to the world. Upon the gallowes that he died on, was set up in great letters these verses here following:

David Daruell Gatheren,
As saith the Welshmen,
Fetched outlawes out of hell:
Now is he come with speare and shield,
In harness to burne in Smithfield,
For in Wales he maie not dwell.

And Forrest the frier,
That obstinate lier,
That wilfullie shall be dead:
In his contumacie,
The gospell dooth denie,
The king to be supreme head.]

In Iulie was Edmund Cuninghie attainted of treason, for counterfeiting the kings signe manuell, and in August was Edward Clifford for the same cause attainted, and both put to execution as traitors at Tiburne. In September by the speciall motion of the Lord Cromwell, all the notable images, vnto the which were made any especiall pilgrimages and offerings, were vtterlie taken away, as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the ladie of Wilton, with manie other, and likewise the shynes of counterfeited saints, as that of Thomas Becket, and others. And euen forthwith, by means of the said Cromwell, all the orders of friers and nuns, with their cloisters and houses, were suppressed and put downe. As for the images of our ladie of Walsingham, and Ipswich, were brought by to London, with all the iewels that hong about them, and diuerse other images both in England & Wales, whereunto any common pilgrimage was vsed, for auoiding of idolatrie, all which were burnt at Chelise by the lord priuie seale.

On the first of September being fundae, one Gratnell hangman of London and two other were hanged at the wexelling place by Clearken well, for robbing a booth in Bartholomew faire, at which execution were aboute twentie thousand people, as Edward Hall himselfe (then a present beholder) iudged. This moneth of September, Thomas Cromwell lord priuie seale, vicegerent to the kings highnesse, sent forth instructions to all bishops & curats throughe the realme, charging them to see that in euery parish church, the bible of the largest volume, printed in English, were placed for all men to read on: and that a booke of register were also provided and kept in euery parish church, wherein shall be written euery wedding, christening, and burleng, within the same parish for ever.

Saint Augustines abbey at Canturburie was suppressed, and the shire & goods taken to the kings treasure, as also the shire of Thomas Becket in the priorie of Chelise church was likewise taken to the kings vse, and his bones, scull and all, which was there found, with a peece broken out by the wound of his death, were all burnt in the same church by the lord Cromwell. The monks there were commanded to change their habits, &c. The one and twentieth of October, the church of Thomas Becket in London called the hospitall of saint Thomas of Acres was suppressed. Nicholas Gibson groser, for this yeare shiriffe of London, builded a free schole at Ratcliffe, nere vnto London, appointing to the same, for the instruction of thre score poore mens chyliden, a schole master and other, with a stipend of ten pounds by the yere to the master, and six pounds thirteene shillings foure pence to the other. He also builded there certeine almshouses for foureteene poore and aged persons, who quarterlie receiue six shillings eight pence a peece for euer.]

In this season sute was made to the king by the emperour, to take to wife the duchesse of Milan: but shortly after that sute brake off, because (as was thought) the emperours counsell ment by a cautell to haue brought the king in mind to sue for a licence of the pope. When the duke of Cleue began to sue to the king, that it would please him to match with his sister the ladie Anne, which after took effect. In November, one John Richolson, otherwisse called Lambert,

Execution.

Certeine images taken away and removed from their places.

Ab. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1013.

Hangman hanged.

The bible in euery church to be read.

Register booke in euery church to be kept.

Thomas Becket burnt.

Free schole and almshouses at Ratcliffe.

John Nichol-
son alias
Lambert.

bert, a priest, was accused of heresie, for holding opi-
nion against the bodilie presence in the sacrament of
the altar. He appealed to the kings matresse, who fa-
uourable consented to heare him at a daie appoin-
ted, against which daie, in the kings palace at West-
minster, within the kings hall, there was set up a
throne or seat roiall for the king, with scaffolds for
all the lords, and a stage for Nicholson to stand upon.

This Nicholson was esteemed to be a man well
learned, but that daie he uttered no such knowledge
(saith Hall) as was thought to be in a man of that
estimation. Diuerse arguments were ministred to
him by the bishops, but namelie the king pressed him
fore, and in the end offered him pardon if he would
renounce his opinion: but he would not consent
thereto, and therefore he was there condemned, and
had indgement, and so shortly after he was drawne
into Smithfield, and there burnt to ashes. The third
of Nouember, Henrie Courtne marques of Exce-
ster and earle of Deuonshire, Henrie Pole lord
Pontacute, and sir Edward Heuill brother to the
lord Aburgauennie, were sent to the tower, being
accused by sir Gessrie Pole, brother to the lord Pon-
tacute, of high treason. They were indicted for deui-
sing to mainteine, promote, & aduance one Reginald
Pole, late deane of Excester, enemie to the king
beyond the sea, & to depriue the king. The marques,
and the lord Pontacute were arreigned the last of
December at Westminster before the lord Audleie
that was chancellor, and for that present time high
steward of England, and there they found him
guilty.

The third daie after were arreigned sir Edward
Heuill, sir Gessrie Pole, two priests called Crosss
and Collins, & one Holland a mariner, & all attain-
ted. The sixteenth of Nouember, was the blacke
friers in London suppressed, the next daie the white
friers, the graie friers, and the monks of the Cha-
terhouse, and so all the other immediatlie. The foure
and twentieth of Nouember, the bishop of Rochester
preached at Pauls crosse, & there shewed the blood
of Hales, and affirmed the same to be no blood, but
honic clarified, and coloured with saffron, as it had
bene euidentlie proued before the king and his
councell. Also foure anabaptists, three men, and one
woman, all Dutch, bare fagots at Pauls crosse the
same daie. The nineteenth of Nouember, a man and
a woman Dutch anabaptists, were burnt in Smith-
field.]

The ninth of Januarie, the lord marques, and
the lord Pontacute, with sir Edward Heuill lost
their heads on the Tower hill. The two priests and
Holland were drawne to Tiburne, and there han-
ged and quartered. Sir Gessrie Pole had his par-
don. On A Wednesdaye, John Thons, John Pot-
ter, & William Panering, were hanged in the prin-
ces liueries (because they were the princes seruants)
on the southside of Pauls churchyard, for killing
Roger Cholmeleie esquier in that place, of malice
prepensed. The third of March, sir Nicholas Carew
of Bedington in the countie of Surrie knight of
the garter, and maister of the kings horse, condem-
ned before of treason, was beheaded on the Tower
hill, where he made a godlie confession, both of his
fault, and superstitious faith, giuing God thanks, for
that his hap was to be prisoner in the Tower, where
he first sawed the pleasant tast of Gods holie word,
meaning the bible in English, which there he read by
the exhortation of one Thomas Phillips then keeper
of that prison, and sometime a citizen and point-
maier of London, who had bene in some trouble for
religion, and examined before doctor Stokellie bi-
shop of London, and sir Thomas More, but through
his wise demeanour and mild answers, he escaped

their hands.

The ninth of March, the king created sir Willi-
am Paulet knight treasurer of his house, lord saint
John, and sir John Russell comptroller of his house-
hold, lord Russell. Also either then or shortly after,
was sir William Par created lord Par. The new
abbie of white monks at the Tower hill, and the
Spinoyes, nuns without Algate, were suppressed on
the last of March. The same time the king caused all
the hanens to be fenced with bulwarks, and blocke-
houses, and riding to Douer, he took order to haue
bulwarks made alongst the sea coasts, and sent com-
mission to haue generall musters made through the
realme. Moreouer on Easter daie there were three-
score saille discovered that late in the Downes, and
for that it was neither knowne what they were, nor
what they intended to do, all the able men in Kent
rose and mustered in armour the same daie. The
eight and twentieth of Aprill began a parlement at
Westminster, in the which Margaret countesse of
Salisbury, Gertrude wife to the marques of Exce-
ster, Reginald Pole cardinall, brother unto the lord
Pontacute, sir Adrian Folskew, & Thomas Dingle
leie knight of saint Johns, and diuerse other were
atteinted of high treason, which Folskew and Dingle
leie the tenth of Iulie were beheaded.

In this parlement the act of the six articles was
establisshed. Of some it was named the blodie sta-
tute, as it proued indeed to manie. And euen shortly
after the making thereof, when the first inquest for
inquirie of the offenders of the same statute sat in
London at the mercers chappell, those that were of
that inquest were so chosen forth for the purpose, as
there was not one amongst them that wished not to
haue the said statute put in execution to the utter-
most, in somuch that they were not contented onlie
to inquire of those that offended in the six articles
contained in that statute, but also they deuised to in-
quire of certeine branches (as they took the matter)
belonging to the same, as of those that came selborne
to heare masse, that held not by their hands at the
sacring time, who took no holie bread nor holie wa-
ter, who used to read the bible in churches, or in com-
munication seemed to despise priests, or images in
the churches, &c. To conclude, they inquired of dissi-
gentlie of them that had so offended in anie of those
articles or the branches, that they indicted & presen-
ted to the number of five hundred persons and a-
boue, so that if the king had not granted his pardon,
for that he was informed by the lord Audleie then
lord chancelor that they were indicted of malice, a
great manie of them which already were in pris-
on, had died for it in Smithfield, in firing a faggot.
But although the king at that present granted his
gratious pardon, and forgane all those offenses: yet
afterwards, during the time that this statute stood in
force, which was for the space of eight years insuing,
they brought manie an honest and simple person to
death. For such was the rigor of that law, that if two
witnesses, true or false, had accused anie, and ad-
uouched that they had spoken against the sacrament,
there was no waie but death; for it boted him not
to confesse that his faith was contrarie, or that he
said not as the accusers reported, for the witnesses
(for the most part) were beleued.

The king being informed that the pope by insti-
gation of cardinall Pole, had moued and stirred di-
uers great princes and potentats of christendome to
inuaide the realme of England; without all delay
rode himselte toward the sea coasts, and sent diuerse
of his nobles and counsellors to furueie all the ports
and places of danger on the coast, where anie meet-
ing and conuentent landing place might be doubted, as
well in the borders of England, as also of Wales: in
which

The marques
of Excester
condemned.

I. Stow.
pag 1019.

Friers
suppressed.

Stow of
Hales shewed
at Pauls
crosse.

Anabaptists.

1539
The lord
marques
executed.

Sir Nicho-
las Carew
executed.

Creation of
new officers.

Bulwarks &
blockhouses
built.

Anno Reg. 11
A parlement
Attainders.

Execution.

The statute
of the six ar-
ticles,
An inquest of
inquirie.

The extreme
proceeding in
execution of
the six arti-
cles.

Provision for
defence of the
realme.

Reg. 21.

which dangerous places he caused bulwarks and forts to be erected. And further, he caused the lord admiral earle of Southampton to prepare in a readinesse his maner of ships, for defence of the coasts. Beside this, he sent forth commissions to haue generall musters taken thorough the realme, to vnderstand what number of able men he might make account of: and further to haue the armoz and weapons seene and viewed. Nothing left he vndone that tended to the foreseeing and pzeuening of a mischiefe to insue, which in a pynce is counted a vertue, because such prouidence and circumspection is reported no lesse in a pynat & ordinarie man, as the poet Plautus saith; *virtus est, ubi occasio admonet, diffidere.*

Sir William Forman knight, at that present maior of London, was commanded to certifie the names of all the able men within the citie and liberties thereof, betwene the ages of thye scoze and of sixtene, with the number of armoz and weapons of all kinds of sorts. Whereupon the said maior and his brethren ech one in his ward, by the oth of the common counsell and constable, toke the number of men, armoz, and weapons. And after well considering of the matter, by view of their booke, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole number certified for apt and able men: and therefore assembling themselves againe, they chose forth the most able persons, and put by the residue, speciallie such as had no armoz, nor for whom anie could be prouided. But when they were credible aduertised by Thomas Cromwell lord pynie seale (to whome the citie was greatlie beholden) that the king himselfe would see the people of the citie muster in a convenient number, and not to set forth all their powder, but to leaue some at home to keepe the citie; then effions euerie alderman repaired to his ward, and there put aside all such as had iacks, cotes of plate of maile, and bygadines, and appointed none but such as had white armoz, except such as should beare morrith pikes, which ware no armoz but scalles, and there was no stranger (although he were a denishman) permitted to be in this muster.

Euerie man being of anie abilitie, prouided him selfe a cote of white silke, and garnished their basenets with turues like caps of silke, set with owtches, furnished with chaines of gold and feathers, or caused their armoz to be gilt, and likewise their halberds and pollaxes. Some, and especiallie certeine goldsmiths, had their whole armoz of silver bullion. The lord maior, the recorder, the aldermen, and euerie other officer beside were gorgeously trimmed, as for their degrees was thought seemelie. The maior had sixtene tall fellows on foot attending on him with gilt halberds, apparellled in white silke doublets, and their hose and shoes were likewise white, cut after the Almaine guise, pounted and pulled out with red sarsenet: their ierkins were of white leather cut, and chains about their necks, with feathers and byzches in their caps. The recorder and euerie alderman had about him foure halberders trimmed also in warlike sort. The chamberleine of the citie, the counsellors & aldermens deputies were appointed to be wisers on horsebacke, which also on their armoz ware white damaske cotes, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great chaines about their necks, and proper sauelins or battell arcs in their hands, and caps of velvet richlie trimmed.

The wisers on foot, being in number foure hundred proper light persons, were clad in white ierkins of leather cut, with white hose and shoes, euerie man with a sauelin or slaughtsword in his hands, to keepe the people in arraie. They had chaines about their necks, and fetters in their caps. The minstrels were in white, with the armes of the citie, and so was eu-

erie other person at this muster without anie diuersitie; the lord maior, recorder, and aldermen, onelie excepted, who had crosses of velvet or satin piked with gold. The standard bearers were the tallest men of euerie ward, for whome were made thirtie new standards of the deuisse of the citie, beside banners. Euerie alderman mustred his own ward in the fields, to see that euerie man were in furniture prouided as was requisite.

The eight of Maie being the daie appointed for, shew themselves before the king, euerie alderman in order of battell with those of his ward came into the fields at Spile end, and then all the gunners leuered themselves into one place, the pikes into another, and the archers into an other, and likewise the bilmen, and there cast themselves in rings, and other formes of battell, which was a beautifull sight to behold: for all the fields from white Chapell to Spile end, and from Bednall greene to Hatchliffe & Stepnie, were all couered with armour, men, and weapons, and especiallie the battell of pikes seemed to be as it had bene a great forest. Then was euerie part diuided into three battels, a for-ward, a midle-ward, and a reere-ward.

About seauen of the clocke marched forward the light peeces of ordinance, with stone and powder. After them followed the drums and fifes, and immediately after them a guidon of the armes of the citie. Then followed master Sadler capteine of the gunners on horsebacke armed, and in a cote of velvet, with a chaine of gold, and foure halberders about him apparellled as before is recited. Then followed the gunners foure in a ranke, euerie one going five foot in sunder, which shot altogether in diuerse places berie liuelie, and in speciallie before the kings maiestie, which at that time sat in his new gatehouse at his palace of Westminster, where he viewed all the whole companie. In like maner passed the other companies of all the three battels in good and seemelie order. The foremost capteine at nine of the clocke in the morning, by the little conduit came and entered into Paules churchyard, and from thence directed to Westminster, and so through the sanduarie, and round about the parke of St. James, and by into the field, comming home through Holborne, and as the first capteine entered againe to the little conduit, the last of the muster entered Paules churchyard, which was then about foure of the clocke in the afternone. The number, beside the wisers, and of other waiters was fixtene thousand.

The eight of Iulie, Griffith Clarke, vicar of Wandsworth, with his chapleine and his servant, & frier Watre, were all foure hanged and quartered at St. Thomas Waterings. The tenth of Iulie sir Adrian Fortescue, and Thomas Dingleie were beheaded. The ninth of September, the nunnerie of Clerkenwell and diuerse others were suppressed. This yeare the sixteenth of September came to London duke Frederike of Banier, the Pallgrauce of the Rhine, and the eighteenth of the same moneth came to London the marshall of Hanes Frederike prince elector of Saronie, and the chancelor of William duke of Cleue, Gulicke, Gelderland, and Berghen. The Pallgrauce was receiued and conducted to Windsor by the duke of Suffolke, and the other were accompanied with other noble men, and the thirte and twentieth of the same moneth they all came to Windsor, where eight daies together they were continually feasted, and had pastime shewed them, in hunting and other pleasures, so much as might be. The Pallgrauce shortly after departed homewards and was princelie rewarded, & at that present was the marriage concluded betwixt the king and the ladie Anne, sister vnto duke William of Cleue, Cleue.

Euerie alderman with his ward in order of battell.

The order of the Londoners in their musters.

The king taketh view of the Londoners in their musters.

The number of Londoners in this muster.

John Stow. Clerk of Wandsworth and other executed.

Clerkenwell and other suppressed. The Pallgrauce & other strangers come ouer into England.

The marriage concluded betwixt king Henrie & the ladie Anne, sister vnto duke William of Cleue, Cleue.

Separation in London from the mother to the father and the father to the mother before the king.

The wisers.

The minstrels.

I. Stow, pag.
1016.Thom. Hunt-
low his cha-
ritic.Pensioners
instituted.Ladie Anne
of Cleue is
received into
Calis.She landeth
in Kent.

a great preparaffon was made for the receiuing of hir. The twelue of October the nunnerie of Haliwell, & fourth with the prioie of S. Marie oueries in Southwoke, and S. Bartholomeus in Smithfield, were suppressed, & all their lands & goods taken to the kings vse. Thomas Huntlow of London for this peare thiriffe, gaue the haberdashers certeine tene-ments, for the which they be bound to giue to ten poore almes people of the same companie, euerie one of them eight pence euerie fridate for euer: and also at euerie quarter dinner kept by the masters, to be giuen to euerie one of those ten poore people a penie loafe, a pottell of ale, a peece of beefe worth foure pence in a platter, with poorage, and foure pence in monie.]

The fouretenth of November, Hugh Feringdon abbat of Reding, and two priests, the one called Rug, and the other Onion, attainted of high treason for denieng the supremacie of the king ouer the church of England, were by awone, hanged, and quartered at Reding. The same date was Richard Whiting abbat of Glasseburie likewise hanged and quartered on Towre hill beside his monasterie, for the same matter and other treasons whereof he had bene convicted. The first of December was John Bedy abbat of Colchester put to death for the like offense. In December were appointed to wait on the kings person fiftie gentlemen called pensioners, of speares, vnto whome was assigned the sum of fiftie pounds pcerlie a peece, for the maintenance of themselves and two horses, or one horse and a gelding of seruice.

The eleuenth daie of December at the turne pike on this side Graueling, was the ladie Anne of Cleue receiued by the lord deputie of the towne of Calis, and with the speares and hoysmen belonging to the retinue there. When she came within little more than a mile of the towne of Calis, she was met by the erle of Southampton high admerall of England, who had in his companie thirtie gentlemen of the kings household, as sir Francis Wian, sir Thomas Scimcr, and others, beside a great number of gentlemen of his owne retinue clad in blue veluet, and crimson satin, and his yeomen in damaske of the same colours. The mariners of his ship were apparelled in satin of Widges, cotes & slops of the same colour. The lord admerall brought hir into Calis by Lanterne gate. There was such a peale of ordinance shot off at hir entrie, as was marvellous to the hearers. The maior presented hir with an hundred markes in gold, the merchants of the Staple with an hundred souverignes of gold in a rich purse. She was lodged in the kings place called the Cherker, and there she laie fiftene daies for want of prosperous wind.

During which time, godlie iusts and coslie banquets were made to hir, for hir solace and recreation. And on S. Johns daie in Christmasse, she with fiftie saille toke passage about none, and landed at Dele in the Dolones about fve of the clocke, where sir Thomas Chenie lord Warden of the ports receiued hir. She taried there a certeine space in a castell newlie built, and thither came the duke of Suffolke, and the dutches of Suffolke, and the bishop of Chichester with a great number of knights and esquires, and ladies of Kent and other, which welcomed hir grace, and brought hir that night vnto Dover castell, where she rested till mondaie, on which date (notwithstanding it was berie foule and stormie weather) she passed towards Canturburie, and on Waram downe met hir the archbishop of Canturburie, with the bishops of Elic, S. Asse, S. Dauides, and Douer, and so brought hir to S. Augustins without Canturburie, where she late that night. The next daie she came to

Sittingburne, and laie there that night. As she passed towards Rochester on Rewycares even, on Keinam downe met hir the duke of Suffolke, and the lord Dactres of the south, and the lord Spontioe, with a great companie of knights and esquires of Suffolke and Suffolke, with the barons of the cheker which brought hir to Rochester, where she laie in the palace all Rewycares daie. On which daie, the king (longing to see hir) accompanied with no more but eight persons of his priue chamber, both he and they all apparelled in marble cotes, priuie comming to Rochester, suddenly came to hir presence, whereof at the first she was somewhat astonished, but after he had spoken to hir and welcomed hir, she with louing countenance and gracions behauiour him receiued, and welcomed him on hir knees, whom he gentlie toke vp and kissed, and all that after none communed and deuised with hir, supped that night with hir, and the next daie he departed to Crane-wich, and she came forward to Dartford.

On the morrow the thir daie of Januarie being saturday, in a faire plaine of Blackheath, more nere to the foot of Shoters hill, than the ascendent of the same, called Blackheath hill, was pitched a pavilion of rich cloth of gold, and diuerse other tents and pavillions, in which were made fires and perfumes for hir and such ladies as were appointed to receiue hir: and from the tents to the parkie gate of Crane-wich, all the bushes and firs were cut downe, and a large open waie made for the shew of all persons. And first next to the parkie pale on the east side stood the merchants of the Stillard, and on the west side stood the merchants of Genoa, Florence and Venice, and the Spaniards in cotes of beluet. Then on both sides the waie stood the merchants of the citie of London, and the aldermen, with the counsellors of the said citie, to the number of a hundred and threescore which were mingled with the esquires; then the fiftie gentlemen pensioners: and all these were apparelled in beluet and chaines of gold, trulle accounted to the number of twelue hundred & above, beside them that came with the king and hir, which were sir hundred in beluet cotes and chaines of gold. Behind the gentlemen stood the seruingmen in god order well hoysed and apparelled, that who so euer had well viewed them, might haue said, that they for tall and comelie personages, and cleane of lim and bodie, were able to giue the greatest prince in christendome a mostall breakfast, if he had bene the kings entrie.

About twelue of the clocke, hir grace with all the companie which were of hir owne nation, to the number of an hundred horse, accompanied with the dukes of Suffolke and Suffolke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops, lords, and knights, which had receiued and conueied hir, came downe Shoters hill towards the tents, and a god space from the tents met hir the earle of Rutland appointed lord chamberlaine to hir grace, sir Thomas Dornise hir chancelor, and all hir counsellors and officers, amongst whome doctor Dale (appointed to be hir almoner) made to hir an eloquent oration in Latine, presenting to hir on the kings behalf all the officers and seruants: which oration was answered vnto by the duke hir brothers secretarie, there being present: which done the ladie Margaret Douglas, daughter to the queene of Scots, the ladie mar- quelle Dornise, daughter to the French queene, being next to the king, and the dutches of Richmond the countesses of Rutland and Hereford, with diuers other ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of threescore and fve, saluted and welcomed hir grace, who alighted out of hir chariot in the which she had rid all hir long iourneie, and with courteous demeanour

1540

The king
commeth to
see hir at
Rochester.The order
receiuing
her on Black-
heath.The ladies
that receiued
hir on Black-
heath.

louting countenance, gaue to them hartie thanks, and kissed them all, and after all hir counsellors and officers kissed hir hand: which done, she with all the ladies entered the tents, and there warmed them a space.

When the king knew that she was arrived in hir tent, he with all diligence set out through the parke. And first issued the kings trumpets, then the kings officers sworne of his counsell, next after came the gentlemen of his priue chamber, after them followed barons, the yongest first, and sir William Holles lord maior of London rode with the lord bar that was the yongest baron. Then followed the bishops, and immediately after them the earles, and then the duke of Bauiere, and countie Palatine of the Rhine, with the linerie of the Colson or golden fleece about his necke.

Then came the ambassadours of the French king and emperour, next to whome followed the lord priue seale lord Cromwell, and the lord chancellor, then Carter king at armes, and the other officers and largents of armes gaue their attendance on each side the lord. The lord marquesse Dorset bare the sword of estate, and after him a good distance followed the kings highnesse, mounted on a goodlie courser. To speake of the rich and gorgeous apparell that was there to be seene that daie, I haue thought it not greatlie necessarie, fith each man may well thinke it was right sumptuous, and as the time then serued, verie faire and coslie, as they that are desirous to vnderstand the same may read in maister Halles chronicle more at large, which in this part I haue thought good to abridge.

After the king followed the lord chamberleine, then came sir Anthonie Browne maister of his horses, a goodlie gentleman, and of personage verie semelie, richlie mounted, & leading the kings horse of estate by a long reine of gold. Then followed his pages of honour riding on great courfers, and lastlie followed sir Anthonie Wellingfield capteine of the gard, and then the gard well horsed, and in their rich cotes. In this order rode the king till he came to the last end of the ranke of the pensioners, & there euerie person that came with him placed himselfe on the one side or the other, the king standing in the middle.

When hir grace vnderstood that the king was come, she came forth of hir tent, and at the doze thereof, being set on a faire and beautifull horse richlie trapped, she rode forth towards the king, who perceiving hir to appoach, came forward somewhat beyond the crosse on Blackheath, and there staid till she came nether, & then putting off his cap, he made forward to hir, and with most louting countenance and princelie behauiour saluted, welcomed, and embraced hir, to the great reioicing of the beholders: and she likewise not forgetting hir dutie, with most amiable aspect and womanlie behauiour receiued him with manie apt words and thanks, as was most to purpose. Whilste they were thus talking together, the fiftie pensioners with the gard departed to furnish the hall at Grenewich. After the king had talked with hir a small while, he put hir on his right hand, and so with their footmen they rode together, and with their companies being thus met, returned in this manner through the ranks of the knights and esquieres (which stood still all this while and remoued not.)

First hir trumpets set forward being twelue in number, beside two kettledrums on horsebacke; then followed the kings trumpeters, then the kings counsellors, then the gentlemen of the priue chamber, after them the gentlemen of hir graces countie in robes of veluet, and all on great horses. Then the

maiors of London with the yongest baron, then all the barons: next them the bishops, then the earles, with whom rode the earles of Duerfstein and Waldec hir countrimen, then the dukes of Porffolke and Suffolke, and the archbishop of Canturburie, and duke Philip of Bauier: next followed the ambassadours, then the lord priue seale, and the lord chancellor, then the lord marquesse Dorset that bare the sword: next followed the king himselfe equallie riding with the ladie Anne, and behind him rode sir Anthonie Browne with the kings horse of estate, as yee haue heard, and behind him rode sir John Dobleie maister of his horses, leading hir spare horse trapped in rich tissue downe to the ground: after them followed hennymen and pages of honor.

Then followed the ladie Margaret Dowglas, the ladie marquesse Dorset, the dutches of Richmond and Suffolke, the countesses of Rutland and Hertford, and other countesses. Then came hir chariot in which she had rid all hir iournie, well carued and gilt with the armes of hir countie curiouslie wrought & covered with cloth of gold, all the horses were trapped with blacke veluet, and on them rode pages of honor, in which chariot rode two ancient ladies of hir countie: next after the chariot, followed sir ladies and gentlewomen of hir countie verie beautifull and richlie appareled, and with them rode sir ladies of England. Then followed an other chariot, gilt and furnished, then ten English ladies, and next them an other chariot covered with blacke cloth, and therein rode foure gentlewomen that were hir chamberers. Then followed all the remnant of the ladies, gentlewomen and damoels in great number: and last of all came an other chariot all blacke, with three launders appertaining to hir grace; next after followed an horsefitter of cloth of gold and crimson veluet upon veluet paled, with horses trapt accordinglie, which the king had sent to hir. Then followed the seruingmen of hir traine, all clothed in blacke, mounted on great horses, euerie one in due place and decent order, so that it was verie magnificall and more than princelie brauerie that then was exhibited to the beholders eyes, as the poet saith:

Cernitur hic plusquam regia pompa comes.

In this order they rode through the ranks and through the parke, till they came at the late friers wall, where all men alighted except the king, the two maisters of the horse, and the hennymen, which rode to the hall doze, & the ladies rode to the court gate, & as they passed, they might behold on the wharfe, how the citizens of London were rowing vp and downe on the Thames right before them, euerie craft with his barge garnished with banners, flags, streamers, pencels, and targets, painted and beaten with the kings armes, some with hir armes, and some with the armes of their craft and mysterie.

There was also a barge called the bachelors barks, richlie decked, on the which waited a foist that shot great peeces of artillerie, and in euerie barge was great store of instruments of diuerse sorts, and men and children singing and plaing altogether, as the king and the ladie Anne passed by on the wharfe. When the king and she were within the bitter court, they alighted from their horses, and the king loutinglie embraced hir, kissed hir, & bad hir welcome to hir owne, leading hir by the left arme through the hall, which was furnished beneath the harch with the gard and about the harch with the fiftie pensioners, with their battell arcs; and so the king brought hir vp to hir priue chamber, where he left hir for that time. Allone as the king and she were entered the court, a great peale of artillerie was shot off from the tower of Grenewich, and there about.

When the kings companie and hers were once come

The king and the ladie Anne ride together.

Hir chariot wherein she rode all hir iournie.

The kings countie on Blackheath.

who followed the king.

The meeting of the king and the ladie Anne at Grenewich on Blackheath.

The kings trumpets and the ladie Anne and her ladies.

The king and the ladie Anne with the king's company.

The marriage
is solemnized
between king
Henrie & the
ladie Anne of
Cleue.

come with in the park (as befoze ye haue heard) then
all the horsemen on Blackheath brake their arae,
and had licence to depart to London or otherwhere to
their lodgings.

On the tuesday following, being the daie of the
Epiphanie, the marriage was solemnized betwixt the
king and the said ladie. She was fetched from hir
chamber by the lords, so that the going betwene the
carle of Duerstaine, and the grand master Holcon-
der, which had the conduct and order to see the mari-
age performed, she passed through the kings chamber
& all the lords befoze hir, till she came into the galle-
rie, where the king was readie, staing for hir, to
whom she made thre low obelances and courtesies.
Then the archbishop of Canturburie received them,
and married them together, and the carle of Duer-
staine did giue hir. When the marriage was celebra-
te they went hand in hand into the kings closet, and
there hearing masse, offered their tapers, and after
masse was ended, they had wine and spices. And
that done, the king departed to his chamber, and all
the ladies waited on hir to hir chamber, the duke of
Norfolke going on hir right hand, and the duke of
Suffolke on hir left.

After nine of the clocke, the king having shifted
his apparell, came to his closet, & the likewise in hir
haire, & in the same apparell she was married in the
chapel to hir closet with hir sargeant at armes, & all
hir officers befoze hir like a queene, & so the king and
she went openlie in procession, and offered and dined
together. After they had supped together, there were
banquets and masks, and diuerse disports shewed,
till time came, that it pleased the king and hir to
take rest. On the sundaie after were kept solenne
tusts, which greatlie contented the strangers. This
daie she was apparellled after the English manner,
with a french hood, which became hir exceeding well.
When the carle of Duerstaine and the other lords
and ladies which had giuen their attendance on hir
came all that fourneie, had bene highlie feasted
and interteined of the king and other of the nobles,
they toke leaue, and had great gifts giuen to them,
both in monie and plate, and so returned toward
their countrie, leauing behind them the erle of Wal-
decke, and diuerse gentlemen and damosels to re-
maine with hir, till she were better acquainted in the
realme.

The king and
the ladie Anne
remoued to
Westminster.

The duke of
Norfolke
ambassador
into France.

S. Marie De-
uieris made a
parish church.

John Stow.
Erle of Essex
deceased.

Carle of Or-
ford deceased.

The fourth of February, the king and the queen
remoued to Westminster by water, on whom the lord
maior & his brethren, with twelue of the chiefe com-
panies of the cite, all in barges gorgeously garni-
shed with bancers, penons, and targets, richlie coue-
red, and furnished with instruments, sweetlie soun-
ding, gaue their attendance: and by the waie, all the
ships shot off, and likewise from the towre, a great
peale of ordinance went off lustilie. The twelue of
February, the duke of Norfolke was sent in am-
bassage to the french king, of whome he was well
interteined, and in the end of the same moneth he re-
turned againe into England.

After Christmas, the priorie church of S. Marie De-
uieris in Southwiche was purchased of the king by
the inhabitants of the Borow, W. Gardener bishop
of Winchester putting to his helping hand: they
made thereof a parish church, and the little church of
Marie Magdalen joining to the same priorie, was
made all one church, and saint Margarets in South-
wiche a parish, was admitted to the same parish.
The twelue of March, Henrie Bourcher erle of Es-
sex riding a pony horse, was cast, & brake his necke,
at his manour in Essex: he was the eldest carle in
England. The nineteenth of March, John Clerc erle of
Orford, high chamberleine of England, deceased at
his manour in Essex. The tenth of Aprill, sir Willi-

am Peterson priest, late commissarie of Celis, and
sir William Richardson priest of S. Maries in Ca-
lis, were both there hanged, and quartered in
the market place for denieng obstinatele the kings
supremacie.

The third sundaie in Lent, one doctor Barnes pre-
ached at Pauls crosse, and in his sermon thrughed
against the bishop of Winchester, for doctrine by
him preached in the same place, the first sundaie of
that Lent, intrating of iustification. Among other
taunts that Barnes uttered against the bishop, this
was one, that if he & the bishop were both at home,
he knew that great sums of monie would not saue
his life, where but for the bishop, there was no great
feare, but such all intreatance would serue. The bishop
offended herewith, complained of Barnes to the la.
and had him examined, & at length by the kings com-
mandement he came to the bishops house, where the
matter was so handled at this time, that Barnes
with two other preachers, the one named Hierome,
and the other Carrel (of whom hereafter more shall
be said) were appointed to preach at S. Maries spittle
by London in the Easter weeke. In that sermon which
Barnes made befoze all the people, he asked the bi-
shop forgiveness, for speaking so vnrerentlie of
him in his former sermon, and required the bishop
(if he did forgive him) in token thereof to hold up
his hand, which like as it was long before he did, so
(as manie thought afterward) it was but a signed
forgiuenesse.

The twelue of Aprill began a parlement, and sir
Nicholas Hare was refozsed to the office of speaker,
who together with sir Humfreie Botone knight, and
William Connelbie esquier, the thre and twentieth
of February last past, had bin called befoze the lords
into the Star chamber, for being of counsell with sir
John Shelton knight, in making a fraudulent will
of his lands, to the hinderance of the kings prerog-
ative, and contrarie to the statute of Anno 27, for the
which offense they were all at that time dismissed
of their offices and seruices to the king, and the two
knights were immediatlie sent to the towre, and
thre daies after Connelbie was committed thither
also. They remained there in ward about ten daies,
and were then deliuered. Sir Humfreie Botone
was the kings sargeant at law, sir Nicholas Hare
was one of the kings counsellors, and speaker of the
parlement, who being then depriued, was now a-
gaine thereto refozsed. William Connelbie was
attorneie of the dutchie of Lancaster. In this par-
lement, were frelie granted without contradi-
tions, foure subsidies and a subsidy of two shillings of
lands, and twelue peice of goods, toward the kings
great charges of making Bakersches.

The eighteenth of Aprill at Westminster was
Thomas lord Cromwell created erle of Essex, and
ordeined great chamberleine of England, which of-
fice the earles of Orford were wont erer to entoe;
also Gregorie his sonne was made lord Cromwell.
The foure and twentieth of Aprill, Thomas lord
Audleie, & chancelor of England, with sir Anthone
Botone, master of the kings horses, were made
knights of the right honourable order of the garter.
On Maie daie, was a great triumph of iusting at
Westminster, which tusts had bene proclaimed in
France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spaine, for all
commers that would, against the challengers of
England, which were, sir John Audleie, sir Thomas
Belmer, sir Thomas Moynings, sir George Carw-
well esquiers, which said challengers came into the
lists that daie richlie appareled, and their horses
trapped all in white beluet, with certeine knights and
gentlemen riding afore them, appareled all in white
beluet,

D. Barnes

Sir John
Shelton, sir
Nicholas
Hare, sir
Humfreie
Botone
fraudulente
willers pro-
mised.

Donation
of Thomas
Cromwell.

in Reg. 1.

veluet, and white farsetet, and all their seruants in white dublets, and hozen cut after the Burgonion fashion: and there came to iust against them the said daie, of defendants fortye fir, the earle of Surrie being the foremost, lord William Howard, lord Clinton, and lord Cromwell, sonne and heire to Thomas Cromwell earle of Essex, and chamberleine of England, with other, which were richlie apparellled.

And that day, sir John Dobleie was ouerthzotone in the field, by mischance of his horse, by one master Byerne defendant, neuerthelasse he brake diuerse speares ballantlie after that. And after the said iusts were done, the said challengers rode to Durham place, where they kept open household, and feasted the king and quene, with hir ladies, and all the court. The second of Maie, Anthonie Kingston & Richard Cromwell were made knights at the said place. The third of Maie, the said challengers did tourne on horsebacke with swords, & against them came nine and twentie defendants; sir John Dobleie, and the earle of Surrie running first, who in the first course lost both their gantlets: and that daie, sir Richard Cromwell ouerthzew master Palmer in the field off his horse, to the great honor of the challengers. On the fift of Maie, the said challengers fought on foot at the barriers, and against them came thirtie defendants, which fought ballantlie: but sir Richard Cromwell ouerthzew that daie at the barriers master Tulpeper in the field.

The said challengers brake vp their household, after they had kept open hospitalitie, and feasted the king, quene, and all the lords, beside all the knights and burgesses of the common house in time of the parlement, and the maior, aldermen, and all their wiues to their no small honor, though great expense. In the parlement which began the eighteenth of April last past, the religion of saint Johns in England, commonlie called the order of knights of the Rhodes, was dissolued; on the ascension day, being the fift of Maie, sir William Welleson knight, prior of saint Johns departed this life for thought (as was reported) which he toke to the heart, after he heard of that dissolution of his order. For the king toke all the lands that belonged to that order into his hands, to the augmentation of his crowne, and gaue vnto euerie of the challengers aboute written for a reward of their ballantnesse, a hundred marks, and a house to dwell in of peacelie reuenues out of the said lands for euer.]

The same moneth were sent to the Towre doctor Samson, bishop of Chichester, and doctor Wilson, for releuing certeine traitorous persons: and for the same offense was one Richard Farmer, a grocer of London, a rich and welthie man, and of good estimation in the cite, committed to the Sparthalseie, & after at Westminster hall arraigned, and atteinted in the psumptre; so that he lost all his goods. The ninth daie of Iulie, Thomas lord Cromwell, late made earle of Essex (as before you haue heard) being in the counsell chamber, was suddenlie apprehended & committed to the Towre of London: the which manie lamented, but more reioised, and speciallie such as either had bene religious men, or fauoured religious persons, for they banketed & triumphed together that night, manie wishing that that daie had bene seven peaces before; & some fearing that he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merie.

Other who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him, and heartlie praied for him. But this is true, that of certeine of the clargie he was detestable hated, and speciallie such as had borne swinge and by his meanes were put from it: for in deed he was a man that in all his doings seemed not to fauor anie kind of poperie, nor could not abide the

smussing pride of some prelates, which bridonbtedlie (whatsoeuer else was the cause of his death) did shorten his life, and pzocured the end that he was bzought vnto: which was, that the nineteenth daie of the said moneth he was atteinted by parlement, and neuer came to his answer: which law manie reported that he caused first to be made, howbeit the plaine truth thereof I know not. The articles for which he died appeare in the records, where his attaindo: is written, which are too long here to be rehearsed; but to conclude he was there atteinted of heresie and high treason, and the eight & twentieth of Iulie was bzought to the scaffold on the Towre hill, where he said these words following.

The words of the lord Cromwell spoken at his death.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe, as may happen some thinke that I will, for if I should so do, I were a verie bozetch and a miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine offense. For since the time that I came to peaces of discretion I haue liued a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him hartlie foggiuenesse. And it is not vnknowone to manie of you, that I haue bene a great trauelier in the world, and being but of a bale degre, was called to high estate. And since the time I came therebnto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aske him hartlie foggiuenesse, and beseech you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgive me. O Father forgive me, O Sonne forgive me, O holie ghost forgive me, O thre persons and one God forgive me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the catholike faith, not doubting in anie article of my faith, no nor doubting in anie sacrament of the church. Manie haue slandered me, and reported that I haue bene a bearer of such as haue maintained euill opinions, which is vntrue: but I confesse, that like as God by his holie spirit doth instruct vs in the truth, so the diuell is ready to seduce vs, and I haue bene seduced: but beare me witnesse, that I die in the catholike faith of the holie church, and I hartlie desire you to praie for the kings grace, that he may long liue with you in health and prosperitie, & after him that his sonne prince Edward, that goodlie impe may long reigne ouer you. And once againe I desire you to praie for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I wauer nothing in my faith.

Then made he his praier, which was long, but not so long as godlie and learned, and after committed his soule to the hands of God, and so patientlie suffered the stroke of the ar, by a ragged and butcherlie miser, which ill fauouredlie performed the office. This man being borne in Putneie, a village in Surreie by the Thames side, foure miles distant from London, was sonne to a Smith, after whose deceasse, his mother was married to a Shereman. But notwithstanding the basenesse of his birth and lacke

John Fox in the Acts & Monuments,

A description of the birth of Thomas Cromwell and other circumstances.

John Fox in the Acts & Monuments,

Cromwell

Summ.

Order of Rhodes

John Fox in the Acts & Monuments,

The bishop of Chichester, & doctor Wilson committed to the Towre,

John Fox in the Acts & Monuments,

lacke of maintenance was at the beginning (as it happeneth to manie others) a great let and hindrance for vertue to shew hir selfe: yet through a singular excellencie of wit, joined with an industrious diligence of mind, and helpe of knowledge, gathered by painefull trauell, and marking the courses of states and governments as well of his native countrie at home, as in forren parties abroad, he grew to such a sufficient ripenesse of understanding and skill, in ordering of weightie affaires, that he was thought apt and fit for anye some or office where to he should be admitted.

Which being perceived of cardinall Wolseie, then archbishop of Yorke, he took him into his service, and making him his solicitor, imploied him about businesse of most importance, wherein he acquitted himselfe with such dexterity, as answered alwaies the credit committed to him. After the cardinals fall, he was advanced to the kings service, behaving himselfe so aduisedly in matters which he took in hand, that within a small time he rose to high authoritie, and was admitted to be of the priuie counsell, bearing most rule of all other vnder the king, as partly ye haue heard: so that by him it well appeared, that the excellencie of heretofore vertues, which aduance men to fame and honor, resteth not onelie in birth and blood, as a priuilege appoynted and alonely annexed vnto noble houses, but remaineth at the disposition of almighty God the giuer: disposer of all gifts, who raiseth the poore manie times from the basest degree, and setteth him by with princes, according to the saying of Ecclesiastes:

*Qui iacuit tetro quandoque in carcere vincitur,
Paria suis meritis regia sceptratulus.*

Penetheliese, concerning the lord Cromwell earle of Essex, if we shall consider his comming vp to such high degree of honor as he attained vnto, we maie doubt whether there be cause more to maruell at his good fortune, or at his worthie and industrious demeanour. But sith in the booke of Acts and Sermons ye maie find a sufficient discourse hereof, we need not to spend more time about it, save onelie as master Fox hath trulie noted, such was his actiuitie and forward ripenesse of nature, so readie and pregnant of wit, so discreet and well aduised in judgement, so eloquent of tong, so faithfull and diligent in seruice, of such an incomparable memorie, so bold of stomack and hardie, and could doe so well with his pen, that being conuersant in the sight of men, he could not long continue vnspied, nor yet vnpraised of fauor and helpe of friends, to set him forward in place and office.

Thankfull he was and liberall, not forgetting benefits receiued, as by his great courtesie shewed to Friscolbal the Italian it well appeared: a fauourer of the poore in their suites, and readie to relieue them that were in danger to be oppressed by their mightie aduersaries: a fauourer of the gospel, and an enemy to the pride of prelates, vertie stout, and not able well to put by injuries, which wan him many enemies that ceased not (as was thought) to seeke his overthrow, till at length they had brought to passe that they wished. Carefull he was for his seruants, and readie to doe them good, so that fearing the thing which came to passe, he provided well for the more part of them, notwithstanding his fall. And thus much for the lord Cromwell. The morrow after Midsummer daie, the king caused the queene to remoue to Richmond, supposing it to be more for hir health, and more for hir pleasure.

The first of Julie, certeine lords came downe into the nether house, & expressly declared causes, for the which the kings marriage was not to be taken lawfull: & in conclusion, the matter was by the con-

uocation clerelle determined, that the king might lawfullie marrie where he would, and so might she. And thus were they clerelle diuorced, and by the parliament it was enacted, that the should be taken no more for queene, but called the ladie Anne of Cleue. In this yeare, the lord Leonard Greie, brother vnto Thomas marquesse Dorset, being the kings licentiate in Ireland, was reuoked home, and vpon his comming to London was sent to the Tower. In the same moneth of Julie the prince of Salerne, and the lord Alois de Medici came into England to see the king, & after they were departed, don Frederike, marquesse of Padua, brother to the duke of Ferrara, the prince of Macedonie, the marquesse of Terra Spona, & monsieur de Flagie, with other, came from the emperors court into England to see the king, the which on Marie Magdalens daie came to the court at Westminster, and after they had bene highlye feasted, and noblie intertained, they were richlye rewarded as the other, and so departed.

The eight and twentieth of Julie (as ye haue heard before) the lord Cromwell was beheaded, and likewise with him the lord Hungerford of Hertsfordshire, who at the house of his death seemed vniquiet, as manie iudged him rather in a frensie than otherwise: he suffered for buggerie. The thirtieth of Julie were drawne on hurdels from the Tower to Smithfield, Robert Barnes doctor of diuinitie, Thomas Garard, and William Jeron bachelors in diuinitie; Jeron was vicar of Stepney, and Garard was person of Honie tate: also Wolwell, Jetherston, and Abell priests. The first three were drawne to a stake, there before set vp, and then burned. The other three were drawne to the gallows, and hanged, beheaded and quartered. The three first (as is found in their attaindors) were executed for diuerse heresies, but none alledged, whereat (saith Hall) I haue much marvelled, that their heresies were so manie, and not one alledged as a speciall cause of their death. And verelie at their deaths they asked the shiriffs what was their offense for which they were condemned: who answered, they could not tell: but most men said it was for preaching against the doctrine of Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who chiefe (as the same Hall saith) procured their deaths. The last three, to wit, Wolwell, Jetherston, and Abell, suffered for treason, as in their attaindors was speciall mention made, to wit, for denieng the kings supremacye, and affirming his marriage with the ladie Katharin Dowager to be good.

The fourth of August, Thomas Crompton some time a monke of Westminster, which had bene in prison for treason in Petogate now for the space of three yeares and more, came before the iudices of gaole deliuerie at Petogate, and for that he would not aske the kings pardon, nor be sworne to be true to him, his monks garment was plucked from his backe, and he repriued, till the king were informed of his malicious obstinacie: and this was the last monke that was seene in his clothing in England till queene Maries daies. The fourth of August were drawne from the Tower of London to Tyburne, Giles Heron gentleman, Clement Hilpot gentleman, late of Calis, and seruant to the lord Aulse, Darbie Genning, Edmund Windholme priest, chapleine to the said lord Aulse, William Hone late a laie brother of the Charterhouse of London, and an other offendour: which six persons were there hanged and quartered, and had bene attainted of treason by parliament. The same daie also was one Charles Carew gentleman hanged for robbing of the ladie Carew.

The eight of August was the ladie Katharine Howard nere to the duke of Norfolk, and danghter

Thomas Cromwell in most authority vnder the king.

John Fox in the Acts and Sermons.

Friscolbalan Italian, see John Fox in the Acts and Sermons.

The marriage betwixt the king and the ladie Anne of Cleue vnderdrewn lawfull.

Thomas Cromwell in most authority vnder the king.

John Fox in the Acts and Sermons.

Thomas Crompton some time a monke of Westminster.

Execution.

1541 Reg. 33

ter to the lord Edmund Howard shewed openlie as
quene at Hampton court. The eleuenth of Sep-
tember a stranger was hanged in Powe field, na-
med James Kination, who had slaine his maister,
one Capon a Florentine in a garden, for his harlot.
In the latter end of this summer, was uniuersallie
through the most parts of this realme great death
by a strange kind of hot agues and fluens, and some
pestilence, in which season was such a drought, that
wells and small riuers were cleane dzed vp, so that
much cattell died for lacke of water, and the Thames
was so thalow, & the fresh water of so small strenght
that the salt water flowed aboue London bydye, till
the raine had increased the fresh waters.

On the two and twentieth of September, Rafe
Egerton, seruant to the lord Audleie, lord chancel-
lor, and one Thomas Harman seruant to one maister
flightwood, were dyalwe, hanged, and quartered,
the one for counterfeiting and antefading of the
kings seale in a signet, wherewith he sealed licen-
ces for denizens, vnder the name of the clerkies of
the chancerie: and the other, that is to saie Harman,
for witting them. One Luckefield, being of their
faction, robbed the lord Audleies chappell and fled,
who being afterward apprehended at Calis, which
towne he would haue betrayed, he slue himselfe with
a dagger. In the end of this yeare, the French king
made a strong castell at Ard, and also a bydye over
into the English pale, which bydye the crew of Calis
did beat downe, and the Frenchmen built it vp a-
gaine, but the Englishmen beat it downe againe.
After this, the king sent about fiftene hundred worke-
men to fortifie the towne of Gulesnes, and sent with
them five hundred men of warre to gard them.

It was reported in France, that a mightie ar-
mie was come ouer forth of England with great
ordnance: which brute caused the French king to
send to the frontiers of Picardie the duke of Wan-
dosme, and other capteins with all speed to defend the
same. The king of England hearing thereof, sent
the earles of Surrie, and Southampton, and the lord
Kusell, high admerall into the marches of Calis, to
set order there, and after them he likewise sent two
hundred light horsemen of the borders of Scotland,
whom the Frenchmen called Stradiots. The lords
hauing set order in things, shortly returned. A boie,
one Richard Perkins, not past fiftene yeares of age,
was burnt in Smithfield, for speaking against the
sacrament, and contrary to the statute of the six ar-
ticles. The bishop of London was thought in great
fault, for procuring that terrible execution, seeing
the yong fellow was but an ignorant foole without
learning, and gladlie recanted that wherewith he
was charged.

About the latter end of this yeare, doctor Sam-
son bishop of Chichester, and doctor Wilson, which
had bene committed to the tower (as before ye haue
heard) were now pardoned of the king, and set a-
gaine at libertie. In the beginning of this yeare,
five priests in Poweshire began a new rebellion,
with the assent of one Leigh, a gentleman, and nine
temporall men, all which persons were apprehended,
and in diuers places put to execution. The said Leigh
and two other, the one named Laterfall a clothier,
& the other Thojnton a peoman, on the seuententh of
Maie, were dyalwe through London to Tiburne,
and there executed. And sir John Penull knight, and
ten other persons, died for the same cause at Powke.
The same date, Margaret countesse of Salisburie,
that had remained a long time prisoner in the tower,
was beheaded there within the tower. She was the
last of the right line and name of Plantagenet. The
ninth of June for example sake, two of the kings
gard, the one named Danipport, and the other Chap-

man, were hanged at Greentwich by the friers wall,
for robberies which they had committed.

¶ On the tenth of June, sir Edmund Baneet
knight, of Rosffolke, was arreigned before the
kings iustices (sitting in the great hall at Græne-
wich) maister Coge, comptroller of the kings house-
hold, maister Southwell, sir Anthoine Browne, sir
Anthoine Winkfield, maister Wrisleie, and Ed-
mund Beckham, cosferrer of the kings household, for
striking of one maister Clerke of Rosffolke, seruant
with the earle of Surrie, within the kings house in
the tenis court. There was first chosen to go vpon the
said Edmund, a quest of gentlemen, and a quest of
peomen, to inquite of the said stripe, by the which in-
quests he was found gilltie, and had iudgement to
lose his right hand. Whereupon was called to doe the
execution, first the sergeant surgion with his in-
struments appertaining to his office: the sergeant
of the woodyard with the mallet, and a blocke where-
upon the hand should lie: the maister coke for the
king, with the knife: the sergeant of the larder, to set
the knife right on the ioint: the sergeant ferrer, with
the searing irons to seare the veines: the sergeant
of the poultrie, with a cocke, which cocke should haue
his head smitten off vpon the same blocke, and with
the same knife: the peoman of the chanzie, with
seare cloths: the peoman of the skullerie, with a pan
of fire to heate the irons, a chafer of water to cole
the ends of the irons, and two formes for all officers
to set their stiffe on: the sergeant of the cellar, with
wine, ale, and bere: the peoman of the peltrie in the
sergeants stead, who was absent, with bason, ewre,
and towels.

Thus euerie man in his office readie to doe the
execution, there was called forth sir William Pic-
kering knight marshall, to bring in the said Ed-
mund Baneet: and when he was brought to the bar,
the chiefe iustice declared to him his trespass, and the
said Baneet confessing himselfe to be gilltie, humbly
submitted him to the kings mercie: for this offense
he was not onelie indged to lose his hand, but also
his bodie to remaine in prison, and his lands and
goods at the kings pleasure. Then the said sir Ed-
mund Baneet desired that the king of his benigne
grace would pardon him of his right hand, and take
the left, for (quoth he) if my right hand be spared, I
maie hereafter do such good seruice to his grace, as
shall please him to appoint. Of this submission and
request the iustices forthwith informed the king, who
of his goodnesse, considering the gentle heart of the
said Edmund, and the good report of the lords, gran-
ted him his pardon, that he should lose neither hand,
lands, nor goods, but should go free at libertie.

The lord Leonard Greie being indicted of cer-
teine points of treason by him committed, as was
alleged against him, during the season that he was
the kings lieutenant in Ireland, to wit, for deliue-
ring his nephew Girald Fitzgerald brother vnto
Thomas Fitzgerald before executed, and also for
that he caused certeine Irishmen to inuade the lands
of the kings friends, whome he fauoured not: on the
five and twentieth of June he was arreigned at
Westminster in the kings bench, and appointed to
be tried by knights, because he was a lord by name,
and no lord of the parlement; but he discharged the
iurie, and confessed the indictment, whereupon he
had iudgement, and on the eight and twentieth of
June being saint Peters euen, he was beheaded at
tower hill, where he ended his life verie quietlie and
godlie.

This noble man as he was come of high linage,
so was he a right valiant and hardie personage, ha-
uing in his time done his prince and countrie good
seruice, both in Ireland, France, and other pla-
ces,

Abr. Fl. ex
1.5 pag. 1020.
Sir Edmund
Baneet ex-
ecuted for
striking in
the court.

The order of
euerie officer
about that
execution.

Judgement
upon Baneet
to lose his
hand.

He is par-
doned.

The lord Le-
onard Greie
beheaded.

Sir John
Penulle:
executed.
The countesse
of Salisburie
beheaded.
Execution
of two of the
gard.

1541

Anno Reg. 33
A new rebel-
lion presided
in Poweshire.

res, greatlie to his commendation, although now his hap was thus to lose his head, as convicted by law, and his renowne (ouercast with a cloud of disgrace) banished, as future chances befall, to the abolishing of the present honor which sometime he enjoyed. Whobbeit his estimation he might haue preserved unblemished, had provident circumspection undertaken the direction of his doings, and that he had borne his eyes in his forehead, to forsee all afterclaps, which a wise man will in no case neglect:

*Nam sapiens in fronte oculos habet, omnia spectans,
Omnia prudenti cum ratione videns.*

The same daie that he suffered, there was erected at saint Thomas Waterings three gentlemen: John Pantell, John Frowds, and George Koidon: they died for a murder committed in Suffex (as their indictment imported) in companie of Thomas Junes lord Dacres of the south. The truth whereof was thus. The said lord Dacres, through the lewd persuasion of some of them, as hath bene reported, meaning to hunt in the parke of Nicholas Welham esquire at Laughton, in the same countie of Suffex, being accompanied with the said Pantell, Frowds, and Koidon, John Cheine and Thomas Fleie gentlemen, Richard Middleton and John Goldwell yeomen, passed from his house of Hurstmonscour, the last of Aprill in the night season, toward the same parke, where they intended so to hunt; and coming unto a place called Pikehate in the parish of Wingleie, they found one John Busbyg, James Busbyg, and Richard Sumner standing together; and as it fell out through quarrelling, there ensued a fraye betwixt the said lord Dacres and his companie on the one partie, and the said John and James Busbyg and Richard Sumner on the other: insomuch that the said John Busbyg received such hurt, that he died thereof the second of Maie next ensuing.

Whereupon, as well the said lord Dacres as those that were there with him, and diuerse other likewise that were appointed to go an other waie to meet them at the said parke, were indicted of murder: and the seauen and twentieth of June the lord Dacres himselfe was arraigned before the lord Audleie of Malden then lord chancelor, sitting that daie as high steward of England, with other peeres of the realme about him, who then and there condemned the said lord Dacres to die for that transgression. And afterward the nine and twentieth of June being saint Peters daie, at eleuen of the clocke in the forenone, the shiriffs of London, accordinglie as they were appointed, were readie at the tower to haue executed the said prisoner, and him to haue lead to execution on the tower hill. But as the prisoner should come forth of the tower, one Heire a gentleman of the lord chancellors house came, and in the kings name commanded to staie the execution till two of the clocke in the afternone, which caused manie to thinke that the king would haue granted his pardon. But neuerthelesse, at three of the clocke in the same afternone, he was brought forth of the tower, and deliuered to the shiriffs, who lead him on foot betwixt them unto Tyburne, where he died. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Sepulchers. He was not past foure and twentieth peeres of age, when he came through this great mishap to his end, for whome manie fore lamented, and likewise for the other three gentlemen, Pantell, Frowds, and Koidon. But for the sad yong lord, being a right towardlie gentleman, and such a one, as manie had conceived great hope of better proue, no small mone and lamentation was made; the more indeed, for that it was thought he was induced to attempt such follie, which occasioned his death, by some light heads that were then about him.

The lord Dacres executed at Tyburne.

The first of Julie a Welshman a minstrell was hanged and quartered for singing of songs, which were interpreted to be prophesies against the king. This summer the king took his progresse to Poike, and passed through Lincolnshire, where was made to him an humble submission by the temporalitie, and confessing their faults, they humbly thanked him for his pardon, which he had granted them. The towne of Stanfords gave to him twentie pounds, the citie of Lincoln fortie pounds, Boston fiftie pounds, that part of the shire which is called Lincie gave three hundred pounds, and Kesterne and the church of Lincoln presented him with fiftie pounds. At his entring into Poike, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the same shire, in robes of velvet, and foure thousand tall yemen and serving men well horsed, which on their knees made their submission, by the mouth of sir Robert Botwe, and gave to the king nine hundred pounds. On Barnet daie the archbishop of Poike, with three hundred priests and more met the king, and making a like submission, gave to him six hundred pounds. The like submission was made by the maiors of Poike, Newcastell, and Hull, and ech of them gave to the king an hundred pounds.

After he had bene at Poike twelue daies, he came to Hull, where he deuised certeine fortifications. This done, he passed ouer the water of Humber, and so through Lincolnshire, returned toward the south parts, and at Albalowen tide came to Hampton court. About the same time, the king had knowledge that the queene liued dissolute, in using the vnlawfull companie of one Francis Driram, with whome she had bene so familiar before hir marriage with the king; not meaning to forgo his companie now in time of hir marriage, without regard had either to the feare of God, or the king hir husband, the last summer being in progresse with the king at Pomfret, the seuen and twentieth of August, she retained the said Francis Driram in hir seruice, to the intent she might vse his companie in such vnlawfull sort the more frelie: and not satisfied with him, she also used the vnlawfull companie of Thomas Colpeper esquire, one of the gentlemen of the kings priue chamber, as well at Pomfret aforesaid on the nine and twentieth and last of August aforesaid, and on the first of September, as at diuerse other times and places before and after. Whereupon, the thirteenth of Nouember, sir Thomas Wriothesley knight the kings secretarie, came to Hampton court vnto the said queene, and called all hir ladies, gentlewomen, and seruants into hir great chamber, & there openlie in presence of them all, declared hir offenses committed in abusing of hir bodie before hir marriage, & therewith he discharged hir household. The morrow after she was conueied to Sion, the ladie Bainton and certeine gentlewomen and some of hir seruants being appointed to wait vpon hir there, till the kings pleasure might be further knowen. Colpeper, Driram, and others were had to the tower. Driram in his examination being charged with the familiaritie which had bene betwixt them, before she was married to the king, confessed that he and the said queene had made a precontract together, and that he concealed it for hir preferment in marriage to the king, after he understood the king began to cast a li king towards hir.

The first of December, Colpeper and Driram were arraigned at the Guildhall in London, before the lord maior sitting there in iudgement as cheefe iudge, hauing the lord chancelor vpon his right hand, and the duke of Suffolke vpon his left hand, the duke of Suffolke the lord priue seale, the earles of Suffex and Hereford, with diuerse other of the council.

The true report of the cause whereupon the murder of John Busbyg ensued.

The lord Dacres arraigned before the lord Audleie.

The lord Dacres executed at Tyburne.

The lord Dacres executed at Tyburne.

The lord Dacres executed at Tyburne.

The lord Dacres executed at Tyburne.

An. Reg. 33.

councell sitting there as iudges in commission that daie: the prisoners in the end confessed the inditement, and had iudgement to die, as in cases of treason.

Culpeper and Diram executed.

Imprisoned.

The tenth of December, the said Culpeper and Diram were drawn from the tower unto Tyburne and there Culpeper had his head stricken off, and Diram was hanged, dismembred and headed. Culpepers bodie was buried in S. Sepulchers church, but both their heads were set on London bridge. The two and twentieth of December were arraigned in the kings bench at Westminster, the ladie Margaret Howard, wife to the lord William Howard, Katharine Cilneie, & Alice Kestwood gentlewomen, Roane Bulmer, wife to Anthoine Bulmer gentleman, Anne Howard, wife to the late queene, Phalein Cilneie widow, Margaret Benet, wife to John Benet gentleman, Edward Walgraue gentleman, William Ashbie gentleman, all these were condemned of misprision of treason, for concealing the queenes misdeemeanour. And the same daie in the afternone, the lord William Howard, and Dampout a gentleman were likewise arraigned, and condemned of the same offense, and as well these as the other were adjudged to lose their goods, & the profits of their lands during life, and to remaine in perpetuall prison.

Parliament. 1542

The petition of the lordes & commons of the parliament in this behalf.

The firste of Januarie the parlement began at Westminster, in the which the lordes and commons exhibited certeine petitions to the king. First, that he would not vex himselfe with the queenes offense, and that he and the ladie Rochford might be attained by parliament: and to avoid protracting of time, they besought him to giue his roiall assent thereto, under his great seale, without staing for the end of the parlement. Also, that Diram and Culpeper besoye attained by the common law, might also be attained by parliament, & that Agnes duchess of Suffolke, and Katharine countesse of Bridgewater his daughter, which for concealing the said offense, were committed to the towre, and indicted of misprision, & the lord William Howard arraigned of the same, might likewise be attained. Also, that who soeuer had spoken or done any thing in detestation of his naughtie life, should be pardoned.

The queene and other attended by parliament, the queene sent to the towre.

To these petitions the king granted, thanking the commons, for that it appeared they took his griefe to be theirs: whereupon the queene and the ladie Rochford were attained by both the houses. On the tenth of februarye, the queene was conueied from Slon to the towre by water, the duke of Suffolke, the lord priuie seale, and the lord great chamberleine, hauing the conduction of hir. The next daie after being saturdaye, and the eleuenth of februarye, the king did send his roiall assent by his great seale, and then all the lordes were in their robes, and the common house called by, & there the act was read, and his assent declared. And so on the thirteenth daie, those two ladies were beheaded on the greene within the towre with an ax, where they confessed their offenses, and died repentant.

She is beheaded.

The king proclaimed king of Ireland.

Before this, on the three and twentieth daie of Januarie was the king proclaimed king of Ireland, as it was enacted both by authoritie of the parlement here, and also of an other parlement holden at Dublin in Ireland, there begun the thirteenth of June last past, before sir Anthoine Saintleger knight, and the kings deputie there, where as till that time the kings of England were onlie intituled lords of Ireland. In the beginning of March died sir Arthur Plantagenet vicount Lisle, bassard sonne to Edward the fourth, in the towre of London brattained, when he should haue bene deliuered and set at libertie.

The occasion of his trouble for the which he was committed to the towre, rose upon suspicion that he should be priuie to a practise, which some of his men (as Hilpot and Windholme executed the last yeare as before ye haue heard) had consented vnto, for the betraying of Calis to the french, whilste he was the kings lieutenant there. But after that by due trial it was knowne that he was nothing guiltie to the matter, the king appointed sir Thomas Wriotheslie his maiesties secretaire, to go vnto him, and to deliuer to him a ring, with a rich diamond for a token from him, & to will him to be of good chere. For although in that so weightie a matter, he would not haue done lesse to him if he had bene his owne son; yet now upon thorough trial had, sith it was manifestlie proued that he was void of all offense, he was sozie that he had bene occasioned so farre to trie his truth: and therefore willed him to be of good chere and comfort, for he should find that he would make accompt of him as of his most true and faithfull kinsman, and not onelie restore him to his former libertie, but otherwise forth be ready to pleasure him in what he could. After secretaire set forth this message with such effectuall wordes, as he was an eloquent and well spoken man, that the lord Lisle took such immoderate ioy thereof, that his hart being oppressed therewith, he died the night following through too much reioicing. After his decesse, the twelue of the same moneth of March, sir John Audeleie sonne and heire to the said lord Lises wife, was at Westminster created vicount Lisle. The seuenteenth of March one Margaret Danie a yong woman, being a seruant, was boyled in Smithfield for poisoning of hir mistres with whome she dwelt, and diuerse other persons.

The occasion of sir Arthurs Plantagenets trouble.

The lord Lisle died through immoderate ioy.

George Ferrers a burges of the parlement arrested, and what mischiefe ensued.

In the Lent season, whilste the parlement yet continued, one George Ferrers gentleman, seruant to the king, being elected a burgesse for the towne of Blimmouth in the countie of Denonshire, in going to the parlement house, was arrested in London by a procelle out of the kings bench, at the sute of one White, for the sum of two hundred markes or thereabouts, wherein he was late afoze condemned, as a suertie for the debt of one Weldon of Salisburie: which arrest being signified to sir Thomas Poole knight, then speaker of the parlement, and to the knights and burgeses there, order was taken, that the sargeant of the parlement, called S. John, should forthwith repaire to the counter in Breadstreet (whither the said Ferrers was caried) and there demand deliuerie of the prisoner.

The sargeant (as he had in charge) went to the counter, and declared to the clerks there what he had in commandement. But they and other officers of the citie were so farre from obeying the said commandement, as after manie stout wordes they forcibly resisted the said sargeant, whereof ensued a fraye within the counter gates, betwene the said Ferrers and the said officers, not without hurt of either part: so that the said sargeant was driuen to defend himselfe with his mace of armes, & had the crowne thereof broken by bearing off a stroke, and his man stricken downe. During this hual, the shiriffes of London, called Rowland Hill, and Henrie Shillike came thither, to whome the sargeant complained of this iniurie, and required of them the deliuerie of the said burgesse, as afoze. But they bearing with their officers, made little accompt either of his complaint or of his message, reiecting the same contemptuously, with much proud language, so as the sargeant was forced to returne without the prisoner, whereas if they had obeyed authoritie, and shewed the service necessarilie required in their office and person, they might by their discretion haue appealed

The shiriffes and officers denied the deliuerie of the burgesse.

all the houle, for wisdomes assuageth the outrage & unrefrainable furiosities of war, as the poet saith:

Instrumenta feri vincit sapientia belli.

The speaker
of the par-
lement de-
clares
all the
matter to the
lords.

The sargeant thus hardlie intreated, made returne to the parlement house, and finding the speaker, and all the burgeses set in their places, declared unto them the whole case as it fell, who take the same in so ill part, that they altogether (of whome there were not a few, as well of the kings priuie counsell, as also of his priuie chamber) would sit no longer without their burges, but rose by whole, and repaired to the upper house, where the whole case was declared by the mouth of the speaker, before sir Thomas Audley knight then lord chancellor of England, and all the lords and iudges there assembled, who iudging the contempt to be verie great, referred the punishment thereof to the order of the common house. They returning to their places againe, upon new debate of the case, took order, that their sargeant should est-
sones repaire to the shiriffe of London, and require deliuerie of the said burgesse, without anie writ or warrant had for the same, but onelie as afore.

The shiriffes
deliuer the
burgesse and
are charged
to appeare be-
fore the spea-
ker.

And yet the lord chancellor offered there to grant a writ, which they of the common house refused, being in a clere opinion, that all commandements and other acts of proceeding from the nether house, were to be done and executed by their sargeant without writ, onelie by shew of his mace, which was his warrant. But before the sargeants returne into London, the shiriffes hauing intelligence how heinouslie the matter was taken, became somewhat more mild, so as upon the said second demand, they deliuered the prisoner without anie deniall. But the sargeant hauing then further in commandement from those of the nether house, charged the said shiriffes to appeare personallie on the morrow, by eight of the clocke before the speaker in the nether house, and to bring thither the clerks of the counter, and such officers as were parties to the said affraie, and in like manner to take into his custodie the said White, which bustlingie procured the said arrest, in contempt of the priuilege of the parlement.

The shiriffes
committed to
the Tower.

Which commandement being done by the said sargeant accordinglie, on the morrow the two shiriffes, with one of the clerks of the counter (which was the chiefe occasion of the said affraie) together with the said White, appeared in the common house, where the speaker charging them with their contempt and misdemeanors afore said, they were compelled to make immediat answer, without being admitted to anie counsell. Albeit, sir Roger Cholmelcie, then recorder of London, and other of the counsell of the citie there present, offered to speake in the cause, which were all put to silence, and none suffered to speake, but the parties themselves: whereupon in conclusion, the said shiriffes and the same White, were committed to the Tower of London, and the said clerke (which was the occasion of the affraie) to a place there called litle ease, and the officer of London which did the arrest, called Talloz, with foure other officers to Peluigate, where they remained from the eight & twentieth untill the thirtieth of March, and then they were deliuered, not without humble sute made by the maiors of London & other their friends.

And for so much as the said Ferrers being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by priuilege of parlement, was not by law to be brought againe into execution, and so the partie without remedie for his debt, as well against him as his principall debtor; after long debate of the same by the space of nine or ten daies together, at last they resolved upon an act of parlement to be made, and to reuise the execution of the said debt against the said White which was principall debtor, and to dis-

charge the said Ferrers. But before this came to passe, the common house was diuided upon the question: howbeit in conclusion, the act passed for the said Ferrers, wone by fourtene voices.

The king then being aduertised of all this proceeding, called immediatlie before him the lord chancellor of England and his iudges, with the speaker of the parlement, and other of the grauest persons of the nether house, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect. First commending their wise domes in maintaining the priuileges of their house (which he would not haue to be infringed in anie point) he alleged that he being head of the parlement, and attending in his owne person upon the businesse thereof, ought in reason to haue priuilege for him and all his seruants attending there upon him. So that if the said Ferrers had bene no burgesse, but onlie his seruant, yet in respect thereof he was to haue the priuilege as well as anie other.

For I vnderstand (quoth he) that you not onelie for your owne persons, but also for your necessarie seruants, euen to your cookes and housekeepers, inioine the said priuilege; in so much as my lord chancellor here present hath informed vs, that he being speaker of the parlement, the coke of the Temple was arrested in London, and in execution upon a statute of the staple. And for so much as the said coke, during all the parlement, serued the speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution, by the priuilege of the parlement. And further we be informed by our iudges, that we at no time stand so highlie in our estate as head, as in the time of parlement, wherein we as head, and you as members, are conioined and knit together into one bodie politike, so as what foruer offense or iniurie (during that time) is offered to the meanest member of the house, is to be iudged as done against our person, and the whole court of parlement. Which prerogative of the court is so great (as our learned counsell informeth vs) as all ads and processees comming out of anie other inferiour courts must for the time cease and giue place to the highest.

And touching the partie, it was a great presumption in him, knowing our seruant to be one of this house, and being warned thereof before, would neuertheless prosecute this matter out of time, and thereupon was well worthy to haue lost his debt (which I would not wish) and therefore do commend your equitie, that hauing lost the same by law, haue restored him to the same against him who was his debtor. And if it be well considered, what a charge hath it bene to vs and you all, not onelie in expence of our substance, but also in losse of time, which should haue bene imploied about the affaires of our realme, to sit here twelue or one whole fortnight about this one priuat case, he may thinke himselfe better used than his desert. And this may be a good example to other to learne good manners, & not to attempt anie thing against the priuilege of this court, but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre, I must referre my selfe to the iudgement of our iustices here present, and other learned in our lawes.

Whereupon sir Edm. Spontacut lord chiefe iustice, verie grauelie told his opinion, confirming by diuers reasons all that the king had said, which was assented unto by all the residue, none speaking to the contrary. The act in deed passed not the higher house, for the lords had not time to consider of it, by reason of the dissolution of the parlement, the feast of Easter then approaching. Because this case hath bene diuersie reported, and is commonlie alleged as a precedent for the priuilege of the parlement; I haue entered vpon my selfe to learne the truth thereof, and so set it

The king
counted it
presumption
to arrest the
burgesse.

Sir Edm.
Spontacut
lord chiefe
iustice.

it forth with the whole circumstance at large according to their instructions, who ought best both to know and remember it.

This yeare in Aprill the king took a lorde of more of all such as were valued at fiftie pounds and upward in the subsidie booke. The lord priute scale, the bishop of Winchester, sir John Baker, and sir Thomas Wriothesley were commissioners about this lorde in London, where they so handled the matter, that of some head citizens they obtained a thousand markes in pte to the kings use. They that laid forth anie summe in this wise, had priute scales for the repayment thereof within two yeares next ensuing. Divers of the Irish nobilitie came this yeare into England, and made their submission to the king as in the Irish chronicle it is more particularlie touched. Also wars fell out betwixt England and Scotland, the causes whereof (as appeareth by a declaration set forth by the king of England at this present) in effect were these. First there were divers of the English rebels, such as had moved the commotion in the north and Lincolnshire, that fled into Scotland, and were there maintained: and although request had bene made that they might be deliuered, yet it would not be granted.

Moreover, where the king of Scots had promised to repaire unto Forke the last yeare, and there to meet his uncle the king of England, whereupon the king of England to his great charges had made preparation for their meeting there; the same was not onelic disappointed, but also at the kings being at Forke, in lieu thereof an invasion was made by the Scots, as it were in contempt and despite of the king of England, who notwithstanding imputing the default of meeting to the aduise of his nephues council, and the invasion to the lewdnesse of his subjects, was contented to giue courteous audience vnto such ambassadors as the same king of Scots sent into England, which came to the king at Christmas last, and with manie sweet and pleasant words excused that which was done amisse, & sought to perswade kindnesse and perfect amitie in time to come. And for the better accomplishment thereof, they offered to send commissioners to the borders, there to determine the debate betwixt them of the confines, if it would please the king likewise to send commissioners for his part, which to doe he graciously consented, desirous to make triall of his nephue in some correspondence of deeds, to the faire and pleasant messages in words which he had received from him.

Whereupon commissioners were sent from either king, the which met and talked. But where the Englishmen chalenged a peece of ground, vndoubtedly usurped by the Scots, being for the same shewed such evidence as more substantiall, or more autenthike can not be brought forth for anie ground within the realme; the same was neuerthelesse by the Scots denied and reiected, onelic for that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishmen, and yet was it so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would attempt to falsifie a writing for such a matter. But yet this deniall notwithstanding, the English commissioners departed from the Scottish commissioners as friends, taking order, as hath bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time to be obserued.

After their departure, the lord Sparwell wardent of the west marches in Scotland, made proclamation in deed for good rule to be kept: but neuerthelesse added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland shuld withhold their goods from the borders of England, and incontinentlie after the Scottish borderers, on

the fourth of Julie entered into England suddenlie, spoiled the kings subjects, contrarie to the league, and euen after the plaine maner of warre. Whereupon the king of England greatlie maruelling, was driuen to furnish his borders with a garrison for defense of the same, as mistrusting a further mischief intended by the enemie, whose treacherie & loose dealing became a whetstone to the kings wrath, and set him in a heat of indignation, as the poet saith:

Iam Scotus Henrici instam irritauerat iram

Edisfragus.

Then was James Leirmouth master of the Scottish kings household sent into England with letters deuised in the best maner, offering a good redresse of all attempts: and yet neuerthelesse at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of Scots then not looked for, made a rode into England, to the great annoiance of the English borders, which dealing, though it much moued the king of England to take displeasure against the Scots, yet he gaue gentle audience to Leirmouth at his coming vnto him, and by his faire words and promises was partlie pacified. But in the meane time, the deeds of the Scottish borderers were as extreme as might be. And in a rode made by sir Robert Botwies for reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert, and manie other with him, were taken prisoners, and could not be deliuered, nor admitted to paie their fine and ransom, as hath bene euer accustomed betwixt them on the borders.

And where at the same time, an assurance was made on both sides for a season, at the sute of the said Leirmouth, the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into England, in such wise, as the king no longer trusting to their faire words, but weighing their deeds, put an armie in a readinesse for defense of his subjects, as the due meane to attaine such a peace, as for the safetie of his people and dominions, he thought it stood with his honour to procure. After which preparation made, and knowledge thereof had, the king of Scots made new sute to haue the matter taken vp by treatie. Whereupon the king caused the armie to staie about Forke, and appointed the duke of Norfolk his lieutenant generall, the lord priute scale, the bishop of Durham, & sir Anthonie Browne master of his horses, to treat & conclude with the ambassadors of Scotland some friendlie peace, vpon reasonable and indifferent conditions, as should be thought requisite, for the auoiding of warres, than by sundrie inuasions of the Scots made open and manifest. But after they had viewed eche others commissions, and began to propose articles, the Scottish commissioners to propose first, at the first seemed to like such articles as the English commissioners had proposed, and made semblance as if there were no doubt, but that in case their king & ours might meet, all matters shuld be quietlie compounded and ended: and so taking it as for a thing sure and certaine, they onlie desired sir daies to obtaine answer from their master, and our armie for that time to staie: wherevnto the English commissioners accorded.

After those sir daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, to conclude a meeting preciselie, at such a place as they knew well could not in the winter season be obserued nor kept. Wherewith when the English commissioners seemed nothing content, the Scottish commissioners shewed forth instructions, wherein libertie was given to them to erect their commission in the appointing of a place, & to consent to anie other by the English commissioners thought meet and convenient. But when the English commissioners refused to deale with men wanting sufficient commission to warrant their doings, the Scottish

James Leirmouth.

King Henrie forced to take armes against the Scots.

The double dealing of the Scots in the negotiation about an agreement.

lish commissioners required other six daies respite, to send for a larger commission, which being granted, at the end of those six daies, they brought forth a commission made in god forme, and without exception or restraint of place: but therewith they shewed instructions containing a like restraint, as in the former commission was expressed. And thus delaying forth the matter by trifling, upon purpose onlie to win time, they hoped thereby through the winter coming on, that the English armie should not be able much to annoie their countrie for that yeare. And so their talke brake up without anie conclusion of agreement at all; and forthwith was the armie set forward, a good part whereof had lien all this time of the treatie in Yorke, and in the countries thereabouts.

The English
armie entred
into Scot-
land.

When the whole power was assembled, the duke of Northfolke then lieutenant generall, accompanied with the earles of Shrewsburie, Derby, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts, and sir Anthonie Browne master of the houlles, sir John Coge controller of the kings house, and others, hauing with them twentie thousand men well and warlike appointed, entred Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and tarried there eight daies, without hauing anie battell offered vnto them, in which space they burnt these townes and villages, Parton, Ramtze, Stine, Gradin, Shilles, lang Conem, Newton, Skiffell, Newburne, Smellem spittle, the two Herdens, Slederiche, and the two Worlawes, Floris, and the Faire croft, Conem spittle, Norborough, Belfeic and the abbey, long Spynsflow, Widen, and Hadenston. For they had determined with fire and sword to take vtter reuenge, crieng out, as the poet saith;

*Vindice ferro opus esse, opus esse & vindice flamma,
Aclamant omnes.*

Now while the duke was at Farnton, the fourth daie after his coming into Scotland, there came to speake with him halfe a mile from the campe, the bishop of Orkenese, and James Leirmouth sent from the king of Scots to intreat of peace, but they agreed not. Finally, after the Englishmen had lien so long within Scotland as they might recouer vittels, at length for necessitie they returned to Berwick. In all which tourneie the standard of the earle of Southhampton, late lord priue seale (which died at Newcastle before their entring into Scotland) was borne in the foreward, because he was appointed captaine of the same.

The earle of
Southamp-
tons stan-
dard.

In armie of
Scots invade
England.

The king of Scots, hearing that the English armie was returned, raised a power of fiftene thousand men forth of all parts of his realme, vnder the guiding of the lord Harwell (or rather of Oliver Sinclair, as the Scots affirme) boasting to carrie as long in England, as the duke of Northfolke had tarried in Scotland. And soon fridaie being saint Matharins euen, they passed ouer the water of Esk, and burnt certeine houses of the Greues on the berrie border. Thomas bastard Darres, with Iacke of Pusgraue sent word to sir Thomas Wharton lord Warden for the king vpon the west marches, to come forward to succour them. But in the meane while the Scots entring verie fierclie, the aforesaid two valiant captaines, bastard Darres and Pusgraue, manfully set vpon the Scots with one hundred light houlles, and lest a skale on the side of a hill, wherewith the Scots were wonderfultie dismayed, thinking that either the duke of Northfolke with his whole armie had bene come to these west marches, or that some other great power had bene coming against them, when they saw onlie sir Thomas Wharton with three hundred men marching forward toward them. But so it fortuned at that time vn-

The error of
the Scots.

The Scots
die.

doubtedlie, as God would haue it, that the Scots fled at the first sight, whome the Englishmen follow-
wed, and took prisoners at their pleasure; for there was small resistance, or none at all shewed by the Scots.

Amongst others that were taken, we find these men of name, the earle of Cassil and Glencarne, the lord Harwell admerall of Scotland, and warden of the west marches, the lord Fleuning, the lord Sumertwell, the lord Oliphant, the lord Greie, sir Oliver Sinclair the kings minion, John Kesse lord of Cragie, Robert Erskin son to the lord Erskin, Carre lard of Breddon, the lord Harwelles two brethren, John Lesleie ballard son to the earle of Rothes, George Hume lard of Hermiton, John Baitland lard of White castell, James Pringell, James Sinclair brother to Oliver Sinclair, John Carmel capteine of Crafforth, Patrick Hebborne esquire, John Seton esquire son in law to the lord Erskin, William Seton esquire, John Steward cousin to the king, John Porrowe esquire, Henrie Droumont esquire, James Spittoun esquire, John Cornmuth esquire capteine of Catnforth, James Spittoun esquire, and other esquires and gentlemen (beside the earles and lords before mentioned) to the number of two hundred and above, and more than eight hundred other persons of meaner calling; so that some one Englishman, yea some women had three or foure prisoners. They took also some and twentie peces of ordinance, foure carts laden with speares, and ten paulions, with other things of price; so that this might well be said to be the handie worke of God, and the verbe of the psalme verified:

*Contemplans dixi, Haec est militatio dextra
Numinis ex seculi mortalia cuncta gubernans.*

The king of Scots took such griefe and inward thought for his ouerthrow, and also for the murder of an English herald that was slaine at Dunbar, by one Leach an Englishman (the which for the rebellion in Lincolnshire was fled into Scotland) that he fell into a hot ague, and thereof died, although manie reported that he was at the bickering, and receiued there his deaths wound, and died therewith into Scotland. But of his death, and of the birth of his daughter ye may see more in the historie of Scotland.

The death of
the king of
Scotland.

Of these prisoners before named, one and twentie of them were brought to London, and on the nineteenth of December entred into the citie by Bishops gate, and so were conueied to the towler, where they remained for the space of two daies: and vpon saint Thomas daie the apostle, being the one and twentieth of December, they were conueied to Westminster, sir John Coge constable of the towler riding before them, and the lieutenant of the same towler riding behind them. They rode two and two together, and eight of them being earls and lords, had new gowns of blacke damaske furred with blacke comie, cotes of blacke veluet, and doublets of sattin, with shirts and other apparell bought new for them at the kings charges.

Four and
thentie last
Hall.
Scots pris-
oners brought
to London.

Thus being solemnelie conueied through the streets of London vnto Westminster, they came before the counsell sitting in the Star chamber, and there the lord chancelor declared to them their vnturth, vnkindnesse, and false dissimulation, declaring further how the king had cause of war against them, both for denieng of their homages, and also for their traitorous inuasions made into his realme without defiance, and for keeping his subjects prisoners without redemption, contrarie to the ancient lawes of the marches; for which doings, God (as they might perceiue) had scourged them. Notobit the same regarding his honor than his princelie power, was

The Scots
prisoners
before the
coun-
cil in the
star
chamber.

was content to shew them kinnesse for unkindnesse, and right for wrong. And although he might keepe them in streit prison by iust law of armes, yet he was content that they should haue libertie to be with the nobles of his realme in their houses, and according to their estates, they were appointed to dukes, earles, bishops, knights, and gentlemen, which so interteined them, that they confessed themselves neuer to be better bled, nor to haue had greater there in all their life times.

The earle of Castille was appointed to be with the archbishop of Canturburie, the earle of Glencarne with the duke of Norfolk, the lord Fleming with the lord priue seale, the lord Marwell with sir Anthony Holowe, the lord Summerwell with the lord chancellor, the lord Elphinst with sir Thomas Lee, Oliver Smeiler with the duke of Suffolke, Robert Crutche with the bishop of Westminster, the lord Mountsh with sir Antonio Wingfield, the lord Spowh with sir Rafe Sadler, George Yume with the earle of Hertford, the lord of Gracie with sir Thomas Cheine, the lord of Gredon with master Sallwinke, Henrie Marwell with sir Richard Long, Thomas Craford with sir Arthur Darcie, Patrike debbogne with sir Thomas Wriothesleie, James Jarrigell with sir Richard Rich, John Hatland with sir Edward Poole, the lord Greie, James Smeiler, and John Little, were appointed to men of such credit, as were thought meet to answer for their safe keeping.

The two and twentieth of December, tidings came of the king of Scots death, and vpon S. Johns daie in Christmas weeke the foresaid lords of Scotland were brought to the court, which was then at Greenwich, where they had great cheare, and went before the king to the chappell, and were lodged with in the court. Wherevpon ye must consider, that where as the king of Scots had left no issue behind him in life but onlie one daughter, the king and his counsell perceiving a meane now offered, whereby without warre the two realmes might be united, these Scottish lords having first made the motion themselves, for a marriage to be had betwixt prince Edward and their yong queene, the king required their helpe into the furtherance of that matter, which might be a great benefit to themselves & their countrie. This they promised faithfullie to do, and aswell by themselves as by their friends, to bring the same to effect, so much as the king could require. Wherevpon the king was not onlie contented to release them home, but also highly rewarded them with rich and costlie gifts of sundrie sorts, in most bountifull wise, as *Anglorum praelis notet verie well*, saieing:

*Præterea ex auro captivos torquibus ornat,
Et sumptum, vestes, argentum donat & aurum.*

The thirtieth of December they departed from the court, and the morrow after, eight of them dined with sir John Cotes then lord maior of London, and the rest with the shiriffes, and had verie great cheare. On Newyears daie they departed from London homewards towards Scotland, and rode to Enfield to see the prince, and there dined that day, greatlie reioicing, as by their words and countenance it seemed, to behold so proper and towardlie an impe. From thence they kept on their iourne till they came to the north parts, where they found the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant there, and with him remained till such pledges were come forth of Scotland, as it was covenanted they should leave behind them.

The duke then after he had received the hostages, permitted them to depart, and so they returned into Scotland, where they were gladlie welcomed by their kinsmen and friends. With them went also the

earle of Angus, who had bene banished Scotland, and having remained here in England a long time, received of the kings fee, a thousand marks by yeare; and likewise his brother sir George Douglas, who had five hundred marks yearelie likewise of the kings gift. They were now both restored home into their countrie, and that (as was said) by the kings last will. The said earle of Angus, and divers of the lords that had bene prisoners here in England, were made of the priue counsell of the realme by the earle of Arreine; that was chosen gouernour to the yong queene, and of the realme, as next heire apparent: notwithstanding that the archbishop of saint Andrews, and cardinall of the see of Rome, came nott onto the king of England for the popes cause (and partlie set on by the french king) had forced a bill, expelling holo the king had made him gouernour (associat with two earles of his affinitie) as well of the queene as realme, contrarie to the lawes of Scotland. Wherevpon the said earle of Arreine, according to his right (as he pretended) with the helpe of his friends, toke vpon him the authority of gouernour, and put the said cardinall in prison, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes, and the other English prisoners, by their bonds, according to the custome of the marches.

All this yeare was neither perfect peace nor open warre betwixt England and France, but the merchants ships were taken and robbed on both parts, and at length merchants goods were seized, and the ambassadoys of both realms staied. Holubert, shortly after the ambassadoys were deliuered: but the merchants still were robbed, and no warre proclaimed. In the end of this yeare came from the gouernor of Scotland as ambassadoys, sir William Hamilton, and James Leirmouth the secretarie of Scotland, whose message was so meantie liked, that they were faine to send an herald into Scotland for other ambassadoys, and so came hither the earle of Glencarne, and sir George Douglas: but what sooner their answer was, sir George returned in post, and within twentie daies came backe againe with an answer that was well liked of. But shortly after they brake promise, and went from that which they had couenanted, greatlie to their reproch.

Wool was sold verie deare in the winter season of this yeare, and likewise bittels both fleshy and fishy grew to an high price towards the spring, by reason (as was thought) of the untemperate wet summer last past, causing great death among cattell. A quarter of mutton was sold for two shillings, or seven grotes, a lambe at three shillings, or three and foure pence, which afore that time was esteemed scarce worth sixteen pence. Against Easter at a court of aldermen kept in the Guildhall the twentieth of March 1542, it was enacted by the lord maior and his brethren, that the maior and shiriffes should be serued at their tables but with one course at dinner and supper in their houses; the maior to haue but seven dishes at the most at one messe for his owne table, and the shiriffes and euerie other alderman but six dishes, vpon paine to forfeit for euerie dish foure shillings at euerie time when they offended in this ordinance. Also that the sargeants and peomen of their houses should haue but three dishes at dinner or supper, the swordbearers messe onlie excepted, which should be allowed to haue one dish more. It was also enacted, that from the feast of Easter then next ensuing, neither the maior nor his brethren should haue anie crane, swan, or bustard, vpon paine to forfeit for euerie foule by them so bought, twentie shillings, the offense to be tried by oth, if it should be presented.

In the beginning of this yeare, on Trinitie sundae, was a new league swozne betwixt the king

The munificence of king Henrie to the earle of Angus.

Archbishop of saint Andrews deadlie enemy to Henrie.

The earle of Arreine.

Sir Robert Bowes deliuered.

Ambassadoys from Scotland.

A death.

A necessarie & wholesome ordinance for mon. ratia on in diet.

Anno Reg. 35. A league betwixt the king of England and the emperor.

Intention of a marriage betwixt prince Edward and the yong queene.

The Scots taken into their owne countie.

1543

Abri. H. ex I. S.
pag. 1216.
Whit meate
licensed to be
eaten in Lent,
and noble men
punished for
breaking the
law.

Summerfet
an herald kil-
led, & the offen-
dor dieth as
a traitor.

First iron
pieces cast.

Creations
of earles and
barons.

The king mar-
ried the lady
Katharine
Dar.

Corporations,
fraternities, &
communities
paid more as
well of their
lands as goods
as appeareth
by the statute.

Articles de-
manded of the
French king.

king and the emperour at Hampton court, either of them to be friends to the others friends, and enemies to the others enemies. ¶ In this yeare also a procla- mation was made, whereby the people were licen- ced to cate whit meates in Lent, but straitlie for- bidden the eating of flesh. Whereupon Hostie after the earle of Surrie, with diuerse lords, knights, and gentlemen, were imprisoned for eating of flesh in the same Lent, contrarie to the said proclamation. The eight of Maie, one Leech, sometimes bailie of Louth, who had killed Summerfet one of our heralds of armes at Dunbar in Scotland, was drawne to Tyburne, and there hanged and quartered. And the twelue of June, Edward Leech his brother, and with him a priest, for the same fact were likewise executed at Tyburne.

This yeare the first cast peeces of iron that ever were made in England, were made at Bucksted in Suffe, by Rafe Hoge, and Peter Watw. ¶ The third of June came to the court from the realme of Ireland, thre Irish lords, Dhrin, Spacke William a Burgh, and Spacke Gilpatrick. In Iulie the said Dhrin was created earle of Downon, Spacke Wil- liam a Burgh earle of Claunrichford, and sir Dunon Dhrin was made baron of Chiankie, and so with rewards they took leaue and returned. The same moneth also, the Scottish ambassadors returned with great rewards. The twelue of Iulie, at Hamp- ton court, the king married the lady Katharine Dar, widow, late wife unto the lord Latimer deceased, and then she was nominated quene, and so pro- claimed.

In the parlement holden this yeare at Westmin- ster, a subside was granted to the king, to be paid in thre yeares. Euerie Englishman being worth in goods twentie shillings & upward to five pounds, paid foure pence of euerie pound. From five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, sixtene pence. From twentie pounds and upward, of euerie pound two shillings. Strangers as well denizens as other, be- ing inhabitants, doubled this summe: and euerie stranger not being an inhabitant, that was sixtene yeres of age and upward, paid foure pence for eue- ris poll. And for lands, fees, and annuities, euerie one borne within the kings dominions, paid eight pence of the pound, from twentie shillings to five pounds. And from five pounds to ten pounds, sixtene pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, two shillings. And from twentie pounds and upward, thre shil- lings; strangers still doubling this summe. The cleargie granted a subside of six shillings the pound, to be paid of their benefices in perpetuities in thre yeares insuing: and euerie priest hauing no perpe- tuitie, but an annuall stipend, paid yearelie (dur- ing the said thre yeares) six shillings and eight pence.

About the same time, the king and the emperour sent Carter and Toison Dor. kings at armes, to de- mand the performance of certaine articles of the French king, which if he denied, they were commaun- ded then to desie him, but he would not suffer them to come within his land, & so they returned. Whereby- on the king caused the said demands to be declared to the French ambassador at Westminister. And in Iulie the king sent ouer six thousand men, under the leading of sir John Mallop, appointed to haue the generall conduction of them, accompanied with di- uerse other knights, esquires and gentlemen right hardie and valiant. Sir Thomas Seimer was mar- shall of that armie, sir Robert Wolves treasurer, sir Richard Cromwell capteine of the horsemen, and sir George Carew his lieutenant. There were like- wise sir Thomas Palmer, sir John Keinsforth, sir

John saint John, and sir John Gascoigne, knights, that were capteines of the footmen. They were ap- pointed to ioune with the emperours power, and so to make warre into France. They departed from Calis the two and twentieth of Iulie. The third of August open warre was proclaimed in London be- twixt the emperour and the king of England on the one part, and the French king on the other, as eni- mie mortall to them both, and to all other chistian princes beside, as he that had confederated himselfe with the Turke.

The armie that was sent ouer under the leading of sir John Mallop, passed forth from the marches of Calis, and keeping alongst betwixt the borders of the French and Burgonion pales and confines, and joining with the emperours forces, Spaniards, Mallons, and Dutch, came at length before Ander- seie, a towne latelie fortified by the French, within the borders of the emperours dominions, to the which they laid a strong siege. At length the emperour ha- uing dispatched his wars against the duke of Cleue, who had submitted himselfe unto him, came now to the siege of Anderseie, with a mightie power of sun- drie nations, so that the towne was fore constrained and in danger to haue bene lost, if at that present the French king had not likewise with an huge ar- mie of Frenchmen, Switzers, Lantsquenets, Itali- ans, and others, come to the rescue, pitching downe his campe, making countenance as if he ment pre- sentlie to giue battell: and beelie it was thought that two such powers as were there at that time so nere together, should neuer haue departed without battell. The emperour, thinking suerlie to fight, raised his siege, and drew his people into the field. The Frenchmen thereby espiering their aduantage, put as well fresh men as bittels, and all kind of muniti- on necessarie into the towne, and in the meane while kept the emperours people occupied with hot stir- milles.

But now after the towne was thus releued, which thing the French king onelie wished to accom- plish, the next daie when the emperour was readie with his armie ranged in battell to haue fought with his aduersaries, the French king put his armie also in order, but hauing no mind to come forward, he trilled forth that daie, and in the night following, secretlie departed with as much haste as was possi- ble. When the next morning had discovered the Frenchmens flight (for maneie so termed this their sudden retire) it was no need to bid diuerse troops of the emperours armie to hie after them: but some made too much haste. For the French king suspecting what would insue, appointed his eldest sonne Henrie the Dolphin to remaine behind with the reuerward, accompanied with diuerse noble capteins, which or- dered their people in their retire with such warincesse and heedfull skill, as the reason of warre required, that such of the emperours campe as aduentured ouer rashlie, and shewed themselves more forward than wise, fell within danger of such ambushments as were by the waie couertlie laid in places of ad- uantage: and so diuerse were taken, as sir George Carew, sir Thomas Palmer knight porter of Calis, Edward Wellingham, and others. But neuertheless a great number of such Frenchmen as could not make waie, and kepe pace with their maine troops, were snapped up, slaine, and taken in no small num- bers by their enemies, who followed them as egre as tigers, and as the describer of that porsute saith:

Imbut & gladius manante orore Britannia.

This was after Albalowentide, so that now by reason the winter was farre entred, and the weather waring extreme foule, and contrarie to an armie that should lie in the fields, the emperour brake up

L. Anderseie
besieged.

The French
king cometh
to the rescue
of Anderseie.

The French
king suspecting
what would
insue, he
appointed
his eldest
sonne Henrie
the Dolphin
to remaine
behind with
the reuerward.

The emperor
specially by
a campe.

his campe and licenced the most part of his people to depart home into their countries, for all hope to win Lanersee at that time was cleane cut off, sith it was vittelled and newlie furnished with fresh men and munition. After that the warres were once open betwixt England and France, sundrie enterpises were attempted by the parties on either side in the marches of Calis and Bullognois, in which, for the most part, the Englishmen got the upper hand of their enemies.

At one time the Frenchmen, to the number of eight hundred, comming in the night season to enter into the English pale by the turne pike at Hammes, in purpose to make some spoile in the countie there, were assailed upon the sudden by sir George Sumner, and sir William Algraue, latelie before come over with two hundred men out of Suffolke, to strengthen the English pale against the enemies, and at this time did behaue themselves so valiantlie, that they disappointed the enemies of their purpose. 20 For whereas they were entered into a lane inclosed with hedges on either side, sirtene archers getting into the grounds on the backe side of the hedges lieng alongst the lane, through which the Frenchmen were marching, placed the rafelues as they saw their advantage, and so bestowed their shot, that they galled the Frenchmen in such wise, that they were forced to recule in so great disorder, that other of the Englishmen comming upon them, easilie slue and toke of them no small number.

Beside this, at sundrie times the Englishmen invading the countie of Bullognois, wasted the towne and villages, brought a waie great booties of goods and cattell, to the great impoverishing of the countie. They burnt at one time the towne of Audinghen, and toke the steeple of the church there, into the which were fled sir scoze pezzants with their wives and children, whome the Englishmen threw downe headlong out of the steeple, because they had most stubbornlie refused to yeld. In this yeare a 40 great death of the pestilence reigned in London, and therefore Michaelmasse terme was adourned to St. Albons, and there kept till the end thereof. The eighteenth of December the archbishop of Canturburies palace at Canturburie was burnt, and therein was burnt his brother in law, and other men.

Great death
in London.

How pag.
122.

Embassadors
from the em-
perour.

The lord Bar-
reth earle
of Essex.

1544
The lord
Dorset, the
lord of
Ex-
eter, the
lord of
Gloucester,
the lord of
Lancaster,
the lord of
Leicester,
the lord of
Lincoln,
the lord of
Norfolk,
the lord of
Oxford,
the lord of
Salisbury,
the lord of
Somerset,
the lord of
Suffolk,
the lord of
Warwick,
the lord of
Westmoreland,
the lord of
Wiltshire,
the lord of
York.

In Christmasse weeke came to the king lieng at Hampton court, Ferdinando Gonzaga viceroy of Sicilie, prince of Malfeta, duke of Juano, the emperours capitaine generall. The chiefest cause of his comming was, to appoint what time the emperours armie should be readie to invade France. He had great chere, and at his departure was rewarded with a hundred and fiftie three ounces of gold in plate, and foure thousand and three ounces in guilt plate, all verie curiously wrought, and all the time of his being here, his charges were borne by the king. The sundaie before Christmas, the lord William Parbother to the queene, who had married the daughter & heire of Henrie Bouthier erle of Essex, at Hampton court was created earle of Essex, & sir Will. Par knight uncle to them both, was made lord Par of Hoxton, & chamberleine to the queene.

On New years daie, was sir Thomas Woltheleie the kings secretarie made lord Woltheleie of Litchfield. This yeare chanced foure eclipses, one of the sunne the fourteenth of Januarie, and three of the mone. On the seventh of March, Germaine Cardener, and Larhe person of Chelsete were executed at Tiburne, for denieng the kings supremacie, & with whom was executed for other offences one Singleton. And shortly after Albere was likewise executed for the supremacie. In this yeare sir John Allen (who had bin twice mayo of London, & of coun-

cell to the king) departing out of this life, did give to the citie of London a rich collar of gold, to be worn by the mayo: which collar was first worn by sir William Layton on St. Edwards daie, to the election of the new mayo, who gave to euery ward in London twentie pounds to be distributed to the poore householders, besides to one hundred and twentie persons, three scoze men euery of them a gowne of hyde cloth, and a blacke cap, and three scoze women, to euery of them a gowne of the like cloth, and a white kerchiefe. Humfries Ponmouth, and John Coles which were shiriffes in his mayorsaltie, in the beginning of their yeare put a waie twelve large-ants and twelve peomen, till they were forced by a court of common counsell to take them againe.

deeds of sir
John Allen.

Shiriffes put
awaie their
officers.

In this meane while was the cardinall of Scotland deliuered forth of prison, and shortly after got into his hands againe all such conclusions as were made touching the marriage betwixt the queene of Scots and prince Edward, procuring in manner all the lords and nobles of the realme to renounce that which they had promised to the king of England, as well bluerse of those whome the said king had released home out of captiuitie: as others. Wherewith the king toke such sore displeasure, that he prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, and ordeined the lord Edward Seimer, earle of Hertford to be lieutenant of the north parts, and to haue the leading of the same armie: who went thither in March, as well for defense of the borders, as to foresee all things in order for the armie that should thus go into Scotland, whereof he was appointed generall.

The earle of
Hertford
lieutenant of
the north.

When all things were in a readinesse for the nauie which was rigged to set forthward towards Scotland, and that the soldiers were come which were appointed to go with sir John Dupleie lord Lisle, and high admerall of England in that voyage, they were imbarcked, and so the two and twentieth of March the said lord admerall, with sir Nicholas Pointz, and diuerse other knights and capteins departed from the port of London towards the north parts; and comming to Bewcastle, found the erle of Hertford readie with such power as was appointed to be there at a daie assigned, forth of those countries that lie from Trent northwards. And now wanted nothing to further their iourne, but a conuenient wind: which caused them to take certeine daies at the said towne of Bewcastle, and in the villages thereabouts.

The lord ad-
merall Dupleie
set forth
fourth from
London to-
wards Scot-
land.

After that the earle of Hertford, and the lord admerall, accompanied with the earle of Shrewesburie, the lords Cobham, Clinton, Couiers, Stinton, the lord William Howard, and manie other right valiant knights, gentlemen, and capteins, had lien with the armie and manie readie at Bewcastle a certeine time, looking for a prosperous wind to set forthward on their purposed iourne, at length the same came about verie fit to serue their turne, and then with all speed the soldiers were bestowed aboard, euery companie in their appointed vessels: and here with vp went the sailes, and forth they got into the maine seas, making their course directlie towards the Forth, a gulf or riuer in Scotland, able to beare vessels fiftie miles vp within the countie. There were at the least two hundred saile which the lord admerall had caused to come together, according to his commission, rigged, trimmed, and furnished with all things necessarie for the conduction of such an armie, esteemed to be about ten thousand men.

Anno Reg. 36.

The armie
set forth
ward by sea
towards
Scotland.

The number
of the Eng-
lish armie.

The third of Maie they arrived in the Forth, entreng betwene two Islands, the Bas and the Maie. The next daie being the fourth of Maie, the whole armie was landed two miles by west the towne of Leth, at a place called Grantham crag. And forth with the lord lieutenant putting his people in good order

The English
armie landed
in Scotland.

The Scots offer to impeach the Englishmens passage.

The Scots flee to Edinburgh.

The English arme entirely into Litch.

The prouost of Edinburghs request.

The earle of Hertford answers.

Sir Christopher Hoyer.

Edinburgh entered by force.

order of warre, marched on towards the said towne of Litch. The lord admerall led the foreward, the lord lieutenant the battell, and the earle of Shrewesburie gouerned the reereward. Before they came to the towne of Litch, they found in their waie readie to impeach their passage sir thousand horsemen beside footmen. At the first the Scots made towards the Englishmen, as if they had ment to set vpon the forward: but being manfullie assailed by the harquebutters, five hundred in number, and shewoble by them curried and galled, they had no mind to come forward, but perceiving how willing the Englishmen were to incounter with them, after certeine shot on both sides, they made a sudden retreat, and leauing their artillerie behind them, they fled to Edinburgh.

The first man that fled (as the talke went) was the cardinal, who perceiving the deuotion which the Englishmen had to see his holinesse, had no mind to faurie. With him also fled the gouernour, the earles of Huntleie, Spurreie, and Bothwell: as for their soldiers, they were disparted, and feared the English forces as the lambe doth the wolfe, the doe the dog, or the hart the lion: to vse the words of Anglorum prælia berie fittie describing this battell, and faieing:

Exhorrent, ut dama capes, ut cerna leones.

The Englishmen thus hauing put their enemies to flight, & seized vpon their artillerie, made streight to the towne of Litch, and entered it without anie great resistance, wherein they incamped themselves the same night to their most ease and aduantage, and afterwards landed their vittels and great artillerie. They found also in this towne such plentie of riches as they looked not to haue found in anie one towne of Scotland.

The first of Maie they went towards Edinburgh, and as they approached nere the towne, the prouost of the same towne accompanied with one or two burgesses, and two or three officers at armes, desired to speake with the kings lieutenant, and in the name of all the towne, said that the heies of the towne should be deliuered vnto his lordship, conditionallie that they might go with bag & baggage, and the towne to be saued from fire. Wherevnto answer was made by the said lord lieutenant, that where the Scots had so manifestlie broken their promises confirmed by oaths and seales, and certified by the whole parlement, as was euidentlie knowne to the world, he was sent thither by the kings highnesse to take vengeance of their detestable falschod, to declare and shew the force of his highnesse sword to all such as should make anie resistance vnto his graces power sent thither for that purpose. And therefore he told them resolute, that unless they would yeld by their towne franklie without concition, and cause man, woman, and child, to issue forth into the fields, submitting them to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sword, and their towne to the fire. The prouost answered it were better to stand to their defense.

Wherevpon charge was giuen to the said prouost and officer at armes, vpon their perill to depart. And forthwith the lord lieutenant sent to the forward, commanding that they should march toward the towne, which right hardlie they did, and the English gunners manfullie assailed the gates; namely sir Christopher Hoyer master of the ordinance, in so much that the Scots were beaten from their ordinance, and the gate called Canogate beaten open with shot of the great artillerie, and therewith the Englishmen entering the same gate by fine force, beat doo the same a great number of Scots, and continuallie without staing was the great ordinance drawne by the street to the castell gates: but those that were within the castell shot so frelie at the Englishmen thus approaching with their great artillerie, that diuerse were slain, the artillerie of the castell beat so directlie alongest the high street, as the Englishmen came by the same. At length also one of the Englishmens culgerings was stricken, and dismounted, and therevpon they were forced to retire backe and giue ouer their enterprise of making batterie to the castell, wanting pioneers, baskets, and other things necessarie for such a purpose.

This daie the Englishmen set fire in diuerse parts of the towne, but they had not leasure to mainteine it, by reason of the smoke rising and troubling them so extremelie, that no great hurt could be done that daie, for that the night also came on, and so they departed backe againe to their campe at Litch. But the next daie, a certeine number of Englishmen vnder the leading of doctor Leigh, went againe to Edinburgh, and did what they could, vntill they destroyed the whole towne with fire, and so continued all that daie & the two daies next following. During all this violence offered by the English to the enimie, & nothing left but despoire of life, the women and children beholding this desolation, made such outrageous exclamations and woofull lamentations, that heauen it selfe rang with their noyse, as berie pithilie is described by Chr. O. in his report, faieing:

Femine sexu gemitis ad sidera grandi

Tolluntur strepitus, puerorum clamor in auras,

Nihil nisi triste fuit, faciesque miserrima rerum.

In the meane time, foure thousand light horsemen, vnder the leading of the lord Giers, came from our borders, as order was taken afore, and joined themselves with the arme thus lying in Litch, where after their comming, they did such exploits, in riding and wasting the countrie, that within fouen miles euerie waie of Edinburgh, they left few places, either pile, village, or house vnburnt. And beside this, they brought great numbers of cattell daile into the arme, and met with much good stuffe, which the inhabitants of Edinburgh had for the safetie of the same conueied out of the towne.

The names of the knights made at Litch after the burning of Edinburgh by the earle of Hertford, generall of the kings armie there, on sundae the eleuenth of Maie, in the fir & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1544, as they were deliuered to me by sir Gilbert Dethike knight, alias Carter, king of armes, are as followeth: The lord Clinton, the lord Conlers, sir William Wroughton, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Edward Doxell, sir John Luttrell, sir John Jennis, sir Thomas Waterton, sir Charles Howard, sir George Blunt, sir Peter Pelwas, sir Edward Warner, sir Rafe Bulmer, sir Hugh Cholmeleie, sir Thomas Leigh, alias doctor Leigh, sir Richard Leigh, sir Peter Leigh, sir John Leigh of Both, sir Lawrence Smith, sir William Mauabour, sir Richard Shirburne, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Thomas Holt, sir William Dauenport, sir Rafe Leicester, sir Humfre Bradborne, sir Thomas Halluerie, sir Francis Bothome, sir John Haffie, sir Leonard Beckwith, sir Thomas Cokaine, sir Peter Freshwell, sir Richard Egerton, sir Anthonie Hewill, sir John Hewill, sir William Katchiffe, sir George Bowes, sir Brian Bereton, sir William Bereton, sir Roger Bereton, sir Edward Waren, sir Brian Lelton, sir Robert Wursleie, sir Thomas Calbot, sir Hugh Caluerleie, sir John Clere, sir Richard Holland, sir Thomas Venables, sir John Constable, sir Edmund Rastford, sir John Atherton, sir Richard Cholmeleie, sir Philip Egerton, sir Hugh Willoughbie, sir Thomas Constable, sir William Woodhouse, sir Edmund Sanaue, and sir Thomas Gerard.

On the fourteenth daie the Englishmen brake doo the

The knights created at Litch by the earle of Hertford.

downe the piers of the haven of Litch, and burnt ene-
rie sicke of it. This done, and having shipped their
great artillerie, and taken forth all such Scottish
ships as were met to ferrie; appointing them to at-
tend on their ships, they took upon them to returne
home by land. Amongst other ships which the Eng-
lishmen had in Litch haven; there were two of nota-
ble fairenesse, the one called the Salamander, given
by the French king at the marriage of his daughter
into Scotland, the other called the Uriconne, made
by the late Scottish king. The ballast of these two
ships was cannon shot, which they found in the
rowne, to the number of foure score thousand. The
rest of the Scottish ships being taken a waite together
with their owne ships, which they brought with them;
were for the more part offered with the spoile and
booties of the soldiers & mariners. On the fiftieth
of Maie, their armie and their fleet departed from
Litch both in one hoire, the towne being set on fire
and burned to the ground.

The English armie incamped that night at a
place called Seaton, seven miles from Litch, where
they burnt the castell, and destroyed the orchards and
gardens with the more despite, for that the lord Sea-
ton owner of the place, was the chiefe laborer to
helpe the lord cardinall out of prison. The same daie
was Haddington burnt, with a great nuntie and
hoole of friers there. The next night they incamped
beside Dunbar, where they had an alarm given
them, but in the morning they burnt the towne of
Dunbar, and marched forth, though somewhat staied
by the waie, by reason of the mist and fog, which was
verie thicke, continuing all the forenone, and because
also they understood how the lords of Seton & Hume
with the lord of Bouchlough, and others, had assem-
bled a power of men of warre, and were minded to
impede their passage at a streit named the Deafe.

But after that the mist brake up, which was about
two of the clocke in the afternone, the Englishmen
came forward, and passed the same streit without a-
nye resistance, for the Scottish lords perceiving that
they were not of power sufficient to encounter with
the Englishmen, minded not to put their people in
their danger, but wisely retired, suffering the Eng-
lishmen to passe at their pleasure, who that night
lodged at Kanton, eight miles distant from our bor-
ders, where having overthrowne a pile which stood
there, they dislodged the next morrow, and the same
daie being the eighteenth of Maie, they entered into
Berwick: so ending their voiage with great saie
and gladnesse, not having lost pass fortie persons in
all this tournee.

The names of the chiefe towne, castles, and pla-
ces burned in this voiage, were these: the burrow
and towne of Edinburgh, with the abbey called hol-
lie kood house, and the kings palace adjoining to the
same. The towne of Litch burnt, and the haven and
pire destroyed, the castle and village of Cragmiller,
the abbey of Beisbottle, part of Spuskilburrow
towne, with the chappell of our ladie of Lauret, Hade-
ston towne and the castell, Seton castell, Hading-
ton towne, with the friers and nuntie, a castell of W-
liver Sinclers, the towne of Dunbar, Lancreston
with the grange, Dylain, Wester crag, Cenderligh,
the pile, and the towne, Broughton, Thesler fields,
Crabwens, Dudlinton, Stan house, the Ficket, Be-
uerton, Trancut, Shenston, Parkle, Crapzen, Kirk-
land hill, Watherwike, Belton, east Barnes, Bole-
land, Watterden, Quickewood, Blackeburne, Kan-
ton, Bilde and the Towne, Kirkorne, saint Spi-
nes, the quenes ferrie, part of Petin Maines, and
the burnt Island, were burned by the fleet on the sea.

For during the continuance of the armie at Litch,
the ships late notable, but following the river, burnt

diverse places, and left neither ship, craier, nor bote
belonging to anye village, towne, crake, or haven,
upon either side of the foyd, betwene Sterling, and
the mouth of the river, unburned, or brought a waie,
which space containeth fiftie miles in length. About
the same time the earle of Lenox fled out of Scot-
land into the rebine of England, where he was right
gladlie received by king Henrie, and shortly he ob-
tained in marriage the ladie Marie Dowglas, nece
to the king of England, and returned some after in-
to Scotland by sea, accompanied with a good compe-
tent crewe of English. But finding no such friend-
ship among his countrie men as he looked to have
done, he was constrained to returne, without atch-
uining the enterprise which he had taken in hand; in
hope of such assistance by his friends, as now failed
him at need.

In the moneth of Maie proclamation was made
for the inhancing of gold to eight & fortie shillings,
& silver foure shillings the ounce. Also the 12. caused
to be coined base monie, which was since that time
called doivne, the first yeare of Edward the sixt, and
called in the second of queene Elizabeth. In the same
moneth also passed through the citie of London in
warlike maner, to the number of seaven hundred
Irishmen, having for their weapons, darts, and
handguns, with bagpipes before them: and in saint
James parke besides Westminster they mustered
before the king. In June the letanie or procession
was set forth in English, with commandement by
the king to be generallie used in parish churches.
About the same time that the armie before remem-
bred, was set forward into Scotland under the gui-
ding of the earle of Hertford, as before we have
heard, the king by aduise of his counsell took order
for the leuening of a mightie armie, to passe ouer into
France, according to the appointment taken with
his confederate, friend and colleague, the emperor,
against the French king, at that present common
aduersarie to them both, and not long before had en-
tered in league with the Turks, as Ch. Oc. noteth:

*cum diras fœdera Turcis
Iunxerat, heu nimium res est indigna relatu,
Christicolam facere hoc, qui religionis amantem
Se profitem, titulum pietatis venditat orbi.*

There were appointed three battels, the forward
under the leading of the duke of Suffolke, the bat-
tell under the guiding of the duke of Suffolke, which
also was reckoned to be the kings battell, because
his maiestie ment to be present with the same in
person, and the reere-ward was led by the lord Russell
lord priue seale. Those of the fore-ward were appare-
led in blew cotes garded with red, and had caps and
hosen after the same sute, partie blue and partie red,
their caps made fit for their sculs, which were put in-
to the same. The battell in cotes, caps, and hosen, af-
ter the like fashion, but their colours were red and
pellow.

The duke of Suffolke and the lord priue seale,
accompanied with diuerse other noble men, as the
earle of Surreie sonne to the said duke of Suffolke
marshall of the field, the earle of Orford, the lord
Greie of Wilton lieutenant of Hammes, whose
name even then began to grow famous, the lord
Ferrers of Charteleie, and sir Richard Deuereux
his sonne and heire, that brought with them a great
number of Welshmen, sir Thomas Cheinie lord
warden of the cinque ports, the lord Mountfote a to-
wardlie yong gentleman, well learned, and for his
time perfect in all points and qualities fit for a noble
man, sir Francis Brian knight, one of the kings
priue chamber, and no lesse affectioned to his ser-
uice, than of him fauoured and well esteemed, sir Tho-
mas Poinings capteine of Guilnes, and diuerse
others

See more
hereof in
Scotland.

Abr. Fl. ex
1. Stow. 1029.

Base monie
coined.

Irish in war-
like manner
passe through
the citie.

Procession in
English.

In armie le-
ued to invade
France.

These battels
appointed with
their severall
licutnants.

The duke of
Suffolke &
the lord priue
seale.

The countie
de Buren.

Monsieur
de Biez.

The duke of
Suffolke.

Bullongne
besieged.

The king
passeth the
seas to Bul-
longne.

others beside, no lesse worthe to be remembered for their valure and merits, if time would permit to rehearse them, passed ouer to Calis about Whitson tide, and from thence marching forward to France, left Bullongne on their right hand, & keeping forth towards Puttrel, joined with an armie which the emperour had raised for that purpose, under the leading of the countie de Buren, admerall of the low countries, and so these armies being united in one, came before Puttrel, and there laid siege to that towne, being well manned and furnished with all things necessarie for defense, as well in battels as in artillery. The chiefe captaine of which towne was monsieur de Biez, one of the marshalls of France, and gouernour also in the absence of monsieur de Mandoline of Picardie, who being within Bullongne & hearing how the English armie was passed by, and drew towards Puttrel, he left Bullongne, and with all speed got him into Puttrel, not mistrusting any thing of that policie which the king of England went about, which was, to send this armie to besiege Puttrel, to the end the Frenchmen might be kept occupied further off, while he with the residue of his power should come and besiege Bullongne, which towne standing most commodious for his purpose, he went by force to bring under his subiection.

Hereupon was the duke of Suffolke appointed with the kings armie to passe ouer, accompanied with the earle of Arundell marshall of the field, the lord saint John, and the bishop of Winchester, sir John Wages comptroller of the kings house, sir Anthony Botone maister of the kings horse, with diuerse other worthy captaine, all which the nineteenth of Iulie came before Bullongne, incamped on the east side of the said towne aloft upon the hill, and after for his more safetie removed into a ballie, where after manie sharpe skirmishes they first entered the bafe towne, being left and forsaken by the inhabitants, which hauing set fire on their fishing nets, and other such baggage, under couert of the smoke, got them vp into the high towne, before the Englishmen could espie them. After this, the old man, otherwile called *Le tour d'ordre*, standing without the towne for a direction to them that were to enter the haven, and now being kept by sixtene souldiers, was yielded up by them, upon presenting the canon before it.

The Frenchmen within the towne, being despoiled of those two places, yet spared not to shoot off from their walles and bulwokes, doing what damage they might deuise, and namelic from the castle and greene bulwoke they did much hurt to the Englishmen with their shot, whereof they made no spare, till at length they were forced to be quiet: for the Englishmen so applied them with such plentie of their shot, that the Frenchmen had no oportunitie to do them any great hurt with their artillery. The fourteenth of Iulie, the king in person, accompanied with diuers of the nobilitie, passed the seas from Dover to Calis; and the fir and twentieth of the same moneth incamped himselfe before Bullongne on the north side, within lesse than thre quarters of a mile of the towne, where he remained, till the towne was surrendered into his hands. The king being then in campe, it was a matter of ease to discerne which was he, for none of the rest came nere him in tallness by the head: as for his proportion of lims, it was answerable to his goodlie stature and making: a memorabile description whereof, as also of his artificall armour, I find reported as follooweth:

*Rex capite Hemici reliquos supereminet omnes,
Heros preualidus seu fortia brachia spectes,
Seu furas quas fuluo opifex incluserat auro,
Sine uirile ducis prestanti pectore corpus,
Nulla vi domitum, nullo penetrabile ferro, &c.*

Beside the trenches which were cast, and brought in manner round about the towne, there was a mount raised upon the east side; and diuerse peeces of artillery planted aloft on the same, the which together with the moeste peeces, soon gauged them within, & battered both the staple of our ladies church. To conclude, the batterie was made in most forcible wise in thre severall places, and the walles, towers, and castle were undermined; and the towne within so beaten with shot out of the campe, and from the mount and trench by the moeste peeces, that there were verie few houses left whole therein. The towne thus standing in great distress, there were two hundred Frenchmen and Italianes, which entered under the conduct of Bonourto to enter the towne in couert of the night, which exploit they so warlike achieved, that by meanes of a priest that could speake the English tongue, they passed by the scouts, & through the watch, so as the most part of them were got ouer the trenches, per it was knowne that they were: to the number of sixe score of them got into the towne, but the residue after they were once besieged, being intercepted, were taken or slaine. Although this small succour somewhat relieved them within, and put them in some hope to defend the towne some what longer against the kings power: yet at length when a pece of the castle was blowne by, and the breaches made, as was thought reasonable, the assault was giuen by the lord admerall Dudley, which was couerthither from the sea, which he had scouged after his retuche forth of Scotland.

This assault was couragiously giuen, and to speake a truth, no lesse manfully defended: so that when the assailants had perceiued in what state the breaches stood, and what provision they within had made for defense of their towne, which undoubtedly was great (for nothing was by them omitted, that might either aduantage the defendants, or annoy the assailants) those that were appointed in this sort to giue the assault, were called backe, and so they retired, but not without losse on both sides, and namelic of them within. For during the time of the assault, the great artillery did beat still upon them that presented themselves at the breaches to repell the assailants, and so diuerse of their valiant captaine and brave souldiers were slaine at this assault, & among other, captaine Philip Cose. Shortly after, the captaine within the towne, doubting to be easies assaulted, and perceiving themselves in extreame danger to lose the towne by force, if they provided not the sooner, by rendering it to saue themselves: they sent forth two of their chiefe captaine, monsieur Semblemont, and monsieur de Hales, which declared vnto the king, that monsieur de Weruine gouernour of the towne, with his residue, was contented to deliuer the towne vnto his grace, with condition that they might passe with bag and baggage. Which request the king, like a noble and mercifull prince, freely granted: and so the next daie, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bullongne, vnto whom in the kings name the keys of the towne were deliuered, & in the afternone departed out of Bullongne all the Frenchmen with heauie hearts, to the number of six thousand, as C. O. witnesseth, saying:

sex hinc exierant Gallorum milia gentis.

The number of the men of warre that were strong and able to serue, were of horsemen sixtie seuen, of footmen sixtine hundred, threescore and thre, of the which number eight hundred were harquebunters, of hurt men fourescore and seuen, of women & children ninetene hundred and twentie seuen, beside a great number of aged & sicke persons, not able to depart with the others. The last person that came forth was monsieur de Weruine himselfe, who upon

Bullongne
assaulted.

Bullongne
deliuered.

The number
of them that
surrendered
of Bullongne.

his approach to the place where the king stood, alighted from his horse, and came to the king, and after hee had talked with him a space, the king took him by the hand, and he reuerentlie kneeling upon his knees, kissed his hand, and afterward mounted upon his horse, and so departed, following his companie.

Exting the
towards
England.

The eight of September, the king hauing the sword borne before him by the lord marques Dorset, like a puissant conqueror rode into Bullongne, and the trumpeters standing on the walles, sounded their trumpets at the tunc of his entering, to the great comfort of the beholders. In the entering, there met him the duke of Suffolke, and deliuered to him the keyes of the towne, and so he rode forth to his lodging that was prepared for him on the south side of the towne. Within two daies after, the king rode about the towne within the walles, and appointed that our ladie church of Bullongne should be taken downe, and in the place thereof a mount to be made, for the more strengthening of the towne. Finally after he had set things in order for the safe keeping of this his towne of Bullongne, by his princely force thus twome out of the possession of his aduersaries hands, he appointed the lord Wille high admerall of the seas, to be his deputie of the same towne, and then determining not to staie there any longer, he took the seas, & returned into England, landing at Dover the first of October.

Exting re-
turned into
England.

Exting re-
turned into
England.

In this meane time, whilst the king of England laie (as ye haue heard) with his siege about Bullongne, and the duke of Suffolke, and lord priuie scale about Butterell, the emperor invaded France by Champeigne, winning diuerse castels and townes, as Comiers, Aignie, saint Desir, Chantreau, Thierie, and others. But at the length, meanes were made by treatie to haue the matter taken vp, as in the end it was, and a peace concluded without content of the king of England, although there was place left for him and other princes to enter into this agreement of peace. But the king of England hauing now defraied no small quantitie of treasure in these warres, beside the trauell of his owne person and his people, and hauing the thing now in a manner sure in his possession, which he chiefly went about to obtaine, that is to wit, the strong towne of Bullongne, he would not agree vnto anie peace, except he might inoy that towne, at that instant redie to be deliuered into his hands. And euen now after it was to him deliuered, hearing that for certaine, the peace was concluded betwixt the emperor and the French king, he determined to breake by his camps; but neuertheless to keepe Bullongne in his possession, in despite of all his aduersaries. But here, before we proceed anie further, we haue thought good somewhat to speake touching the siege which all this while continued afoze Butterell, where the Englishmen and Burgonians inforced themselves by all waies and meanes they could deuise, how to constraene their enemies within the towne. On the other part, monsieur de Biez, and those that were with him in gard of the same towne, lest nothing vndone that might serue for their defense, and make to the annoiance of their enemies.

The number
of the
armies of
France in
Bout-
rell.

There were with monsieur de Biez within the towne, an hundred men at armes of the retinue of the constable of France, vnder the leading of the lord de la Guich an expert man of war. There were also with the lord of Genlie, foure ensignes of French footmen. Count Berenger a Neapolitane with a thousand footmen Italians. Capteine Francisco de Chiaramont, a Neapolitane also, with the like number of Italian footmen. So that the towne might seeme sufficientlie furnished with men, and they wanted neither shot nor powder requisite, so that

there was no spare thereof when occasion serued on either part.

The duke of Suffolke and the lord priuie scale caused a mount to be raised, and aloft thereon were certaine peces of artillerie planted to shot into the towne. Moreover they compassed the walles so on each hand with their scuerall camps and trenches, that hardlie might anie escape either in or out vncspied. Sir Francis Bryan was appointed with certaine bands, containing about the number of a thousand men, to lodge in a campe fortified by himselfe, ouer against one part of the towne, to stop certaine passages on that side, that no succors should enter by the same to the reliefe of them within. There were skirmishes daile betwixt them that sallied forth of the gates, and the Englishmen that watched and waited in the trenches, and other places, insomuch that diuerse lost their liues, and some were irreuerable wounded, as *Anglorum prelia* witnesseth, saieing:

*Confossi saeu moriuntur vulnere multi
Dispersi cerebro, faciei nulla figura.*

On a daie as sir Thomas Poinings solbours were warding in one of the trenches, an Italian scerretlie comming forth of the towne, fetched awaie the said sir Thomas Poinings his ensigne; and notwithstanding the pursue that was made after him, he escaped and got into the towne with it, to the great displeasure of the whole campe. But as the enemies sometimes went awaie with the aduantage of their attempted enterprises, so oftentimes againe they paid for their aduenturing ouer rashlie about the common price of the market.

But here I cannot but lament the negligence used in that season: for there is not one English writer to be found extant, that hath written anie thing effectualle of the exploits atchieued in that forme; so as we are dyuen to borrow of the aduersaries that haue written thereof, wanting other helps of our owne nation to furnish our booke herein according to our wished purpose. But neuertheless, to giue occasion to those that yet liue, and can best do it, to set forth hereafter a more perfect discourse thereof, I haue thought it not amisse to recite in part what I haue read and learned of such things as then were accounted worthy of relation, and now like to be buried in the dimme booke of oblivion, vntill some fauourer of notable euent chancing in the assiegement of those two townes, Bullongne and Butterell, will put to his helping hand to report the same to posteritie.

Among other stratagems, one I remember, devised and put in practise by the lord Mountioie, as thus. The enemies had espied a place of aduantage without the towne, where vnder fauour of the shot of certaine peces of great artillerie lodged vpon some platforms or bulwarks within the towne, they might lie without the walles betwixt the Englishmens trenches and the towne ditches, and there couer themselves within a litle trench or counterscarpe made for the purpose, and out of the same be readie with their harquebusses to shot at the Englishmen, so some as anie of them should once shew his head out of the trenches, to the great danger of them that were in the same.

The lord Mountioie perceiuing this, deuised with himselfe how to rouse the enemies out of that lurking place, and withall came to the duke of Suffolke, and desired licence to put the deuise (which he had already forecass in his mind) in practise. But the duke being not willing that he should put himselfe in such danger, was loth to grant thereto, but rather perswaded with him not to attempt it: for (said he) my lord, ye may do the king better seruice than to hazard your life, and cast your selfe awaie,

¶ b b b. j.

I mount
raised.

Sir Francis
Bryan.

Etberio, that
after serued
the king of
England.

Negligence
of English-
men for not
putting their
valiant de-
votions in wri-
ting.

A stratagem
of the lord
Mountioie.

A politike
feat achieved
by the lord
Mowntiole.

as it is heris like you should, in aduenturing vpon
such a desperat peere of seruiue, and therefore I would
not wish you to meddle therewith, for we shall o-
therwise prouide for the matter well enough. But
the lord Mowntiole still persisted in his sute verie
earnestlie, declaring that he doubted not (by Gods
helpe) but to achieve his purpose to his good conten-
tation without anye great danger, if that were cre-
cuted which he toke to be necessarie for the accom-
plishment of his deuise: and that was to haue cer-
teine peces of the great ordinance shot off that
waie forth, at what time the wind stood met to car-
rie the smoke full vpon the place where the fren-
chmen laie. At length vpon his earnest sute, the duke
gaue him licence to trie what he could doe, comman-
ding the great ordinance to be laid and charged rea-
die to shot off as he should appoint it. Wherewith the
lord Mowntiole taking with him fouretene of his
owne soldiors (of the which number one of them for-
soke to go through with him when it came to the
point) immediatlie vpon the shooting off of the artil-
lerie, & that all the ground about was couered ouer
with smoke, he came to the place where those fren-
chmen laie vnder couert of their trench, and so displa-
ced them, that they had no liking effionnes to lodge
so nere vnto such unfriendlie neighbors.

The lord
Mowntiole a
noble young
gentleman.

Manie other valiant and politike feats (no doubt)
were achieved during this siege, & happilie as wor-
thic the rehearfall as this. But sith it was the inmen-
tion of so noble a young gentleman, I haue esteemed
it not impertinent to speake thereof, and withall to
lament the losse of the inuento, who being taken a-
waie shortly after in his returne homewards, by
vntimelie death, was like (if he had liued to grea-
ter yeers of experience) to haue proued comparable
in valor to anye of his noble progenitors. But now
to speake of other incidents that chanced whilst this
siege remained before Muttrell, you must under-
stand that the most part of the vittells that was spent
in the campe was brought to them either from the
kings campe at Bullongne, or else from S. Omers,
to conueie the same so far off, it was needfull to haue
the carriage garded with good troops and bands both
of horsemen and footmen: for the french soldiores
were strongly furnished with great numbers of
men of war, which vpon occasions were ready to
take aduantages offered.

The English
archers gail
the french
horsemen.

And as it fortuned at one time among other, there
was a conuoie of certeine wagons laden with vittells
appointed to come from saint Omers, the same be-
ing garded with diuerse bands of Englishmen and
Burgonions, sent thither for that purpose, the which
marching forward from saint Omers, kept not so
good order as had bene requisite: whereof certeine
companies of french horsemen that were abroad
being adware, set vpon the Burgonions that were
attendant vpon the foremost carriages, and finding
them in some disorder, easilie discomfited them, follo-
wed, and slue them in the chase, till they came to the
hindermost carriages, where sir hundred English
men that attended on the same, impaled themselves
with their wagons, so as the frenchmen could take
no aduantage: but with shot of the English archers
were so curried and galled that they were bounden
to retire, and that in such hast, as they left diuerse of
their companie captiues in the Englishmens hands
beside those that were faire laid to take their last
sleepe there on the ground. Neuerthelesse, of the
Burgonions there were staine foure hundred, and
much good vittells lost, the bottoms of the hogheads
and other vessels being beaten out, and manie a good
flemish mare killed or taken. For the frenchmen
found small resistance (as before ye haue heard) till
they approached to the Englishmen, by whose accu-

med manhood, some part of the vittells of that con-
uoie was saued, to the releefe of the campe, which not-
withstanding by losse of the residue suffered great
want for the time.

Moreover, somewhat towards the latter end of
this siege, the earle of Surreie son vnto the duke of
Norfolke and marshall of his field, accompanied
with the lord warren of the cinque ports, and diuerse
other valiant capteins English & Burgonions mar-
ched forth into the countrie towards Abulle, where
they toke and burnt a proper towne called saint Re-
quiers: and after comming to another towne cal-
led Rieu, they found no bodie at home but women
and children, for the men were departed out of it be-
fore their comming thither. When they had taken
their pleasure in sacking all such goods as they found
there fit to be carried awaie, they spared the towne
from fire, and so departed. And thus after they had
bene two daies and two nights abroad in the coun-
trie, they returned home to the campe with a great
botie of beasts, cheape, and other things which they
had got in that boiage.

Saint Re-
quiers burnt
by the Eng-
lishmen.
Rieu sacked.

But now to conclude with this siege of Muttrell,
after the king had wonne Bullongne, and vnderstand
how the emperor had agreed with his aduersarie the
french king, he resolved to haue his armie to raise
that siege which thus had lien before Muttrell, and
with all conuenient speed to drave toward Calis. And
because it was signified that the Dolphin of France
Henrie was comming forward with a great pow-
er, which had bene raised by his father the french
king to resist the emperor, and now was sent vnder
the conduct of the said Dolphin, to the succours of
them that were besieged in Muttrell, the king sent
the earle of Arundell, sir John Wage, sir George
Carew, sir John Keinsford, and others, with a chosen
number of lustie soldiors vnto Muttrell, to reinforce
his armie there, that in leuieng the campe, and with-
drawing backe, they might be the better able to with-
stand any attempt which the enemies might put in
execution to their annoyasance. And verelie this was
done with good aduise and necessarie consideration,
for the Englishmen that had lien so long time at the
siege before Muttrell, wanting such behouefull re-
freshment as those were stored with that laie before
Bullongne, hauing the seas open, and all things at
pleasure brought vnto them forth of England, were
soe weakened and decayed by death and sickness,
and now in raising their campe had manie things to
looke vnto, as well for the conueieng of their ordi-
nance, trusse, and baggage, as their feeble and disea-
sed persons: so that if the Dolphin with his armie
might haue made such speed forward as to haue over-
taken them with his maine power before they had
come to Bullongne, it was to be feared least he
might haue put them in danger of a plaine distress.
But with such timelie foresight as was vsed the siege
was raised, and the armie retired first to Bullongne,
and after to Calis without losse, although the french
horsemen in great number followed, and sundrie
times made proud proffers to giue the charge vpon
the hindermost companies; but nothing was done
to make great account of, except certeine skirmi-
shes that were procured, and alarms giuen, as in
such cases it fortuneth.

The Dolphin notwithstanding that the siege was
thus raised from Muttrell, yet he could come thither,
yet he kept forward his iourneie, to proue what he
might doe to reconer Bullongne, which towne the
king of England (as ye haue heard) had left in the
keeping of the lord A. the high admerall. The same
towne being then weak, God knoweth, on all sides
through batterie and minings, which by the kings
power had been made, to bring it into his subiectors
and

The Dol-
phin cometh
before Bull-
longne with
his great
power.

and the trenches not cast downe, no; the ordnance mounted.

The Dolphin being come before the towne, sent certaine bands of his best soldiers by night to giue a camifado to the bafe towne. They that thus were sent, entred the same the ninth of October, about two of the clocke in the morning, where they took the stand watches, and slue (beside a great number of sicke and weake persons) as well soldiers as other, before they could araise themselves, or well get out of their beds. But after, the Frenchmen and Italians fell to riding and bzeaking vp of coffers, scattering here and there abozde, and began to fall to their vittels, which they found there in good plentie. The Englishmen that were dyuen vp to the gates of the high towne, got weappons that were thowne downe vnto them forth of the same, & assembling together, fiercely entred in amongst the pzease of their enemies. And herewith they sallied forth of the high towne sir Thomas Poynings with a band of two hundred soldiers, the which together with the other so belirred themselves, that they manfully beat backe the enemies, slue to the number of eight hundred of them, and chased the residue out of the towne, which fled ouer the sands vp to the hill, where the Dolphin himselfe stood with a great troupe of horsemen about him, and durst not once come downe to the rescue of his people, for feare of the great artillerie that with plentie of bullets saluted the enemies, after that the breake of the daie had once discourred them in sight. Amongst other that were slaine in this repulse of the Frenchmen, le seigneur de Foqueuolles, another of the marshall de Biez his sons in law, and seneeschall of Bullongne was one.

Thus the Dolphin, perceiuing that it would nothing auail him to make anie further attempt against Bullongne, passed forth toward Guines, & shortly after through want of vittels, and sicknesse which sore infested his campe, brake vp his armie, and returned into France: so that the proud enterprises of the vainglorious and most insolent French turned to their owne great shame, as C. O. trulle saith:

Sic Galli in magnum cesserunt dedecus ausa.

But shortly after Christmas came downe an armie of fourtene thousand, vnder the conduction of monsieur de Biez, the which the six and twentieth of Iannarie incamped on the west side of Bullongne beyond the haue, where they laie ten daies: but on the first of February, the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, as then lord lieutenant of the towne of Bullongne, the lord Greie of Wilton, sir Thomas Poynings & others, hauing assembled out of the garrisons on that side the seas, to the number of foure thousand footmen, & seuen hundred horsemen, whereof an hundred or foure score were Albanoises, issued forth of Bullongne about foure of the clocke in the morning, and comming to the place where the king had incamped during the time of the siege, they staid there, and put themselves in order of battell: and about six of the clocke, it being then a low water, capitaine Edward Bzoe, with three hundred shot, was appointed to passe ouer, and to giue the enemies an alarm in their campe.

At which instant the trumpets sounded, and the drums stroke vp in the English armie, and herewith they being diuised into three battels, and to each one his gard of two hundred horsemen, beside the ad hundred that attended as a defense to the residue, they shewed themselves to their enemies. The Frenchmen perceiuing this, packed awaie with all haste possible, marching toward Hardilo in two battels. Whereupon the English captains leauing their footmen behind them, and taking onlie with them the horsemen, followed with all speed after their

enemies, and comming to the bridge commonlie called pont de Brique, which certaine English carpenters garded with a number of harquebatters, and foure small field peeces, had forced and repaired the same that night: and so the horsemen finding it sufficientlie repaired, passed ouer, and comming to St. Estienne, they found there five hundred Dutch horsemen, commonlie called Swart ritters, that were lodged there to keepe that passage: but being surprised on the sudden by the English horsemen, and sharpelie assailed, they were wholie distressed, and the most part of them taken prisoners, and therewith left with the followers of the armie, were after slaine, because they knew not where to befolow them.

But now the hill of saint Estienne being thus gained by the English horsemen, they put themselves in order of battell againe, appointing an hundred of their men at armes to follow and keepe aloofe as a stalle to relieue their fellows in time of need, when they saw them in anie danger. The lords, to encourage euerie one to do his dutie, rode vp and downe about the troops, & vsing manie comfortable words, desired them, that although they were but an handful in comparison to the number of their enemies, they would yet in regard of the honour of the realme of England, make a proffer of an onset to the enemies, that they might perceiue that there they were to giue them battell, and to follow, as they should see them their captains and gouernors to lead them the waie. Herewith forward they make towards the enimie, and overtaking them three miles on the hither side of Hardilo sands, they valiantlie gaue the charge, and thrusting in betwixt the two French battels, ouerthrew their carriages, took their ordnance and munitions, slue and bare downe manie of them that pzeased forth to defend the same.

Monsieur de Biez being in the fore ward, brought backe the strongest and best armed men he had to resist his enemies, ranging them in order so, as he ment to haue inclosed the English horsemen betwixt his battels and the sea, and so to haue distressed them. But this purpose being espied first of all by the lord admerall, the Englishmen by his valiant encouragement gaue a new charge, and breaking through their ranks by force, came backe againe vnto their hundred men of armes that kept aloofe, and there staid till their footmen might come to them, who by this time were aduanced within sight of them, but distant yet by the space of two English miles, or little lesse.

Monsieur de Biez, perceiuing that the English footmen began thus to appoach, made forward againe with his armie, so fast as was possible for his people to march, drawing still his armed men and best soldiers to the hindermost ranks, there to be readie to withstand the Englishmen, as they should offer to assaile them: and in this order the Frenchmen made away, and rested not till they came to Hardilo sands, being a place of such strength and aduantage, by reason of the streit, that after they were once got thither, they might account themselves out of all danger, and therefore there they staid, and dispatched an herald vnto the chiefeins of the English armie, to signify vnto them, that there they ment to abide and to giue them battell, if they would aduance forward to fight with them: but yet they would not in anie wise come forth of their strength vnto some euerground, although they were earnestlie required therevnto. Whereupon the Englishmen, to light them a candle that they might see where they were, set all the villages & houses about on a light fire, continuing the same all that afternone, and most part of the night following, and the next morning betwixt

B b b b j.

four

The comfort-
table words
of the English
captains.

The English
horsemen
charge the
French bat-
tels.

The valiant
order of mon-
sieur de Biez.

The lord ad-
merall was re-
adie obseruing
the meaning
of the enemies

Hardilo
sands.

Artillerie
gained.

I 5 4 5
John Stow.

Great prizes
of French
goods taken
by the wes-
terne ships.

Abr. Fl. ex
I.S. pag. 1030.

Sir William
Koch sent to
the fleet.

Execution
for false ac-
cusation.

The discom-
ture gotten by
the Scots at
Halidon rig.

The valiant
sir Rafe Cuers
slaine.

Read, alder-
man of Lon-
don prisoner.

scure and sic of the clocke, they came backe a-
gaine vnto Bullongne with all their spoiles and pri-
soners.

They toke in this incounter seuen peeces of ar-
tillerie, two of brasse and five of iron; also the peeces
of aduantage of the armour of monsieur de Biez,
beside apparell, plate, and furniture in great plentie,
as well taken in the field, as also in their campe,
where they left their tents standing, & all their proui-
sion of vittells wholie vnremoued. The same peeces of
armour were sent ouer into England to the king for
a witnesse of the god successe that had thus happened
to his people in this famous enterpryse, in the atchi-
uing wherof there were not past halfe a dozen Eng-
lishmen slaine, besides those that were hurt, which
neither were manie, as vnder halfe a scoze at the
most.

Whilste such things were in doing about Bul-
longne, and other places (as before ye haue heard in
this twentie and first yeare) the ships of the west
countrie and other coasts of this realme wafted a-
broad on the seas, and toke to the number of thre
hundred & od French ships, so that the Graie friers
church in London was laid full of wine, the Austine
friars and Blacke friers full of herring, and other fish
that was taken, as the same should haue bene con-
uied into France. About the same season the king
demanded a beneuolence of his subiects spirituall
and temporall, towards the maintenance of the
warres against the Frenchmen and Scots. ¶ On the
twelue of Januarie, the lord chancellour, the duke of
Suffolke, and other of the kings counsell, began to
sit at Barnards castell, where they first called before
them the maior and aldermen, &c. And because Ri-
chard Read alderman would not agree to paie as
they set him; he was commanded vpon paine to
seue the king in his warres of Scotland, who de-
parted from London the thre and twentieth of Ja-
nuarie.

Also sir William Koch alderman, for words of
displeasure taken by the kings counsell, was by
them sent to the fleet, where he remained till passion
sundae. ¶ On the fir and twentieth of Januarie, there
camped on the west side of Bullongne beyond the
haue, an armie of French, to the number of eigh-
tene thousand, where they laie ten daies, and the fir
of Februarie were put to flight by the earle of
Hertford, and sir John Dumble lord admerall, then
deputie of Bullongne. ¶ On the thirteenth of Fe-
bruarie, a priest was set on the pillorie in Cheape,
and burnt in both cheekes with the letters F. and A.
and a paper on his head, wherein was written, For
false accusing: which iudgement was giuen by the
lord chancellor in the Starre chamber, a notable ex-
ample of iustice. Great cause haue I to wish the
like to the like acuser, who neuer yet repented, but
contrariwise sweareth and forsweareth that he ne-
uer did anie such ad against his brother.]

In the beginning of March sir Rafe Cuers lord
warden of the marches after manie fortunate rodes
and forraies made into Scotland, assembled now a-
bout foure thousand men, & entering with the same
into Scotland, was incountered at Halidon rig by
the earle of Arraine and other Scottisshmen, which so
beset the Englishmen with thre battels on ech side,
that in the end they slue the said lord warden, with
the lord Ogle, and a great number of other gentle-
men and commons, beside prisoners, which they toke,
so that few escaped the Scottisshmens hands. Among
other prisoners taken, Richard Read an alderman
of London aforesaid was one. The death of sir Rafe
Cuers was greatlie bemoaned: for he had shewed
great proufe of his valiant prouesse at sundrie times
before; namelie in this yeare past, as at the taking

and burning of the towne of Redworth, which enter-
pryse was atchiued the tenth of June, beside diuerse
other exploits fortunatelic brought to passe by his
high ballancie and manhood, till his day was at this
present to finish his daies: whose life though then it
toke end, yet shall not his fame & god report (purcha-
sed by martiall courage, policie, and dangerous ad-
uentures) perishe or decaie; as the poet trulie saith:

*Parta labore volat vasilum bona fama per orbem,
Hec veluti flammis non moritur, manet.*

This yeare on saint Georges daie sir Thomas
Crichton lord chancellor of England was made
knight of the garter. Also Trinitie terme was ad-
iourned by reason of the warres, but the eychecker and
the court of the tenth were open, for those that were
accountable in either of the said courts. The thir-
teenth of June Robert Loken seruant to sir Hum-
frie Broome one of the iustices of the kings Bench,
Anne Askew gentlewoman, otherwise called Anne
Kine, wife to one Kine, a gentleman of Lincolne-
shire, and Jone Sauterelle, wife to John Sauterelle
of London, were arreigned in the Culliball of Lon-
don, for speaking against the sacrament of the altar
(as they termed it) contrarie to the statute of the
fir articles: but because no witnesse appeared against
the women, nor against Loken, one onelic crepted,
who was thought to accuse him rather of malice,
than otherwise, they were by twelue honest substan-
tiall men of the citie (sworne to passe vpon their in-
dictments) clarelie acquitted and discharged.

The same daie also was a peltreter named Tho-
mas Date discharged, by the pardon granted in the
last parlement, after he had remained in prison in
Petwgate the space of thre yeares now past, con-
demned long before the date of the same pardon, for
the article of auricular confession compelled within
the same statute. About the same time, to wit the se-
uenth of June a great armie of Frenchmen came
downe to Bullongne, and nere to the haue incam-
ped themselves. In this armie were reckoned to
be twelue thousand lanceknights, twelue thousand
French footmen, fir thousand Italians, foure thou-
sand of legionarie soldours of France, & a thousand
or twelue hundred men of armes, beside seuen or
eighi hundred light horsemen. After some skirmishes
not greatlie to their aduantage, they began yet to
build a fort, which at length they accomplished, as af-
ter shall appeare. ¶ About the five & twentieth of June,
was a great tempest in Derbshire, where thowgh
trees were ouerturned, & diuerse churches, chappels,
and houses were vncouered. Also in Lancashire,
there fell hailstones as big as mens fists, which had
diuerse prints in them, some like mens faces, some
like gun holes, &c.]

The same moneth also the lord Lisle admerall of
England with the English fleet entered the mouth of
Saine, and came before Petwauen, where a great
manie of the Frenchmen late, to the number of a
two hundred ships, and fir and twentie gallies, wher-
of the pope (as was repoized) had sent twentie well
furnished with men and morie, to the aid of the
French king. The Englishmen being not past an
hundred and threescore saile, and all great ships, de-
termined not to set vpon the Frenchmen where they
laie: but yet appochoing nere vnto them, shot off cer-
teine peeces of ordnance at them, and thereby cau-
sed the gallies to come abroad, which changed shot a-
gaine with the Englishmen. The gallies at the fir
had great aduantage, by reason of the great calme.
Twice either part assauled other with shot of their
great artillerie, but suddenly the wind rose so high,
that the gallies could not indure the rage of the seas,
and so the Englishmen for feare of flats were com-
pelled to enter the maine seas, and so sailed vnto
poxtsmouth

Anne Askew
and Crichton
required and
acquitted.

Thomas Date
Doric prou-
ter.

Marthin de
Bellac.

The new fort
before Bul-
longne.

Hailstones
figured like
mens heads.

The English
fleet commeth
before Petw-
auen.

Portsmouth where the king laie, for he had know- ledge by his espials that the Frenchmen intended to land in the Ile of Wight, wherefore he repaired to that coast, to see his realme defended.

After this, the eighteenth of Julie the admerall of France in hiscure Daneballe holled by sailes, and with his whole naue came forth into the seas, and arrived on the coast of Suffer befoze bright Ham- stead, and set certeine of his soldiors on land, to burne and spoile the countrie: but the beacons were fired, & the inhabitants thereabouts came downe so thicke, that the Frenchmen were dzien to fite with losse of diuerse of their numbers: so that they did little hurt there. Immediatlie hereupon they made to the point of the Ile of Wight, called saint Helens point, and there in good order upon their arrivall they cast am- chors, and sent daillie certene of their gallies to the verie haucn of Portsmouth. The English nanie lie- ing there in the same haucn, made them readie, and set out toward the enimies, and still the one shot hot- lie at the other: but the wind was so calme, that the kings ships could beare no saile, which greatlie grie- ved the minds of the Englishmen, and made the eni- mies more bold to approach with their gallies, and to assault the ships with their shot even within the ha- uen.

The twentieth of Julie, the whole naue of the Eng- lishmen made out, & purposed to set on the French- men, but in setting forthward, thorough too much fol- lie, one of the kings ships called the Marie Rose was drownd in the middell of the haucn, by reason that she was overladen with ordinance, and had the ports left open, which were verie low, and the great artillerie unbraced: so that when the ship should turne, the water entered, and suddenlie she suncke. In hir was sir George Carew knight and foure hundred soldiors vnder his guiding. There escaped not past fortie persons of all the whole number. On the morrow after about two thousand of the French- men landed in the Ile of Wight, where one of their chiefe captians named le cheualier Daur, a Breuen- cois was slaine with manie other, and the residue with losse and shame dzien backe againe to their gallies.

The king perceiving the great Armada of the Frenchmen to approach, caused the beacons to be fi- red, and by letters sent into Hamptonshire, Sum- mersetshire, Wiltschire, and into diuerse other coun- tries adjoining, gaue knowledge to such as were ap- pointed to be readie for that purpose, to come with all speed to encounter the enimies. Whereupon they repaired to his presence in great numbers well fur- nished with armor, weapon, vittels, and all other things necessarie, so that the Ile was garnished, and all the frontiers alongest the coasts fortified with ex- ceeding great multitudes of men. The French cap- tains hauing knowledge by certeine fishermen, whom they took, that the king was present, & so huge a power readie to resist them, they disanchored and drew along the coast of Suffer, and a small number of them landed againe in Suffer, of whome few re- turned to their ships: for diuerse gentlemen of the countrie, as sir Nicholas Pelham, and others, with such power as was raised, vpon the sudden, took them vp by the waie and quicklie distressed them.

When they had searched euerie where by the coast, and saw men still readie to receiue them with bat- tle, they turned sterne, and so got them home againe without ante act atchieved worthie to be mentioned. The number of the Frenchmen was great, so that diuerse of them that were taken prisoners in the Ile of Wight, and in Suffer, did report that they were three score thousand. The French king aduertised the emperor most vtruilie by letters, that his armie

had gotten the Ile of Wight with the ports of Ham- ton, and Portsmouth, and diuerse other places. In August following, the earle of Hertford entered a- gaine into Scotland with twelue thousand men, and destroyed all the towines in the middle marches, bur- ned Colvingham abbey, and passed to the west mar- ches, fore annoieng and indamaging the Scots, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen that were sent into Scotland this yeare to the aid of the Scots, vnder the leading of monsieur de Loges, Montgome- rie his father, durst once come forth into the field to encounter with him.

Also in the beginning of this moneth the citie of London set forth a thousand soldiors of archers, har- quebutters, pikes, and bills, which went to Douer, and so passed ouer into Calis, to serue the king in his wars on that side the seas. In the same moreth that valiant capteine sir Thomas Poinings knight, lord Poinings, and the kings lieutenant of his towne and marches of Wallogne departed this life, after he had to his great honor atchieved manie won- thie enterpises in seruice of his prince against the enimies, so that his death was much lamented. A gentleman vndoubtedlie deseruing to be had in per- petuall memorie: and pittie it is, that diuerse such va- liant feats as he in his life time atchieved, were not committed to writing, to remaine for examples sake to posteritie.

Also in the same moneth at Gullford died the noble and valiant duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon lord great maister of the kings household, a right hardie gentleman, and yet not so hardie, as almost of all es- tats and degrees of men, high & low, rich and poore, hartlie beloued, & his death of them greatlie lamen- ted: his bodie was honorable buried at Windsoze, at the kings costs. This man in his daies had done to the king and realme right agreeable seruices, as well in peace, as in wars, both in England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, he died the kings generall lieutenant of his armie then appointed to resist the Frenchmen, if they durst haue landed.

But now, whereas in this meane time we haue spoken nothing of the doings in Scotland, where the warre was still continued, the king of France sent thither certeine bands of Frenchmen, vnder the gouernement of monsieur de Loges, to aid the Scots against the Englishmen; and the king of En- gland waged manie strangers, and sent them with certeine Englishmen to the borders, for defense of the same against the inuasions of the enimies: for after the arrivall of the Frenchmen, a great armie of Scots was raised, and approached nere to the bor- ders, where for a certeine time they incamped, so that manie thought some notable enterpise would haue bene attempted. But after they had laine in campe a certeine time, they brake vp, and departed without attempting anie further exploit.

Shortlie after the earle of Hertford lieng on the borders, as lieutenant of the north parts of Eng- land, calling to him an armie of twelue thousand men, or thereabouts, what of Englishmen and stran- gers, entred Scotland with the same, and burnt a great part of the spers, and Leuldale, as Kellsie ab- bey and the towne; Melrosse abbey & Dalborne ab- bey, also Jedworth abbey, and diuerse other places, towines, and villages, to the number of five score. Kellsie abbey was defended a while by three hun- dred Scots, but in the end the most part of them were slaine, & taken by the strangers and others that gaue the assault. Thus the earle of Hertford fore in- damaged the Scots by this inuasion, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen their assistants, durst come forth into the field once to encounter with him.

On the sixteenth of September a number of Scots

The earle of Hertford fore- ward the middle marches of Scot- land.

The London- ners set forth a power into France.

The death of the valiant lord Poinings.

The death of the duke of Suffolke.

His last com- mendation.

Monsieur de Loges sent into Scot- land with cer- teine French bands.

The earle of Hertford in- uaded Scot- land.

The French- men landed in the Ile of Wight.

The Marie Rose was drownd.

Frenchmen landed in the Ile of Wight.

The number of the Frenchmen was great.

Overthrowes
on both sides,
betwixt the
English and
Scots.

Scots and Frenchmen attempted to enter into England on the east borders. But the Englishmen perceiving them about to passe by a certeine street, set upon them, and slew and take of them to the number of seven score. Among the prisoners that were taken, the lord of Humes sonne, and a French capitaine were accounted chiefe. Also in another rode made into the west borders, the lord Sparwells sonne, and diuerse others were taken. But at an other time about the same season also, certeine Englishmen to the number of five hundred, making their entrie by the west borders into Scotland, were discomfited by the Scots, and the more part of them either taken or slaine. Thus were they occupied as well on the borders betwixt England and Scotland, in this season, as also in the marches of Calis, Guisnes, and Bullognois, where the garrisons lieng in those places, made continuall rodes & forraies into the marches of the enemies countrie, and oftentimes chanced to encounter with some of their troops.

The capitaine of Ard, monsieur de Dampiere, hauing got for a supplie from the French campe at Bullogne, the companie of the men of armes that belonged to the duke of Orleans, led by his lieutenant monsieur de Cauarines, chanced on a daie to encounter with the Englishmen guided by that valiant baron the lord Greie of Wilton, capitaine of the towne of Guisnes, who being accompanied with a number of ballant gentlemen & soldiers, distressed their enemies, & slue the capitaine of Ard the foresaid lord de Dampiere there in field. Diuerse other skirmishes and encounters chanced in that summer, on the further side the seas. And moreover, now after that the French nauie was withdrawn (as ye haue heard) from the coasts about Portesmouth, that martiall chieftaine, sir John Dudley, lord Lisle, and high admerall of England, hauing all his ships, men, munition, & furniture readie, set forward from Portesmouth hauen, to haue fought with the Frenchmen, if they had still kept the seas, but they were withdrawn home into harborough.

Whereupon the lord admerall meaning to reuenge their brauados, and presumptuous attempts made at Portesmouth, and in the Ile of Wight, approached to the coasts of Normandie, and landed with six thousand men at Treport, burnt the suburbs of that towne, with the abbeye, and certeine villages and houses thereabouts. Also they destroyed thirtie ships, and a barke there found in the hauen: and after they had wrought their pleasures, they returned to the sea, and so home, not hauing lost past fourtene persons in the execution of this whole enterpryse. Of this great spoile & overthrowe giuen at Treport, by the kings admerall, I find these verses remembred:

Treporte oppi-
dum Gallie ma-
ritimum à
Iohanne Dud-
leio prefecto re-
gie classis di-
pugnè flam-
mis absumitur.

—Treportem possibis aquis
Ordine seruato (quimolest militis) intrant:
Aluius ut quisque est, in strido sternitur ense,
Alit alius volucri traiectus membra sagitta,
Occidit exangui, fœdatque cruore plateas.
Dum reclusa alius vultu prospicitare fenestra,
Nec conferre pedem, nec aperto prælia Marte
Commisere aude, gladius transigitur ictu.
Omne genus telorum ad eadem mittitur atram.

In this meane while monsieur de Biez, being incamped nere to Bullogne with such a puissant armie (as before you haue heard) busied about the building of a fort, there was not such diligence used therein, as was promised on his part in accomplishing the same, to the French kings great displeasure (as some write) who had meant with that armie (if this fort had bene finished at the appointed time) to haue gone to besiege the towne and castell of Guisnes: but now the time being prolonged, and not without some suspition least monsieur de Biez cared not how

long the warres indured in that sort, so as he might command ower so manie princes and great lords as were there vnder his gouernance, at length before the fort were fullie finished, he remoued to mount Lambert with the more part of the armie, pretending as though he meant to fight with the Englishmen, the which (as he said) he understood were purposed to come with a conuoie of vittels from Calis to Bullogne.

Whilest he there remained, manie princes and great lords came from the court, that laie at an abbey called forest Pontier, eleuen leagues from Bullogne beyond Puttrel, on the waie towards Abuille, in hope that battell should haue followed betwixt the English and French armies. Among other that came thither are these remembred as principall, monsieur Danguien, monsieur Daumalle, monsieur le duc de Peuers, monsieur le conte de Launall, and monsieur de la Trimouille. Monsieur Daumalle eldest sonne to the duke of Guise, being lodged in the vanguard that was gouerned by monsieur de Brisac, chanced on a daie to be present at a skirmish, where shewing himselfe verie forward, he was striken through the sight of his helmet, with a light horsemans staffe, that pearcing in betwixt his nose and his eie, entred halfe a foot into his head, as monsieur de Langeie witeth, and breaking off a two fingers beneath the iron, the same iron remained still within his head: but yet escaping out of the English mens hands, he came backe to the campe, had the truncheon and iron pulled out of his head, and being dressed was conueied in a litter to Piquignie, where he laie for two or thre daies in such danger, that no man looked that he should haue escaped with life.

There were manie of these skirmishes, wherein the Englishmen bare themselves so ballantlie, that the Frenchmen went auaie oftentimes with losse of manie of their noble men and best soldiers. At one time they lost the lord Penaintuille brother to the lord de Tillebonne, being slaine with stroke of lance and pike. At another time they lost likewise a yong lord of Picardie called le seigneur de Fretote. At length, after their new fort or bastillon was brought in some strength, they furnished it in most defensible wise with men, munition and vittels, naming it Monpleastre. Herewith monsieur de Biez departing from mount Lambert with part of the armie, came downe towards Calis, and entring into the English pale beside Cranelin, wan certeine bulwarks, and encountering diuerse new bands of excellent souldiers and others, latelic before sent ouer, distressed them, and after burnt certeine villages, forraied the countrie almost to Parke, and afterwards in great hast with their botie and pillage they turned. This enterpryse was exploited by the French men about St. Matheus daie in September.

There were with monsieur de Biez at this enterpryse the lord of Brisac, who gouerned the vanguard, and had with him his owne companie of men of armes, and the light horsemen of whome he had the generall conduct. There was also the companie of men at armes that belonged to the constable of France, led by the lord Guich, a fiftie men of armes vnder the gouernance of the lord of Helleie, the companie also of the lord of Boslie, the companie of the lord Eclars, and that of the lord de la Roch du Maine, & others. There was also monsieur de Laies generall of the French footmen, and manie yong princes and lords of high estate, as monsieur Francis de Bourbon, duc Danguien, Francis de Launall, duke Daumalle latelic recovered of his hurt, the duke of Peuers, and the earle de Launall that in this voiage was hurt with an harquebus shot in the arme.

Martin de
Bellais, seg-
neur Langeie
in his memo-
res.

Monsieur de
Biez forward
the English
pale about
Calis.

Martin de
Bellais.

Etc

Reg. 37.

The king's
speech
to the
parliament

The three and twentieth of November, a parlement began at Westminster, in the which was granted to the king a subsidie of the spiritualtie of six shillings the pound, to be paid in two yeares next ensuing: and of the temporallie two shillings and eight pence of the pound in goods, and foure shillings of the pound in lands, to be paid likewise within two yeares. Also in this parlement all colleges, chanteries, and hospitals were committed to the king, to order, by altering or transposing the same as to him should seeme expedient, which at the prorogation of the same parlement he promised should be done to the glorie of God, and the common profit of the realme. The foure and twentieth of December, the said parlement was proroged, on which daie the king coming into the house, to give his roiall assent vnto such acts as were passed, the speaker made vnto him an eloquent oration, to the which although the custome hath ever bene that the lord chancellor should make answer, it pleased the king at that present to make the answer himselfe, which he uttered as here ensueth.

The kings oration in the parliament house.

Although my chancellor, for the time being, hath before this time used verie eloquentlie and substantiallie, to make answer to such orations as hath bene set forth in this high court of parliament: yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plaine and ample manner, as I my selfe am and can doe. Wherefore I taking vpon me to answer your eloquent oration maister speaker, saie, that where you in the name of our welbeloued commons, haue both praised and extolled me, for the notable qualities that you haue conceiued to be in me: I most hartlie thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembrance of my dutie, which is to indeuour my selfe to obtaine and get such excellent qualities, and necessarie vertues, as a prince or gouernour should or ought to haue, of which gifts I recognise my selfe both bare and barren, but of such small qualities as God hath indowed me withall, I render to his godnesse my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me such notable vertues and princelie qualities, as you haue alledged to be incorporated in my person. These thanks for your louing admonition and good counsell first remembred, I esteeme thanke you. Again, because that you considering our great charge, not for our pleasure, but for your defense, not for our gaine, but for our great cost, which we haue lately sustained, aswell in defense of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortreffe, which was to this realme most displeasing and noisome, and shalbe (by Gods grace) hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant, haue frelie of your owne minds granted to vs a certeine subsidie, here in an act specified, which verelie we take in good part, regarding more your kindnesse, than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your louing harts than by your substance. Beside this hartie kindnesse, I cannot a little reioice, when I consider the perfect trust and confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope and vnfeined beleefe in my good doings and iust proceedings for you, with out my desire or request, haue committed to mine order and disposition all chanteries, colleges, hospitals, and other places specified in a certeine act, firmlie trusting that I will order them to the glorie of God, and the profit of the common-wealth. Surelie if I (contrarie to your expectation) should suffer the

ministers of the church to decaie, or learning (which is so great a felicitie) to be diminished, or worse and miserable to be increased, you might saie that I being put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trustie friend to you, nor charitable to mine euer christian, neither a lover to the publike wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not I praeise you, but your expectation shall be serued, more godlie and goodlie than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainlie perceiue.

Now sith I find such kindnesse on your part towards me, I cannot chuse but loue and fauour you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoureth his subjects than I doe you; nor no subjects or commons more loued and obeyed their soueraigne lord, than I perceiue you doe me, for whose defense my treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessitie require, my person shall not be vnadventured. Yet although I wish you, and you wish me, to be in this perfect loue and concord, this friendlie amitie cannot continue, except both you my lords temporall, and my lords spiritual, and you my louing subjects, studie and take paine to amend one thing, which surelie is amisse, and farre out of order, to the which I most hartlie require you: which is, that charitie and concord is not among you, but discord and dissention beareth rule in euerie place. Saint Paule saith to the Corinthians, and the thirtieth chapter: Charitie is gentle, charitie is not enuious, charitie is not proud, and so forth in the said chapter. Behold then what loue and charitie is among you, when the one calleth an other heretike and anabaptist, and he calleth him againe papist, hypocrite, and pharise: Be these tokens of charitie amongst you? Are these signes of fraternall loue betwene you? No, no, I assure you that this lacke of charitie amongst your selues will be the hinderance and allwaging of the feruer betwene vs, as I said before, except this two be salued, and cleerlie made whole. I must needs iudge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the spiritualtie: for if I know a man which lieth in adulterie, I must iudge him a lecherous and a carnall person: if I see a man boast and brag himselfe, I cannot but deeme him a proud man. I see here daile that you of the cleargie preach one against another, teach one contrarie to another, inueigh one against an other without charitie or discretion: some be too stiff in their old *sumptuous*, other be too bulle and curious in their new *sumptuous*: thus all men almost be in varietie and discord, and few or none preacheth trulie and sincerelie the word of God, according as they ought to doe. Shall I iudge you charitable persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so doe. Alas, how can the poore soules live in concord, when you preachers sow amongst them in your sermons debate and discord: If you they loke for light, and you bring them to darkenesse. Amend these crimes I exhort you, and set forth Gods word, both by true preaching and good example giuing: or else I, whom God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these diuisions extinct, and these enormities corrected according to my verie dutie, or else I am an vnprofitable seruant, and an untrue officer. Although I saie the spiritual men be in some fault, that charitie is not kept amongst you: yet you of the temporallie be not cleare and vnspotted of malice and enuie: for you rail on bishops, speake slanderouslie of prelates, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrarie to god order and christian fraternitie. If you know suerlie that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our counsell, or to vs, to whom it is committed by God the

Charitie and concord in common-wealths be things most necessarie: but in matters of religion, charitie and concord is not enough, without verie and true worship of God.

The kings
thanks to his
commons.The kings
thanks for
the subsidy
of the
spiritualtie
and
temporallie.

high authoritie to reforme and order such causes and behaviours, and be not iudges your selues, of your owne fantastick opintions and vaine expostions, for in such high causes you may lightlie erre. And although you be permitted to read holie scriptures, and to haue the word of God in your mother tong, you must vnderstand, that it is licenced you so to do, onelie to informe your owne consciences, and to instruct your children and familie, and not to dispute, and make scripture a railing and a taunting stocke against priests and preachers, as manie light persons do. I am verie soile to know and heare, how vnuercentlie that most pretious icwell the word of God is disputed, rhimed, song, and tangled in euerie alehouse and tauerne, contrarie to the true meaning and doctrine of the same: and yet I am euen as much soile, that the readers of the same follow it in doing so faintlie and coldlie. For of this I am sure, that charitie was neuer so faint amongst you, and ver-
tuous and godlie lining was neuer lesse vsed, nor God himselfe amongst christians was neuer lesse reuerenced, honored, or serued. Therefore (as I said before) be in charitie one with an other, like brother and brother: loue, obey, and serue God, to the which I as your supream head and soueraigne lord exhort and require you, and then I doubt not, but that loue and league that I spake of in the beginning, shall neuer be dissolued or broken betwene vs. And to the making of lawes which we haue now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making & furthering of the same: or else your labour shall be in vaine, & your common-wealth nothing releued. Now to your petition, concerning our roiall assent to be giuen to such acts as haue passed both houses, they shall be read openlie that ye may heare them.

Then were they openlie read, and to manie his grace assented, and diuerse he assented not vnto. Thus the kings oration was to his subiects there present such comfort, that the like soile could not be vnto them in this world. And thus the acts read (as the manner is) and his assent giuen, his grace rose and departed. Manie proper seats of armes were exploited and done in this meane while, betwixt the parties English and French about Bullongne. On the morrow after the feast of the Epiphanie, there came a conuoi of vittels towards the French fort, guarded with three or foure thousand lancequenets vnder their coronell the Keingraue and certeine French horsemen. The earle of Surreie then lieutenant of Bullongne aduertised thereof, made out with such power as he might conuenientlie spare of them within Bullongne and the Old man, to cut off those vittels: but coming to encounter with the enemies at saint Cliers, he was put to flight: sir Edward Poynings captaine of a band called the kings gard of Bullongne was slaine in that conflict with fiftene or sixtene other captains, beside officers and common soldiers. About the same time the Frenchmen made a volage vnto the Ile of Wasill, with a ship called the barke Ager, which they had taken from the Englishmen before: and in their waite they met with a little craier, of the which one Col-
ding was master, a proper man and an hardie. The barke perceiving the craier to be an Englishman, shot at him and wounded him. Whereupon straightwaies the craier drev to the great barke, and sir or seauen of the Englishmen leapt into him. In the meane time while the Frenchmen, without regard of perill towards themselves, looked over hatches to behold how the craier sunke there at hand before them, not mistrusting aie thing that the Englishmen might do against them, it fortuned that those Englishmen

which got by into the barke, found in the end thereof a great number of lime pots, which they with water quenched, or rather (as the nature thereof is) set them on fire, and threw them so thicke at the Frenchmen which were there aboard, that they blinded them, in such wise as those few Englishmen that entred the ship vanquished the Frenchmen, and dining them vnder hatches, shut the same, and brought the barke alwaie with them home into England. In the latter end of March the byothell houses called the Stues on the banke side in Southwiche were conuerted from such filthie vses by the kings commandment, the bawds and ruffians being put out, and other persons of honest behauior placed in their rooms to inhabit in the same houses. This was done by proclamation and sound of trumpet by an herald of armes.

On the seuen and twentieth of Aprill being tuesday in Easter weeke William Forleie pot-maker for the mint of the Tower of London fell asleepe, and so continued sleeping, and could not be awakened with picking, cramping, or otherwise burning whatsoever, till the first daie of the next terme, which was full fouretene daies, and as manie nights or more, for that Easter terme beginneth not before seauenteene daies after Easter. The cause of his thus sleeping could not be knowne, though it were diligentlie searched for by the kings physicians and other learned men, yea the king himselfe examining the said William Forleie, who was in all points found at his waking to be but as if he had slept but one night: he was liuing in the Tower of London in the yere of our Lord God 1579.]

This yere by meanes made by the emperor, commissioners were appointed to meet & treat of some accord betwene the realmes of England & France, so that the king of England sent over to Callices, Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, sir William Paget his secretarie, and doctor Regonell: and the French king sent to Ard a bishop, the chiefe president of Rouen, and a notarie, but no conclusion followed of their trauell. Whereupon the king of England hauing perfect knowledge how the Frenchmen intended to build a fortreffe at saint Johns rode betwene Bullongne and Calis, to the great annoyance of both those places, if they might haue compassed their purpose, he meant to prevent that deuise of his aduersaries, sending over the earle of Hertford and the lord Aisle high admerall of England, with manie ballant captains, which got the rode but two daies before the Frenchmen had appointed to be there. But when they vnderstood that the Englishmen had so prevented them, they staied about Harbottle, where monsieur de Biez their generall gave order to incampe, and durst not once come forward to assaie the English forces: so that without aie impeachment by land, the Englishmen built certeine fortresses, to wit, two at the same place of saint Johns rode, otherwise called Hamble Thew, and an other about a two miles from thence at a place called Blacke Pesse. There was in the earle of Hertfords campe beside Englishmen diuerse strangers, Almains, Spaniards and Italians. And because it is not much impertinent to the matter, we haue thought good here to set downe the whole number of all the kings forces at that present in his paie that were there vnder the said earle of Hertford: the kings generall lieutenant. First the earle had two hundred, the lord William Sturton three hundred, the lord John Greie brother to the marques Dorset two hundred, the lord Wraie one hundred, sir Thomas Seimer knight marshall of the host one hundred, sir Henrie Kineuet captaine of the horsemen one hundred, sir John Harrington treasurer of the armie one hundred, sir Thomas Wat master of the

The ships supplied.

Ab. Pl. et. Williams from leie slept more than foure-
teene daies, and as manie nights went out sleeping.

Anno Reg. 38.

Humble
The to fact
ed by the En-
glishmen.

1546

The Kein-
graue.The English
men put to
flight.The barke
Ager an En-
glish ship re-
couered.

ordinance one hundred, sir Mauris Barkleie three hundred, sir Thomas Holcroft two hundred, sir Walter Dennis two hundred, sir George Blewett two hundred, sir Richard Greenfield two hundred, sir George Cornewall two hundred, sir John Luttrell one hundred, sir Edmund Husse one hundred, George Thokmorton two hundred, capteine Brough-ton two hundred, capteine Palmer two hundred, capteine Chancie two hundred, capteine Windam two hundred, capteine Stukeleie one hundred, capteine Blewett one hundred, capteine Sidnam one hundred, capteine Biet one hundred, capteine Dier one hundred, capteine Cuans one hundred, Spaniards sixtine hundred, Italians two hundred, Clene-ners three hundred; lancequenets vnder the govern-ment of their coronell Conrade Hemming, common-ly called Courtpernie, three thousand. The summe of all the soldiors in Bullongne & Bullongnois were 93000. Here you must note, that whilst the Eng-lish armie laie thus in the field till the foits of Ham-ble Thew and Blache Pesse were in building, the French gallies were on the seas, and now and then came and approached nere to the shore, where the Eng-lish armie laie in campe, at the which they shot off their ordinance: and the Englishmen answered them againe with the like. They came also before Calis, and shot off at the towne. But the lord ad-merall being there, made out to encounter them, notwithstanding they did first much hurt, and toke awaie diuerse of the English vessels laden with vittells.

The eighteenth date of Maie there were foure of the kings ships, and foure pinafes abroad on the seas afore the haue of Hamble Thew, and there came eightene of the French gallies to set vpon them, and so there was great shooting betwene them: and at length one of their gallies was taken, in the which were aboard fourtene score soldiors and seauen score rowers: the rest of their gallies packed awaie. Moreover, whilst the campe laie thus at Hamble Thew, it chanced that on a daie a mutinie rose among the lancequenets against their capteine, so that they got themselves into order of battell, seized vpon the great artillerie, and shewed countenance as if they would haue set vpon the residue of the whole campe. Herevpon euerie soldior was com-manded to repaire to his ensigne, and the Spaniards came and joined with the Englishmen, ready to take such part as they did. At length by the diligence of the chiefeines, and good countenance of the Eng-lish soldiors and Spaniards the tumult was staied, and six of the principall beginners were hanged.

The one and twentieth of Maie the French armie came and incamped beyond Bullongne at the church on the hill: and the morrow after the earle of Hert-ford marched with his power to a place within two miles of them, and certeine footmen and horsemen went forth and skirmished with them; and in the meane time the artillerie ceased not to shot off, as well from the French campe and fortesse as from Bullongne and the Old man. This daie were slaine fouretene Frenchmen and two taken prisoners; and three of the English part were likewise taken, and so the earle of Hertford returned to his campe, and left the lancequenets vpon the hill, incamped before the enemies faces, not two miles distant from them, in which place a fort was begun to be raised, which was after called the fort of Bullongne Berg. The next daie, to wit, the three and twentieth of Maie the soldiors of Bullongne and the lancequenets skirmi-shed with the Frenchmen, slue and toke of them se-uen score and aboue, of the which there were fortie that were in cotes of velvet, and diuerse also with chaines,

Here you must vnderstand, that now in this meane while by the motion of diuerse princes, a mee-ting was had of sundrie commissioners, appointed to treat of some peace, to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France. Herevpon there came to Guisnes for the king of England the earle of Hertford, the bishop of Winchester, sir John Dodele viscount Aile baron of Haupas, and high admerall of England, sir William Paget the kings secretarie, and doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie. For the French king there came to Ard monsieur Claude Danebault admerall of France, being also one of the foure marshals of that realme, the bishop of Cureau, monsieur Reinund chiefe president of Rone, the secretarie Bouchetill. Diuerse times they met betwixt Ard and Guisnes, and after long debating of matters, and diuerse breakings off: yet at length the seauenth of Iune a peace was concluded, and proclaimed as well in the court as in the citie of London on Whitsondaie the thirtieth of Iune, with sound of trumpet, accord- ing to the manner: and in like sort the same daie it was proclaimed at Paris and at Rone. The chiefeft article of which peace was this, that the French king pateng to the king of England 800000 crownes within the terme of eight yeares, should haue Bul- longne againe to him restored, which in the meane time should remaine in the hands and possession of the king of England, as a pledge and gage for assu- rance of the said moneie.

On the seuen & twentieth of Iune doctor Crome recanted at Pauls crosse: which recantation was byged vpon this occasion. When the chanteries & col- leges were giuen by act of parlement into the kings hands (as is aboue remembred) which was about the moneth of December 1545, the next lent following doctor Crome preaching in the mercers chappell, a- mong other reasons and persuations, to rouse the peo- ple from the vaine opinion of purgatorie, inferred this, grounding vpon the said act of parlement: that if trentals and chanterie masses could auaille the soules in purgatorie, then did the parlement not well in giuing awaie monasteries, colleges, & chan- teries, which serued principallie to that purpose. But if the parlement did well (as no man could denie) in dissolving them & bestowing the same vpon the king, then is it a plaine case, that such chanteries and py- nat masses do nothing conferre to releue them in purgatorie. This Dilemma of doctor Crome, no doubt, was insoluble: but notwithstanding the charitable prelates (for all the kings late exhortation vnto chari- tie) were so charitable to him that they brought him *Coram nobis*, and so handled him that they made him recant his words. ¶ On the sixteenth of Iune were letters patents deliuered to sir Thomas Cheinie treasuro: of the kings household, and lord warden of the cinque ports, whereby he was authorisid to be the kings agent in christening the Dolphins daughter of France named Elizabeth. A true copie of which let- ters patents is here recorded, because the said action hath bene ignozantlie transferred from the said sir Thomas Cheinie to sir Henrie Baneuc: as appeareth in Holinsheds chronicle published 1577, pag. 1608.

A peace con- cluded and proclaimed.

I. Stow, pag. 1033.

John Fox in Act. & Monu- ments.

D. Crome re- canteth at Pauls crosse.

Abt. Fle. ex- manuscript ab Henr. Tenants tractio.

A true copie of the kings letters patents to sir Thomas Cheinie.



Henricus octauus Dei gratia Anglie, Francie, & Hibernie rex, fidei defen- sor, & in terra ecclesie Anglicane & Hibernie supremum caput. Prædile- cto & fidei consiliario nostro Thoma Cheinie sa- cri ordinis nostri garterij militi, domino gardiano quingue

quinque portuum, & hospitij nostri thesaurario salutem. Cum illustrissima princeps ac consanguinea nostra charissima domina Katharina illustrissimi principis consanguinei & filij nostri charissimi Henrici Francie Delphini christianissimi principis Francisci Francorum regis fratris, amici & confederati nostri perpetui, filij primogeniti coniunx preclarissima, nuper (diuina cooperante clementia) prolem feminam enixa sit: nos summo-
 10 perè cupientes pacis, amicitie, & unionis vinculum inter prefatum christianissimum Francorum regem & nos iam nuper redintegratum, fir-
 20 mioribus quibus possumus nexibus astrungi, ad maiorem ipsius corroborationem & firmitatem, ac ut dicto illustrissimo filio nostro in hac parte gratificemur, etiam compaternitatis sedus duximus adijciendum. Quocirca ad lenandum de sacro fonte
 30 vice & nomine nostro dictam prolem ex prefata illustrissima domina Katharina dicti illustrissimi principis coniuge, & consanguinea nostra charissimanatam, illique nomen Elisabethe imponendum, & ipsam nomine Elisabethe in illius baptismo nominandā, ceteraq; omnia & singula in pre-
 40 missis, & circa ea necessaria seu quouis modo oportuna nomine nostro faciendum & exercendum, etiam si maiora existant superius expressis, & mandatum de se exigant magis speciale quam superius est insertum: te commissarium ac ambasiatorem
 50 & procuratorem nostrum speciale ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus per presentes: promittentes nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituros quicquid per te gestum & procuratum siue actum fuerit in premissis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Greenwich sextodecimo die Iunij anno regni nostri tricesimo octauo. Henrie Rex.

The king having passed over the foresaid letters patents to sir Thomas, and he in forwardnesse to execute his charge, to the intent that his retinue and attendants should no waies offensiuely behaue themselves against the French, with whom the king was verie carefull to continue and mainteine the peace interchangeable agreed vpon and concluded, his maiestie to preuent and cut off all occasions that might any waie impeach, interrupt, or violate this peace, commanded the lords of his counsell to direct letters withall credition to the said sir Thomas, then vpon his voyage into France, containing a prescript forme of demeanour, which the gentlemen & yeomen attendant vpon him in France should vse, during the time of their abode in those forren parts: a copie of which letter, being a testimoniall of the king of Englands inclinable mind to peace hereafter folloeweth out of the verie originall, as the same was subscribed by the lords.

A copie of the said letters sent in post
 to sir Thomas Cheinie being vpon his
 voyage into France.

After our right hartie commendations to your good lordship. The kings maiestie hath willed vs to signifie vnto you, that his highnesse expresse pleasure and commandement is, ye should in his maiesties name declare to such gentlemen as accompanie you into France, that they haue in remembrance to to vse & behaue themselves among the Frenchmen as well on the waie as at the court, in such sort as they by communication vpon feats of the warre passed giue no occasion of

priuati displeasure. Wherein therefore it shall be expedient, that either they saie nothing, vnlesse they be prouoked; or in that case call the things happened fortune de la guerre, without comparison of things chanced on our part or on theirs, but turne the communication to reioise in peace. In the conditions whereof they shall pretend ignorance, without speaking of the keeping still of Bullogne, or deliuerance of it againe, but as shall please the princes for the continuance of peace, wherein by Gods grace the crueltie of warre shall be conuerted into extremitie of friendship, to the weale and commoditie of both realmes.

And forsomuch as there want not in the world naughtie men of the state of monks and friers, who for malice of the alteration of their estate here, would gladlie defame our religion towards God, as though we had with them cast out all his highnesse expresse pleasure and commandement is, that considering at this first entrie of you, the behauiour of your companie shall be much marked and noted in matters of religion and circumstances: of the same they should therefore haue so much the more regard both to their communications and also behauiors, and not onlie in speech to forbear to dispute or intermeddle with the state of their policy there, but also in their diet on the fifth daie and deuout hearing of masse, follow the order of the kings maiesties relin, so as their conuersation & behavior maie be cōfution to such as would defame this realme in the contrarie. Thus fare your good lordship right hartlie well. From Greenwich the nineteenth of Iune 1546. Your lordships assured louing friends, Thomas Wriothesleye can. W. Saint-Iohn. I. Russell. Cuthb. Duresme. Steph. Winton. Anthonie Bienne. William Petres. This letter was thus indorsed. To our assured louing friend sir Thomas Cheinie knight of the order, treasuror of the kings maiesties household, and lord warden of the cinque ports, presentlie in speciall commission from the kings maiestie into France. Haft, post haft for thy life, to Douer, Calis, or where he shall chance to be: haft, haft.

Thus farre of sir Thomas Cheinie, imploied about the kings affaires in France; namelye the chiftening of the Dolphins daughter: wherein we haue bene the more copious in words, because it hath ben published, that sir Henrie Kneuet was therunto personallie deputed: which to be untrue, both the letters patents and the letter missiue do sufficientlie proue: both which we receiued at the hands of an
 50 ancient seruitor, attendant vpon the same sir Thomas at his being in France to execute his charge in the kings behalfe. Of which two, the knight when we come to the yeare and daie of his death, we will deliuer further report to his high commendation, but yet none otherwise than as by warranted intelligence we shall be directed.]

The same time was a combat fought before the French king betwixt two Spaniards, Julian Romero, and one Pozow. They both serued the king of England in the last wars against France: but Pozow had revolted from his seruice to the French kings, and for certaine speeches which he had vttered, was chalenged to fight the said combat by the said Julian, for whom sir Henrie Kneuet undertooke that he should stand to his challenge, and trie it with his aduersarie, which he now did, and vanquished him in lists, the fight being appointed on horsebacke. Incontinentlie after, sir Henrie Kneuet sickned and died at Corbell, and was buried in Paris within the church of S. Paule. Pozow, for the full establishment of the peace, and to receiue the French kings oth, the vicount Aulse lord admerall, with the bishop of Duresme, and diuerse other lords, and gentlemen,

Henrie To-
 nam.

A combat be-
 tweene Ju-
 lian Rom-
 ero, and Poz-
 ow.

The death
 of sir Henrie
 Kneuet.

14. Reg. 38.

element, to the number of one hundred and above, all in velvet coates and chaines of gold, with five and forty peomen right semelie appointed, went into France, departing from Bullogne the tenth of April, and came to Melune a towne beyond Paris, where the French king then laie, by whome and the Dolphin his sonne they were roiallie receiued, feasted, and banketted: and hauing done that for the which he was sent, the said lord admerall Dupleie the first of August took his leaue of the French king, who rewarded him with a cupbord of plate all gold, valued at 1500 pounds. The lords also and gentlemen had chaines of gold giuen to them, and the peomen had two hundred crownes bestowed amongst them, and so the lord admerall returned into England. This lord admerall, during the time that he had to deale with the French, so valiantlie demeaned himselfe, and was such a terror and astonishment to the enimie, as it is left written of him, that they durst not quench in his presence, but were like a lion ranging ouer the pastures with his younglings, and making the berie heauens to ring with his roaring, after the hath killed his selfe with bolles fleshy, and laid his selfe downe to rest being wearie with eating; the comparison verie aptlie followeth:

*Praque iracundo cedunt armenta leoni,
Pascha cum pleno bacchante furore peragrat
Solus cum catulis, caelum, & ruzitibus implens
Conspicitur, postquam taurorum carnibus atra
sit saturata fames, laqueisque recumbit edendo:
Tantus terror erat Gallis Dupleius Heros.*

In the same moneth of August monsieur Dancourt, high admerall of France, accompanied with the bishop of Carreux, the earle of Hautenill knight of the order, the earle of Williers, the chiefe president of Roan, secretaire Bonchetell, monsieur de Canaples knight of the order, monsieur de Sales knight of the order, monsieur de Delle, the baron de la Gard, with diuerse other lords and capteines of honor, beside two hundred gentlemen well appointed, leised from Depe with twelue gallies and a right faire ship called the Sacre of Depe, and so making saile he staied not anie where to take land, till he came into the Thames, where at Blackewall he was receiued into the kings barge by the earles of Darbie and Essex, who brought him to Grenewich, where he landed, and lodged there that night.

The next daie he came by with all his gallies, and landed at the Tower wharfe. Upon all the banks by the water side were laid peeces of artillerie, which shot off frellie, and so likewise did all the artillerie in the ships, but speciallie from the Tower was shot a marvellous great peale of ordinance. From thence being landed, they rode thorough London in great triumph (the maior and the crafts standing in the streets in verie good order) unto the bishops palace by Pauls, where the French admerall lodged till Bartholomeu euen, on which daie he was conueied toward Hampton court, where in the wate the prince hauing with him the archbishop of Yorke, the earles of Hertford and Huntington, and about two thousand horse, met him and imbraced him in such courteous and honorable wise, that all the beholders greatlie reioiced, and much marvelled at the said princes high wit and great audacitie, and so the French admerall came to the court, giuing the prince the upper hand as they rode. And at the better gate of the court, the lord chancellor, and all the kings counsell receiued him, and brought him to his lodging.

On Bartholomeu daie the king admitting him to his presence, welcomed him, and in great triumph

went to the chappell, where the king receiued his oath to performe the articles of the league, as it was covenanted. To speake of the banquettings, huntings, and such like honorable sorts of interteinements, it were much to bitter, and hard to beleue. But on Friday following, being the seven and twentieth of August, he being rewarded with a cupbord of plate, to the value of twelue hundred pounds, returned to London, and on the sundaie next ensuing took his gallies and departed. Beside the kings gifts, he had giuen to him by the cite of London two flaggons gullit, and two other that were parcell gullit, valued at one hundred thirtie six pounds, beside wine, war, and torches. There were diuerse of his companie also that went not awaie unrewarded, hauing both plate, and also manie horses, and greihounds giuen them.

Although this peace pleased both the English and French nations, yet suerlie both mistrusted the continuance thereof. And verelie the old prouerbe seemed to be thoroughlie verified, which saith, that what the sie seeth, the hart rueeth: for the Frenchmen still longed for Bullogne, and the Englishmen meant not willinglis to giue it ouer. For during the French admerals being in England, monsieur de Chatillon capteine of Montplaisier began to make a new bastilion euen at the berie mouth of the hauen, naming it Chatillons garden. Whereupon that noble gentleman the lord Greie of Wilton, shortly after appointed to be deputie of the towne and countie of Bullogne, percelting the great inconuenience that this new building would bring to the towne if it went forwards, did aduertise the king thereof, earnestlie beseeching his grace, that the matter might be thoroughlie considered of. Sir Thomas Palmer was the messenger.

The king vpon the intelligence, asked his counsels aduise, which onelie went wholie, that the conditions of the peace were not in anie wise to be infringed. This resolved, secretaire Paget then knight, and afterwards lord, was commanded accordingly to draw a letter to the lord Greie, the which the king himselfe did signe, willing that the messenger should further know of his pleasure before he departed. Whereupon sir Thomas Palmer, hauing his dispatch at the secretaries hands, did get word to be giuen to the king, who presentlie sent for him into his priue chamber, and betwixt them two, vied these wordes: Palmer, you haue there a letter from vs to the lord Greie, that he doe in no wise deale in the matter that he hath by you aduertised vs of. Notwithstanding, I will that you deliuer him this message from vs.

Wid him call to mind how that his brother and himselfe not a short time, but even from tender yeares, no: farre off, but still nere to our person, we haue brought him by, which (tell him) not vnusullie, if that be in him that we conceiue doth breed in vs an od trust of seruencie to serue vs of him, more than a common seruant or subiect. By that token will him whatsoeuer I haue written to the contrarie, that he presentlie impeach the fortification of Chatillons garden, and rase it if it be possible: and this my message shall be his clearing therein, & the seruice gratefullie accepted. Sir Thomas Palmer some what astonished heretofore, considering the weightinesse of the cause, and the contrarietie of the letter and message, began to put the king in mind of the small credit that his bare errand of right was like to haue, so that against that which his maiesties letters imposed. But the king cutting off his tale: Deliuere thou the message (quoth he) at his choice then be the executing thereof.

Sir Thomas thus dispatched, with great speed returned

The admerall of France receiued an oath.

His gifts that he had of the king & others.

The lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Thomas Palmer.

The king sent a message to the lord Greie by Sir Thomas Palmer.

ruined at Bullogne immediatlie vpon the opening of the gates at after none. His letters and message deliuered, the lord Greie straight assembled the counsell, shewed them the kings letters, which read, he caused sir Thomas to pronounce before them the message also. Euerie man was to saie his aduise: it went roundlie through the board without anie question, that the letter was to be followed, the message not to be staied on. The lord Greie hauing heard, and not replieng anie thing, willed sir Thomas to be called in againe, had him repeat his message, and therwhilest made a clearkie of the counsell to write the same *verbatim*. This done, he praised the whole table to set their hands vnto it, which they did, and the lord Greie taking the same into his hands, without further opening, declaring his resolution, brake vp counsell, commanded straight the gates to be shut, gaue priue warning, that certeine bands with armour and weapon, and likewise pioners should that night by an houre be in a readines.

The houre came, himselfe with the warned company issued out, passed ouer the water, and without anie alarm of the enimie, did ouerthrow in thre or foure houres, what in two or thre moneths had bin raised, and so in great quietnesse returned into the towne. Presentlie he dispatched sir Thomas Palmer backe againe to the king with the newes, whose returne was so sudden, as the king himselfe being in the chamber of presence, & seeing him, said aloud: What? Will he do it or no? Sir Thomas giuing no other answer, but presenting his letters, and saieing, that thereby his maiestie should know. The king againe in earnest mood, saie tell vs I saie, whether he will do it or not: Then sir Thomas told him that it was done, and the whole fortification cleane rased. Whereat the king taking great ioy, presentlie called to certeine of the lords of the counsell that were by, and said: How saie you my lords, Chatillions garden the new fort is laid as flat as this floze. One straight amongst them gaue iudgement, that he that had done it, was worthe to lose his head. The king straight replied, he had rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so iudged, than one such seruants as had done it: and herewith he commanded, that the lord Greies pardon should presentlie be made, the which with a letter of great thanks, and promise of reward, was returned by the said sir Thomas Palmer to the said lord Greie; but the reward failed, the king not continuing long after in life: the like hap whereof had oftentimes happened vnto diuers of his worthe ancestors vpon their due deserts to haue bene considered of, and therefore the case the lesse strange.

This haue I set downe the more willingly, for that I haue receiued it from them, which haue heard it reported, not onlie by the lord Greies owne mouth, but also by the relation of sir Thomas Palmer, and others that were present: the same not tending so much to the lord Greies owne praise, as to the be-tokening of the kings noble courage; and the great secret trust which he worthilie reposed in the said lord Greie. Here is to be noted also, lest any man should mistake the matter, as if the king dealt indreadlie herein, that his maiestie knowing how the Frenchmen in going about to build this fort, did more than they might by the covenants of the peace; and therefore was resolu'd at the first aduertisement thereof, to haue it rased. But yet for that it might happlie haue bene signified ouer vnto the Frenchmen, before my lord Greie could haue accomplished the feat, he therefore wiselie wrote one thing in his letters, whereunto manie might be priue, and sent secret knowledge by words contrarie to the contents of the same letters, so as if the messenger were tru-

lie, his pleasure might not be discerned to the hindrance or disappointing of the same. But now to our purpose.

The French king after this, bicause as yet he would not seeme to breake the peace, commanded the trenches and new fortifications made about this fortreffe, called Chatillions garden thus cast downe, to be filled by his owne people, and so it rested during the life of king Henrie: but afterwards it was begun againe, and finished, as after ye shall heare. About Michaelmas in this present yeare, Thomas duke of Norfolk, and Henrie earle of Surrie that was his sonne and heire, vpon certeine surmises of treason, were committed to the tower of London, and immediatlie after Christmas, the thirtieth of Januarie, the king then lieng in the extremitie of death, the said earle was arraigned in the Chulldhall of London, before the lord maior, the lord chancellor, and diuerse other lords and iudges being there in commission. Where if he had tempered his answers with such modestie as he shewed token of a right perfect and readie wit, his praise had bene the greater. Some things he flatlie denied, seeking to weaken the credit of his accusers by certeine circumstances: other he excused with interpretations of his meaning, to proue the same to be far other wise than was alleged against him.

And one speciall matter amongst other where-with he was charged, was, for bearing certeine arms that were said to belong to the king, and to the prince. The bearing whereof he iustified and maintained, that (as he toke it) he might beare them as belonging to diuerse of his ancestors, and withall affirmed, that he had the opinion of heralds therein. But yet to his indictment he pleaded not guiltie: and for that he was no lord of the parlement, he was enforced to stand to the trial of a common inquest of his countrie, which found him guiltie, and there vpon he had iudgement of death: and shortly after, to wit, the 19 of Januarie, he was beheaded on the tower hill. ¶ In this moneth of Januarie, the church of the late graie friers in London was opened, and masse song there: and that daie preached at Pauls crosse the bishop of Rochester, who declared the kings gift to the citie of London, for the relieuing of the poore people, which was by patent vnder his great seale. Saint Bartholome was spittle, the church of the graie friers, and two parish churches, the one of saint Nicholas in the shambles, the other saint Ewine in Fleetgate market, all to be made one parish church of the graie friers church; and in lands he gaue for the maintenance of the same 500 markes by yeare for euer, & this church to be named Christs church, founded by king Henrie the eight.

The duke was attainted by parlement, and the atteindor after reuered in the first yeare of queene Marie. The euill hap as well of the father, as of the sonne, was greatlie lamented of manie, not onlie for the god seruice which the duke had done in his daies in defense of this realme, but also for that the earle was a gentleman well learned, and knowne to haue an excellent wit, if he had bene thankfull to God for the same, and other such god gifts as he had indued him withall. The king now lieng at the point of death, made his last will and testament, wherein he not onlie yielded himselfe to almightie God; but also toke order, that during the minority of his sonne prince Edward, his executors should be counsellors and aiders to him in all things, as well concerning priuate as publicke affaires. They were firste in number, whose names were as hereafter followeth.

Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Cantuarbie, Thomas Wriotheslie lord chancellor, sir William Paulet

Chatillions garden ouerthrown and rased downe.

The lord Greies seruice bene honorable accepted of the king.

The duke of Norfolk was committed to the tower.

The earle of Surrie beheaded.

15 pag 134. King Henrie his gift to the citie of London.

The duke attainted.

The king executed his last will.

Discontinued

Paul knight of the order, lord Saint-John, & great
master of the household: sir Edward Seimer knight
of the order, earle of Hertford, and high chamber-
leine of England: sir John Russell knight of the or-
der, lord priue seale: sir John Doble knight of the
order, vicount Lisle, & baron of Paupas, high admi-
rall of England: Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Dur-
ham: sir Anthony Browne knight of the order, and
master of the hofle: sir Edmund Pontacute knight
chiefe iustice of the comon ples: sir Thomas Brome-
le knight, one of the iustices of the kings bench: sir
Edward North knight, chancelor of the augmenta-
tion: sir William Paget knight of the order: sir
Anthony Dennie knight: sir William Herbert
knight: sir Edward Cotton knight, treasurer of
Calis: Nicholas Cotton deane of Canturburie
and Poike.

So soon as the noble king had finished his last
will and testament, as aforesaid, he thortie there-
upon yielded up his spirit to almightie God, depar-
ting this world the eight and twentieth daie of Janu-
arie, in the eight and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, and
in the yeare of our Lord 1546, after the accompt of
the church of England; but after the accompt which
we follow in this booke 1547, beginning our yeare
the first of Januarie. He reigned thirtie and seuen
yeares, nine moneths and od daies. His bodie (ac-
cording to his will in that behalfe) was conueied to
Windso: with all funerall pompe, and in the college
there interred. Of this trefnoble and trespitulant
monarch, I find these few verses, which maie serue
in good stead of an epitaph or funerall inscription:

*Henricus princeps prope lustra peregerat octo,
Et populum magna prudens cum laude regebat,
Ex quo magna solistrabat sceptrum Britanni;
Cum Deus omnipotens morbo obrepente moneret
Hinc emigrandum de vita. Proh dolor ingens!
Quat pia plebs lachrymis quam tristibus ora rigans?
Quam grauius regi proceres planctus cubant em?
Anglia tota iacet mœrens, lugubris & anens,
Nil opis apportant medici, nil profuit herbas;
Quæ solent humanis membris adferre salutem;
Pharmaca nil profunt, præbetur potio frustra;
Heu nulla tristis mors est medicabilis arte.*

This noble prince was right fortunate in all his
doings, so that commonlie whatsoeuer he attem-
ted, had good successe, as well in matters of peace as
of waies. Of personage he was tall and mightie, in
his latter daies somewhat grosse, or as we terme it,
bonlie: in wit and memorie verie perfect: of such
maiestie tempered with humanitie, as he became
so noble and high an estate: a great fauourer of lear-
ning, as he that was not ignorant of good letters
himselfe: he was of great magnificence and libera-
litie, inso much that Iohn Leland that worthy anti-
quarie, hauing tasted of his royal bountyfulness, so
hath left no lesse testified to the world in a proper e-
pigram, which I will not omit, least I should wil-
fullye force a manifest protestation of his thank-
fulness left witness to the world in writing:

*Ante suos Phœbus radios ostendit mundo:
Desinet, & clara Cynthia pulchra faces:
Ante suæ rapidæ tacitæque pœsibus æquæ
Spinifer & nullam sentis habebit æuem:
Ante facie quercus cessabant spargere ramos,
Flondæ sollicita pingere prata manu:
Quam rex ducit tum labatur pectore nostro
Nomen, quod studij portus & aura meos.*

And the same Iohn Leland, who deseruedlie had
tasted the fruits of the kings largesse, was not unac-
quainted with the fame of his renoume, which had
made it selfe knowne by restles flight to nations far
and neare, some to their smart hauing felt the valor
of his forces, and others submitting themselves for

fear of utter desolation. Whereupon he became a
terro: to his enemies, and yet none more desirous of
peace than he, if by anie other meanes (besides vio-
lence) the same might haue bene obtained. Suffici-
ent cannot be said in his high & merited commendation,
considering that as his victozies were singular,
so were they also manifold; and hard it is for the pen
of a cunning rhetorician to paint him out according
to his dignitie: howbeit the said Iohn Leland hath
left in writing a proper epigram, deuised in praise of
this most excellent king, by way of comparison, to
his immortall commendation, as here followeth:

*Quantum punicis nouo rosetis
Cedunt vere suis rubeta spinis:
Quantum lilio amantioris horti
Gemma omnes alia nitore cedunt:
Quantum cetera punicis decoro
Malis poma quidem rubore cedunt:
Quantum conferis breues myrica
Concedunt quog gloria cupressis:
Quantum stellæ ero repressa tellus
Calo mole sua & nigrore cedit:
Tantum omnes alij, celebritate,
Fama, nomine gloria, vera
(Et mittam ingenij valentioris
Lumen, flumina, fulmen atq; vires
Rari iudicij tui perennes)
Concedunt tibi principes serenis
Henrice, o patria tua columna
Talis, qualis erat celebris illa
Olim quam extulit Henricus triumphans.*

Comparatio huius
gloriam Henrici
octani regis
potentissimi.

Of learned men that liued in the daies of this most
famous prince, we find manie, as first John Colet
deane of Paules, and founder of the schole there, he
was borne in London of honest parents; William
Lillie borne in the towne of Wolsam in Hampshire,
and was the first scholemaster of Paules schole af-
ter it was erected: Thomas Linacer, or rather Linaker,
borne in Warbie, a learned physician, and well
scene in the tonges; John Skelton a pleasant poet,
Richard Pace that succeeded John Colet in the
rome of deane of Paules, John Fisher bishop of
Rochester of whome ye haue heard before, Thomas
More borne in London of whome mention likewise
is made in the life of this famous king; William
Horman borne in Salisburie viceprouost of Eaton
college, a learned man, as by his works it appeareth;
John Frith borne in London, William Tindall, of
whom two persons ye haue heard likewise in the li-
fetime of this king; Robert Wakefield excellentlie
scene in tonges, John Kallall a citizen and stationer
of London, Christopher Saint German an excel-
lent lawier, Robert Barnes of whom also we haue
made mention before.

Sir Thomas Elliot knight, Edward Le archbi-
shop of Poike, John Leland a diligent searcher of
antiquities, Anne Askew wrote certaine treatises
concerning hir examinations; sir John Bourchier
knight lord Berners translated the chronicles of sir
John Froissard out of French into English, Will-
iam Gubs, Henrie Stordish a frier minor and bi-
shop of saint Asaph wrote against Erasmus for his
translation of the new testament, to his small praise
as he handled the matter; Thomas surnamed Philo-
melus a Londoner an excellent poet, William
Crocine verie expert in both tonges Græke and La-
tine, Thomas Spenser a Carmelite frier borne in
Poitrich, Henrie Bullocke, William Latimer,
poung a monke of Ramseye, Arnold of London
wrote certaine collections touching historieall mat-
ters, Thomas Lupset a Londoner a learned poung
man departed this life in the six and thirtieth yeare of
his age about the yeare of our Lord 1532, he wrote
 sundrie vertuous treatises; William Pelton chan-
celor

cello: of Poike, John Solwe a Carmelite fiter of London and a docto: of divinitie, John Bateman son of a Charterhouse monke & prior of his house at London, Richard Whitford.

Thomas Atourborne in Dorseth and fellow with Bilneie in suffering persecution under cardinal Wolseie, Henrie Badthaw borne in Chester where he was professed a blacke monke wrote the life of saint Werbourgh and a certeine chronicle, John Palsgraue a citizen of London wrote instructions for the perfect understanding of the French tong, John Skush a Cornishman wrote certeine abbreuiations of chronicles with a treatise of the warres of Troie, Anthonie Fitzherbert a iudge wrote an abridgement of the lawe, John Litleton wrote also of the principles of the law but he liued before this season, Wilfride Holme wrote a treatise of the rebellion in Lincolnshire and in the North after the maner of a dialog, John Constable an excellent poet and rhetorician, John Willier, Edward For student in the kings college in Cambridge was aduanced to the bishops see of Hereford and was imployed in diuerse ambassages from king Henrie the seuenth both into Germanie and Italie.

John Lambert *alias* Nichols borne in Dorseth, of whome ye haue heard in the historie of this king, how he suffered for the controuersie of the sacrament; George Fulberie, John Hooker, Thomas Langnet wrote an epitome of chronicles and also of the winning of Bullongne, John Shepre, Leonard Coy wrote diuerse treatises, one in English rhetoricke whereof Bale maketh no mention; Thomas Soalmon borne in the Isle of Cernieie verie audacious in histories as by his writings and notes it appeareth, John Longland bishop of Lincoln, Maurice Chancie a Charterhouse monke, Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, Richard Samson, Alban Will a Welchman an excellent physician, Richard Croke verie expert in the Greeke tong, Robert Whittington borne in Staffordshire nere to Lichfield wrote diuerse treatises for the instruction of Grammaticians, John Albrige bishop of Carleill, John Russell gathered a treatise intituled *Super iure Cesaris & Pape*, he wrote also commentaries in *Canticis*; William Kote, Simon Fish a Kentishman borne wrote a booke called the supplication of beggers.

John Powell and Edward Powell Welchmen wrote against Luther, Edward died in Smithfield for treason in denieng the kings supremacie in the yeare 1540; John Houghton gouernour of the Charterhouse monks in London died likewise for treason in the yeare a thousand five hundred thirtie and five; John Riches being an aged man, forsaking the order of a frier Minor, which he had first professed, embraced the gospel; George Bulken lord Rochford, brother to quene Anne, wrote diuerse songs and sonnets; Francis Wigod knight borne in Dorseth wrote a booke against the cleargie intituled *De impropriationibus*, and translated certeine booke from Latine into English, he died for rebellion in the

yeare a thousand five hundred thirtie and seauen; Richard Wisse, Henrie Sporeie lord Sporeie, wrote diuerse treatises, as comedies and tragedies, the life of Iudas; and certeine rithmes; William Bote, uille *alias* Thin restored Chaucers workes by his learned and painfull corrections.

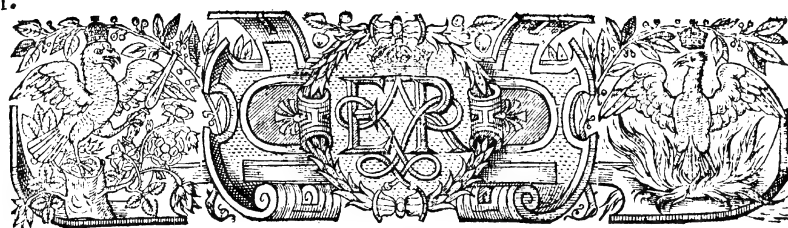
John Smith sometime scholemaster of Heiton, Richard Turpine borne of a two:shipfull familie in England & serving in the garrison of Calis wrote a chronicle of his time, he died in the yeare a thousand five hundred fortie and one, and was buried in saint Nicholas church in Calis; Sir Thomas What knight, in whose praise much might be said, as well for his learning as other excellent qualitties met for a man of his calling, he greattlie furthered to enrich the English tong, he wrote diuerse matters in English meter, and translated the seauen penitentiall psalmes, and (as some write) the whole psalter, he died of the pestilence in the west countrie, being on his iourneie into Spaine, whether he was sent ambassador from the king vnto the emperor, in the yeare a thousand five hundred fortie and one; Henrie Howard earle of Surrie, sonne to the duke of Norfolk, delighted in the like studies with sir Thomas What, wrote diuerse treatises also in English meter, he suffered at Coler hill, as in the historie of this king before ye haue heard.

John Field a citizen and lawyer of London wrote sundrie treatises, as his owne answers vnto certeine articles ministred to him by sir Thomas Spore, the bishop of Rochester, Rastall, and others; when he was in prison for religion, he wrote also a treatise of mans freewill, *De seruo hominis arbitrio*, and collections of the common lawes of the land, &c: Cristram Keuell, Henrie Winkblo a merchant of London wrote a little booke, which he published vnder the name of Robertke Spore, and also a complaint vpon London, &c: Robert Shingleton borne of a good familie in Lancashire wrote a treatise of the seauen churches, and other things, as of certeine prophesies, for the which (as some write) he suffered at London, being convicted of treason in the yeare 1544; William Parreie a Welchman wrote a booke intituled *Speculum inuenum*.

Of strangers that liued here in this kings daies, and for their workes which they wrote were had in estimation, these we find recorded by maister Bale: Barnard Andreas a Frenchman, borne in Colouie an Augustin frier, and an excellent poet; Adrian de Castello, an Italian of Corneto a towne in Eubucaine, he was commended vnto king Henrie the seuenth by the archbishop of Oxton, and thereupon was first made bishop of Hereford, and after resigning that see, was aduanced to Bath and Welles; Andrew as Ammonius an Italian of the citie of Luca, secretarie to the king, wrote diuerse treatises; James Calco an Italian also of Pavia in Lombardie, by profession a Carmelite frier, an earnest defender of the diuorle betwixt the king and the lady Katharine Dowager, disprouing the marriage betwixt them to be in anie wise lawfull.

Thus farre the right high and renowned Henrie the eight, sonne and successor to Henrie the seuenth.





Edward the sixt, sonne and successor to Henrie the eight.



Edward
proclaimed.

1547

The earle of
Hertford
proclaimed.

The earle of
Hertford
proclaimed.

After it had pleased al-
mightie God to call to
his mercie that famous
prince king Henrie the
eight, the parlement as
yet continuing, and noly
by his death dissolued, the
executors of the said
king, and other of the no-
bilitie, assembling them-

selues together, did first by sound of trumpet in the
palace of Westminster, and so through London,
cause his sonne and heire prince Edward to be pro-
claimed king of this realme by the name of Edward
the first, king of England, France, and Ireland, de-
fender of the faith, and of the churches of England
and Ireland the supream head, he being yet but
nine yeares and od moneths of age: he was thus pro-
claimed the eight and twentieth of Januarie, in the
yeare of the world 5513, and after the birth of our
Lord 1547, according to the accompt of them that
begin the yeare at Christmasse; but after the accompt
of the church of England, in the yeare 1546, about
the nine and twentieth yeare of the emperoz Charles
the first, the thre and thirtieth of Francis the first of
that name king of France, and in the fift yeare of
the reigne of Marie quene of Scotland.

Shortlie hereupon the earle of Hertford with o-
ther of the lordz resorted to Hatfield, where the yong
king then laie, from whence they conduced him with
a great and right honorable companie to the Tower
of London. During the time of his abode there, for
the good gouernement of the realme, the honour and
suertie of his maiesties person, his uncle Edward
earle of Hertford, was by order of the counsell, and
the assent of his maiestie (as one most meetest to oc-
cupie that roome) appointed gouernour of his roiall
person, and protectoz of his realmes, dominions and
subiects, and so proclaimed the first of Februarie by
an herald at armes, and sound of trumpet through
the cite of London in the vsuall places thereof, as it
was thought expedient.

The first daie of Februarie the earle of Hertford
lord protectoz adorned king Edward with the order
of knight hood, remaining then in the Tower, and
therewith the king standing vp, called for Henrie
Hubblethorne lord maior of the cite of London,
who coming before his presence, the king toke the
sword of the lord protectoz, and dubbed the said Hub-
blethorne knight, he being the first that euer he
made. The seauenteenth of Februarie the lord protec-
toz was created duke of Summerfet, the earle of
Essex was created marquesse of Northampton,
the lord Lisle high admerall of England was crea-
ted earle of Marwike and high chamberlaine of
England, sir Thomas Wriothesleie lord chancelour
was created earle of Southampton, sir Thomas

Seimer was aduanced to the honour of lord of Sud-
leie and high admerall of England, which office the
earle of Marwike then resigned, sir Richard Rich
was made lord Rich, and sir William Willoughbie
was created lord Willoughbie of Parham, sir
Edmund Sheffield was made lord Sheffield of But-
terwike; and as saith a late writer of this action:

*Et quisque est ditior potentior, auctus honore,
Et noua virtutis sumens insignia fulget.*

At the same time great preparation was made for
the kings coronation, so that the foure and twentieth
of Februarie next ensuing, his maiestie came from
the Tower, and so rode through London unto West-
minster, with as great roialtie as might be, the
streets being hong, and pageants in diuerse places e-
rected, to testifie the good willes of the citizens, reioi-
sing that it had pleased God to deale so fauourable
with the English nation to grant them such a to-
wardlie yong prince to their king and souereigne
thus to succede in place of his noble father. Now as
he rode through London toward Westminster, and
passed on the south part of Pauls churchyard, an Ar-
goline came from the battlements of the steeple of
Pauls church upon a cable, being made fast to an
ancho; by the deanes gate, lieng on his breast, aiding
himselfe neither with hand nor foot, and after ascen-
ded to the middell of the cable, where he tumbled and
plated manie prettie toies, whereat the king and the
nobles had god pastime.]

The morrow after being Shrouesundaie and the
fue and twentieth of Februarie, his coronation was
solemnized in due forme and order, with all the roial-
tie and honour which thereunto appertained. Shortlie
after the coronation, to wit, the first of March, the erte
of Southhampton, lord chancelour of England, for
his too much repugnancie (as was reported) in mat-
ters of counsell to the residue of the counsellors a-
bout the king, was not onelie depriued of his office
of chancelor, but also remoued from his place and
authoritie in counsell, and the custodie of the great
seale was taken from him, and deliuered vnto sir
William Paulet lord Saint-John, that was lord
great master of the kings household.

Also shortlie after his coronation, the kings ma-
iestie by the aduise of his uncle the lord protectoz and
other of his priue counsell, minding first of all to
seeke Gods honoz and glozie, and thereupon inter-
ding a reformation, did not onelie set forth by cer-
teine commissioners, sundrie instructions for the
remouing of images out of all churches, to the sup-
pressing and auoiding of idolatrie and superstition
within his realmes and dominions, but also caused
certeine homilies or sermons to be draue by sun-
drie goble & learned men, that the same might be
read in churches to the people, which were afterward
by certeine of these commissioners sent forth as vi-
sitors, accompanied with certeine preachers, the
Ccc c. ij. throughout

The king ri-
deth through
London to
Westminster.

Abbr. Fl. ex
I. S. pag. 1036.

Danis scape
laie at anchoz.

Edward
crowned.

The lord
chancelor
discharged of
his roome.

Hemilies.

The commu-
nion in both
kinds.

IS pag. 1036.
D. Smith
recanted.

roughout the realme, for the better instruction of the people, published and put in vze. At Gaffer next following, he set out also an order thorough all the realme, that the supper of the lord should be ministered to the laic people in both kinds. ¶ On the fiftenth of Maie doctor Smith recanted at Pauls crosse.]

All these things done concerning religion (as before is said) the lord protector and the rest of the counsell, calling to mind the euill dealing and craftie dissimulation of the Scots, concerning the matter of marriage betwixt the kings maiestie, and the quene of Scotland (which marriage as ye haue heard, in the five and thirtieth years of king Henrie the eight, was by authoritie of parlement in Scotland fullie concluded) thought it not to stand with the kings honor to be in such manner by them deluded, and withall considering how greatlie it shuld turne to the quietnesse and safetie of both realmes to haue these two princes conioined in matrimonie, they did deuise sundrie waies and meanes how the same might be brought to passe, and the rather (as some doe write) for that king Henrie (before his death) had giuen them in speciall charge by all inducours to procure that the said marriage might take place, as wholie trusting by the coniunction of those two yong princes, the uniting of the two kingdoms in perpetuall amitie and faithfull league of loue: as our poet saith:

*Optat coniugio duo regna corae fideli,
Aeternam pacem hinc aeternaque fœdera iungi.*

But the lords of Scotland were so innegled and corrupted by the French king, and abused by cardinal Beton, archbishop of saint Andrewes, and other of their clergie, that they not onelie shanke from that which they had promised, but also sought to destroye those that fauored the king of Englands part: whereupon a great and puissant armie was now prepared to passe by land into Scotland, and likewise a nauie to passe by sea to attend vpon the same: whereof the great gallie and foure and twentie tall ships were thoroughlie furnished with men and munition for the warres, besides manie merchants ships and other small vessels, which serued for carriage of vittells, and other necessaries.

Chieftaines
in the armie.

But now to shew what noble men and other were ordeined officers, and assigned to haue the conduction as well of the armie by land, as of the fleet by sea; ye shall vnderstand, that first the duke of Summerset, lord protector, took vpon him to go himselfe in person, as generall of the whole armie, and capitaine also of the battell or middle-ward, wherein were foure thousand footmen. The marshall erle of Warwicke appointed lord lieutenant of the same armie, led the fore-ward containing thre thousand footmen. The lord Dacres gouerned in the reere-ward, wherein were other thre thousand footmen. The lord Creie of Wiltton was ordeined high marshall of the said armie: capitaine generall of all the horsemen, being in number six thousand. Sir Rafe Sadler knight treasurer of the armie. Sir Francis Bryan knight, capitaine of the light horsemen, in number two thousand.

Sir Rafe Lane knight lieutenant of all the men of armes and demilances. Sir Thomas Darcie knight capitaine of all the kings maiesties pensioners, and men at armes. Sir Richard Leigh knight deuiser of the fortifications. Sir Peter Hewitt knight capitaine of the harquebutters, which were in number six hundred. Sir Peter Cambo knight, capitaine of two hundred harquebutters on horsebacke. Sir Francis Fleming knight was master of the ordinance. Sir George Blag and Sir Thomas Wolcroft commissioners of the musters. Edward Shelleie, the lord Creies lieutenant of the men of

armes of Bullongne, who was the first that gaue the onset in the daie of battell, and died most honorable in the same. John Wyenne capitaine of the pioners being in number a thousand foure hundred. Thomas Audelie and Edward Chamberleine harbingers of the field.

The lord Edward Clinton admerall of the fleet: Sir William Woodhouse knight his viceadmerall. There were in the armie of great ordinance fiftie peeces, and of carriages nine hundred carts, besides manie wagons, whereof the commissarie generall was George Ferrers. As soon as the armie by land was in a readinesse, and set forward to come to Berwicke at a daie appointed, the nauie likewise took the sea, and by the helpe of Gods god guiding had so prosperous speed in their passage, that they arrived at Berwicke in time convenient, whether vpon the thirtieth of August being tuesday, the lord protector came, and laic in the castell with sir Nicholas Sireleie knight, capitaine there. The next daie commandement was giuen that euerie man shoud provide himselfe for foure daies vittells to be caried forth with them in carts.

On thursdaie the first of September the lord protector, not with manie more than with his owne band of horsemen, rode to a towne standing on the sea coast, a six miles from Berwicke within Scotland called Almouth, whereat there runneth a riuer into the sea, which he caused to be founded, and finding the same well able to serue for an haue, caused afterwards a fortresse to be raised there, appointing Thomas Colver, that was marshall of Berwicke, to be capitaine thereof. On fridaie, all sailing the counsell departed the towne of Berwicke, and incamped a two eight shots off by the sea side, toward Scotland. And the same daie the lord Clinton with his fleet took the seas from Berwicke, to the end that in case the wind shoud not serue them to keepe course with the armie by land; yet were it but with the drining of tides, they might vpon anie need of munition or vittells be still at hand, or not long from them.

The same daie the earle of Warwicke, and sir Rafe Sadler treasurer of the armie, came to Berwicke from Hewitcastell, where they had staid till then, for the full dispatch of the rest of the armie, and the next daie the earle of Warwicke incamped in field with the armie. On which daie a proclamation with sound of trumpet was made by an herald in thre seuerall places of the campe, signifieng the cause of the comming of the kings armie at that present into Scotland, which in effect was, to aduertise all the Scottish nation, that their comming was not to deprive them of their liberties, but to aduance the marriage already concluded and agreed vpon betwixt the kings maiestie of England and their quene, and no hostilitie ment to such as shoud shew themselves furtherers thereof. On the fourth of September being sundae, the lord protector came from out of the towne, and the armie raised, and marched that daie a six miles, and camped by a village called Kofran in the baronie of Boukenball.

The order of their march was this. Sir Francis Bryan capitaine of the light horsemen, with foure hundred of his band, tended to the skout a mile or two before. The carriages kept along the sea coast, and the men at armes and demilances diuided into thre troops, answering the thre wards, rid in arate directlie against the carriages a two eight shots asunder from them. The thre foot battells kept order in place betwixt them both. The fore-ward foremost, the battell in the middell, the reere-ward hindermost, each ward hauing his trope of horsemen and garde of ordinance, his aid of pioners for amendment of waies,

waies, where need should be. The first of September they marched an eight miles, untill they came to the peaths, a clough or ballie, running for a six miles west freight eastward, and toward the sea a twentieth score brode from banke to banke above, and a five score in the bottome, wherein runnes a little river. Stepe is this ballie on either side, and deepe in the bottome.

The Scots had cast trenches ouerthwart the side waies on either side, in manie places, to make the passage more cumbersome: but by the pioners the same were some filled, and the waie made plaine, that the armie, carriage, & ordinance were quite set over some after sun set, & there they pitched downe their campe. Whilest the armie was thus passing over this cumbersome passage, an herald was sent from the lord protector, to summon a castell, that stood at the end of the same ballie, a mile from the place where they passed downe towards the sea. Matthew Hume capteine thereof, a brothers sonne of the lord Humes, upon his summons required to speake with the lord protector. It was granted, and he came, whom the lord protector handled in such sort with effectuall words, putting him in doubt whether he would yerle, or stand to the adventure, to haue the place whome of him by force, that he was contented to render all at his graces pleasure.

And so being commanded to go fetch his companie out of the house, he went and brought them, being in all one and twentieth persons. The capteine and six other were staied and commanded to the keeping of the marshall, the residue were suffered to depart whither they thought good. After this surrender, the lord John Greie brother to the marques Dorset, was appointed to seise & take possession of the house, being capteine of a great number of demillances, as for his approued worthinesse and valiance right well he might, agreeable to the deserved report remaining of him in print in foreyn speech as followeth:

Grains heroes

Ob summum belli cataphracti presuit artem.

The spoile was not rich sure, but of white bread, or ten cakes, and Scotch ale indifferent good store, and some bestowed among my lords soldiors; for swordes, bucklers, pikes, pots, pans, parne, linnen, hempe, and heaps of such baggage, which the countrie people there about had brought into that pile, to haue it in more suretie, the soldiors would scarce vouchsafe to stoep and take the same by.

The castell of
Dunglas &
other places.

Edmont.
Aberdeen.

Edm.
Gower.

Edm.
Gower.

In the meane time the lord protector appointed the house to be ouerthrowne, which by the capteine of the pioners was done, though with some trauell, by reason the walles were so thicke, and the foundation so deepe, and thereto set vpon so craggie a plot. Tuesdaye the first of September, the armie dislodged and marched forward. In the waie as they should go, a mile and an halfe from Dunglas northward were two piles or holds, Thoznton & Anderwikke, set both on craggie foundations, & diuided a stoness caist a funder by a deepe gut, wherein ran a little river. Thoznton belonged to the lord Hume, and was kept by one Thom Trotter, who upon summons giuen him to render the house, lockt vp a sixtine pize soules like the soldiors of Dunglas fast within the house, toke the keyes with him, commanding them to defend the place till his returne, which should be on the morrow, with munition and releefe: and this done, he and his prickers pickt (as faithfull master Patten) quite their waies.

Anderwikke pertained to the lord of Hambleton, and was kept by his son and heire, whom of custome they call the master of Hambleton, & eight more gentlemen for the most part, as was reported. The lord protector as his coming nigh, sent vnto both these

places, which vpon summons refusing to render, were freight assailed; Thoznton by batterie of sounre great peeces of ordinance, and certeine of sir Peter Helwas hackbutters, and Anderwikke by a sort of the same hackbutters, who so well bestirred them, that where these keepers had rammed by their outer doores, cloied and stopt their staires within, and kept themselves for defense of their house about the battlements, the hackbutters got in, and fired them vnderneath, whereby being greatlie troubled with smoke, they cried for mercie, which the lord protector meant to grant them; but yer the messenger came, the hackbutters were got vp to them, & killed right of them aloft: one leapt over the walles, and running more than a furlong, was after slaine without in a water.

The pile of
Anderwikke
was one.

All this while at Thoznton was the assault on the English part, and the defense by them within scouldie continued: but at length when they perceived in what danger they stood, and how little able they were to helpe themselves, or to annoie the assailants, they pluckt in a banner which they had hang forth, in token of defiance, and put forth a white linnen clout tied to a stickes end, crying all with one tune for mercie: but hauing answer by the whole voices of the assailers that they were traitors, and that it was too late, they pluckt in their stickes, and set vp againe their banner of defiance, and shot off, hurled stones, & did what else they could with great courage of their side, & small hurt of the assailants. Wherefore perceiving that they could not long keepe out, being on the one side battered, and mined on the other, kept in with hackbutters on each side, and some of the Englishmen being got into the house below, for they hauing shot vp themselves also in the highest of their house, pluckt in againe their banner, and cried effronies for mercie, but being answered generallie by the assailants, that they should neuer loke for it, they fell to make this petition, that if they should needs die, they might rather suffer by hanging, and so reconcile themselves to God, than to die in malice with so great danger of their soules.

This sute was so furthered to the dukes grace by sir Miles Partridge that was nere at hand when they made this sute, that it was granted; and they coming forth, humbled themselves, and without more hurt they were but commanded to the prison marshall, who kept them for a time, and were after released. The house was shortly after so blown with powder, that more than the one halfe of it fell freight downe to dust and rubbish, the rest stood all to shaker with rifts and chinks. Anderwikke also was burned, and all the houses of office, and stacks of corne about them both. While this was in doing the dukes grace, in turning but about, saw the fall of Dunglas, which likewise was undermined and blown by with powder.

Sir Miles
Partridge.

Thoznton
was one.

The piles of
Thoznton
and others
defaced.

This done, about none the armie marched, and passing by Dunbar, the castell sent them diuerse shots of artillerie, but all in vaine. The Scottish prickers shewed themselves in the field with proffer of skermish, but to no great purpose, one of them being killed with a shot of one of Warteulls men an hackbutter on horsebacke. The armie hauing marched that daie a ten miles, lodged at night nere vnto Cantallou, and had a blind alarm. Marching the next morning a two miles, they came to a river called Lin, where there is a stone bridge, named Lin-ton bridge of a towne thereby on the right hand as the armie marched, and standing eastward vpon the same river: the horsemen and carriages passed the rough the water, for it was not verie deepe, and the footmen over the bridge. The passage was strict for an armie, and therefore the longer in setting over.

Cantallou.

Lin-ton
bridge.

C e c c . iij.

Beyond.

Dartmouth castle.

Beyond this bridge about a mile westward upon the same river, on the south side standeth a proper castle called Dartmouth, pertaining to the earle of Bothwell, but kept as then by the governors appointment, who held the earle in prison. Out of this castle as the lord protector passed forward in following the foreward, there were roundlie shot off (but without hurt) six or seven peeces, the which before that (though some of the armie had bene verie nigh) yet kept they all covert. In the meane time rose a thicke mist, which caused a great disorder in the rere-ward, by reason they could not see about them. The earle of Marwick therefore doubting least the enemies, who had ben picking up and downe nere to the armie, and offered skirmish the same morning, should now by occasion of the mist attempt some feat to the annoyance of the Englishmen in their passage, his lordship himselfe sent with fiftene hundred of Bartemill, and John de Ribaud Frenchmen were two, seven or eight light horsemen more, and the rest being his owne servants returned toward the passage to see the arrese againe.

A subtle piece of the Scots.

The Scottish horsemen perceiving our horsemen to have passed on before, and thinking (as the truth was) that some capitaine of honor did staie for the looking to the order of this rere-ward, they keeping the south side of the river, did call over to some of the armie, to know whether there were any noble man nigh there? They were asked whie they asked? One of them answered, that he was such a one whose name the Englishmen knew to be honorable among the Scots, and would come in to the dukes grace, so that he might be sure to come in safetie. Some young soldiers nothing suspecting the craftie falshood of the Scots, told him that the earle of Marwick was nigh there, by whose tuition, he should be safetie brought to my lord protectors presence. They had caused their lesson & fell to their practice, which was this. Having come over the water, in the waite as the earle should passe, they had collected about two hundred of their pickers, and had sent some before to search where my lord was, to whom when they had found, part of them pickt verie nigh, whose ten or twelue of the earles small companie did boldlie encounter, and drove them well nigh home to their ambush, fleeing perchance not so much for feare as for falshood, to bring them within their danger. But hereby informed that the earle was so nigh, they sent out a bigger number, and kept the rest more secret upon this purpose, that they might either by a plaine onset distress him, or else by fainting of sight to have trained him within danger of their ambush. And thus instructed, they came picking toward his lordship apace. Whie (quoth he) & will not these knaves be ruled? Give me my staffe. The which then with so valiant a courage he charged at one (as it was thought) Dandie Carr, a capitaine among them, that he did not onelie compell Carr to turne, and himselfe chased him about twelue score together, all the waite at the speares point, so that if Carrs horse had not bene exceeding good and wight, his lordship had surely run him through in this race, but also with his little band caused all the rest to flee amaine. After whom as Henrie Clane, a gentleman of the said earles, and one of his companie did fiercely pursue foure or five Scots, suddenly turned, and set upon him, and though they did not altogether escape his hands free, yet by helwing and mangling his head, bodie, and manie places else, they did so cruelly intreat him, as if rescue had not come the sooner, they had slaine him outright. There was Bartemill run at flogging, and hurt in the buttocke, and one of the Englishmen slaine: of Scots againe none slaine, but thre taken prisoners, wherof

The manlie courage of the earle of Marwick. Dandie Carr.

Henrie Clane.

Bartemill hurt.

one was Richard Bartwell, and hurt in the thigh, who had bene long in England not long before, and had receiued right manie benefites, both of the late kings liberalitie, and of the earle of Marwick, and of manie other nobles and gentlemen in the court before.

But to conclude, if the earle of Marwick had not thus valiantlie encountered them, yet they could have warned their ambush how weaklie he was guarded, he had bene beset round about by them yet he could have bin aware of them, or rescued of other. Whereas hereby his lordship vndoubtedly showed his wanted valor, saved his companie, and discomfited the enemy. As Bartemill the Frenchman that daie had right honestlie serued, so did the lords right honorable acquite it: for the earle of Marwick did get him a furlong, and blessed he was, straight after laid and conueted in the lord protectors owne chariot. The rest that were hurt were here also dyed, 20 Scots and others.

The armie hauing marched that same daie nine miles, incamped at night by a towne standing on the frith called Lang Riddrie. The next morning being thursdaie the eight of September, in time of the dislodging of the English campe, signe was made to some of the ships (where of the most part and chiefest laie a ten or twelue miles in the forth, beyond us, ouer against Lieth & Edenborough) that the lord admerall should come a shore, to speake with the lord protector. In the meane time, somewhat earlie as our gallie was comming toward us, about a mile and more beyond our campe, the Scots were verie busie, waiking here on those toward them with a banner of saint George that they had, so to traine them to come on land there: but the earle of Marwick some disappointed the policie, for making toward that place where the lord admerall should come on shore, the Englishmen on the water by the sight of his presence, did some discern their friends from their foes.

The lord admerall hereupon came to land, and riding backe with the earle unto the lord protector, order was taken, that the great ships should remoue from before Lieth, and come to lie before Dusselborough, and the Scottish campe which laie there in field alreadie assembled, to resist the English power that marched thus towards them. The smaller vessels that were vittellers were appointed to lie nere to the armie. The lord admerall hereupon, being returned to the water, & the armie marching onward a mile or two, there appeared aloft on a hill, that laie longwise east and west, and on the south side of them, upon a six hundred of their horsemen pickers, wherof some within a sight shot, directlie against the Englishmen, shewed themselves upon the same hill, & more farther off.

Lang Riddrie.

Order taken for the placing of the ships.

The Scottish pickers shew themselves.

Toward these, ouer a small bridge that laie ouer a little riuer there, verie hardlie did ride about a dozen haquebutters on horsebacke, and held them at baie so nie to their noses, that whether it were by the goodnesse of the same haquebutters, or the badnesse of them, the Scots did not onelie not come downe to them, but also verie courteouslie gaue place, and fled to their fellows. The armie went on, but so much the slower, because the waite was somewhat narrow, by meanes of the forth on the one side, and certeine marishes on the other. The Scots kept allwaies pafe twich them, till there were shot off two field peeces twise, wherewith there was a man killed, and the leg of one of their horses stricken off, which caused them to withdraie, so that the Englishmen saw no more of them, till they came to the place where they meant to incampe, for there they shewed themselves againe aloft on the fore remembred hill, standing

standing as it were to view and take muster of the
armie: but when the lord Greie made towards them,
marrying to know their commission, they wisely
went their waie, and would not once abide the rea-
soning.

Little else was done that date, but that George
ferrers, one of the duke of Summersets gentle-
men, and one of the commissioners of the cariages
in the armie, perceiving where certaine Scots were
got into a caue under the earth, stopping some of the
vents, and setting fire on the other, smothered them
to death, as was thought it could be none other, by
concurrence of the smoke breaking forth at some of the
other vents. The English ships also taking their
leane from before Leth, with a score of shot or more,
and as they came by saluting the Scots in their
campe also, with as many, came and late according
to appointment. The armie hauing marched this
date about a fine miles, incamped at Salt Preston
by the forth. On the same ninth of September,
the English armie lying in sight & view of the Sco-
tish campe, that laye two miles or therabouts from
them, had the forth on the north, and the hill last re-
minded on the south, the west end wherof is called
Parade Braie, on the which standeth a forie castell,
and halfe a score houses of like worthinesse by it, and
had westward before the Englishmen, the Scots li-
eing in campe. About a mile from the English
campe were the Scots horsemen verie busie, prank-
ing vp and downe, & faine would haue bene a com-
pet with the Englishmens doings; who againe, be-
cause the Scots seemed to sit to receiue them, did di-
ligentlie prepare that they might some go to them,
and therfore kept within their campe all that date.

The lord protector and the counsell sitting in con-
sultation, the capteines and officers providing their
buzes, store of vittels, and furniture of weapons, for
furthraunce wherof our vessels of munition and
vittels were here already come to the shore. The
Scots continued their bauerie on the hill, the which
the Englishmen not being so well able to beare,
made out a band of light horsemen, and a troupe
of demulances to backe them: the Englishmen and
strangers that ferued among them, got vp aloft on
the hill, and thereby of euen ground with the enimie
rode straight toward them with good speed and order,
whom at the first the Scots did boldlie countenance
and abide: but after, when they perceived that our
men would needs come forward, they began to
picke, and would faine haue bene gone, yet they
had told their errand. But the Englishmen hasted so
speedlie after, that euen straight they were at their
elbowes, and did so trouble them bestire them, that
what in the onset at the first, and after in the chase,
which lasted a thre miles twelue to as far as the fur-
thest of their campe on the south side, they had killed
of the Scots within a thre houres, about the num-
ber of thirtene hundred, and taken the maister of
Hume, the lords Humes sonne and heire, two priests
and six gentlemen, wherof one by sir Jaques Cra-
nado, and all vpon the highest and welldere might
of the hill toward the Scots, within the full sight of
their whole campe.

On the English part one Spanishe haquebutter
hurt, and taken sir Wase Bulmer knight, Thomas
Conner marshall of Wiltshire, and Robert Crouch,
all capteines of severall bands of the English light
horsemen, and men of right good courage and appro-
ved service, & at this time distressed by their owne
to much weariednesse, and not by the enimies force.
To conclude, of fiftene hundred horsemen for skir-
mish, and five hundred footmen to lie close in amb-
ush, and to be ready at need, which came that mor-
ning out of their campe, there returned not home a

boue seven hundred, and diuerse of those fore hurt,
and among other, the lord Hume himselfe, for he in
the flight, had a fall from his horse, and burst the ca-
nell bone of his necke, that he was faine to be caried
straight to Edenborough, and finallye there departed
this life of that hurt. So that it is true which C. O.
saith, that in this thirteenth manie a good rider was
dismounted, their horses with emptye saddles and
loose bridles running by hill and downe dale, as if
they had bene stark mad, and to conclude (saith he)

—equi lapsus inuesti

Tergo alius summo tellurem vertice pulsans.

Then after this, the lord protector, and the earle of
Warlike, and other of the counsell, with a small
gard, mounting by the hill where the slaughter had
bene made, about halfe a mile south-east from the
Scottish campe, toke full view therof, the plot where
they laye, so chosen for strength, as in all their coun-
trie some thought not a better, save on the south by a
great marish, & on the north by the forth, which side
they fenced with two field peeces, and certaine haque-
butteres a croke, lying under a tursle wall, Eden-
borough on the west at their backes, and eastward
betwene the Englishmen and them stronglie defen-
ded by the course of a riuer called Oke, running
north into the forth, which as it was not verie deepe
of water, so were the bankes of it so high and steepe,
as a small sort of resistants might haue bene able
to keepe downe a great number of commers vp.
About a twelue score from the forth, ouer the same
riuer, is there a stone budge, which they did keepe al-
so well garded with ordinance.

When the lord protector, and the earle of War-
like had viewed euerie thing, as they thought expe-
dient, they returned home towards their campe, a-
longst before the campe of the enimies, within lesse
than two slight shots, entering into a lane of thicke
foot bread, fenced on either side with a wall of turfe,
an ell of heighth. The Scots did often shot at them
in the waie as they passed thus homewards, without
hurt, saving the killing of an horse among three
hundred, the rider escaping else harmlesse. And as
the dukes grace was passed twelue halfe the waie
homewards, a Scottish herald with a cote of his
princes armes vpon him (as the manner is) and with
him a trumpetter, ouertooke them.

The herald declaring this message to the lord
protector, pretended to come from the gouernour, to
inquire of prisoners taken, and therewith to proffer
honest conditions of peace. And after he had told his
tale, then began the trumpetter, and said, how he
was sent from the earle of Huntley: My lord my
maister (saith he) hath willed me to shew your grace,
that because this matter maie be the sooner ended,
and with lesse hurt, he will fight with your grace for
the whole quarrell, twentie to twentie, ten to ten, or
else himselfe alone with your grace man to man.
The lord protector hauing kept with him the lord lieu-
tenant, had heard them both thoroughlie, and then in
answering, spake somewhat with lower voice, than
they had done their messages. Wherevpon they that
were the riders by, thinking that his grace would
haue it no secret, were somewhat the bolder to come
nearer, the words wherof were vttered so expeditie
with honour, and so honourable with expedition,
that the standers by were moued to doubt whether
they might rather note in them the promptnesse of a
singular prudence, or the boldnesse of a noble cou-
rage: and they were thus.

Your gouernour maie know, that the speciall
cause of our coming hither was not to fight, but
for the thing that should be the weale, both of vs and
yon. For God we take to record, we mind no more
hurt to the realme of Scotland, than we do to the
realme

The lord
Hume hurt
with a fall in
the chase.

A Scottish
herald deliue-
reth a message
to the duke of
Summerset.

The lord pro-
tectors an-
swer.

realme of England, and therefore our quarell being
 to god, we trust God will prosper vs the better. But
 as for peace, he hath refused such conditions at our
 hands, as we will neuer proffer againe: and there-
 fore let him loke for none, till this waie we make it:
 and thou trumpet, saie to thy maister, he saith
 to lacke wit so to make this challenge to me, being of
 such estate, by the sufferance of God, as to haue so
 weightie a charge of so pretious a ietwell, the gover-
 nance of a kings person, & then the protection of all
 his realms, whereby in this case I haue no power of
 my selfe, which if I had, as I am true gentleman, it
 should be the first bargaine I would make: but there
 be a great sort amongst vs his equals, to whome hee
 might haue made this challenge without refusal.

The earle of
 warwicke
 request and
 message to
 the earle of
 Huntley.

Then quoth the lord lieutenant to them both, He
 sheweth his small wit to make this challenge to my
 lords grace, and he so meane, but if his grace will
 giue me leaue, I shall receiue it: and trumpet
 bring me word thy maister will so do, and thou shalt
 haue of me an hundred crownes. Saie (quoth my
 lords grace) the earle of Huntley is not meet in
 estate with you, my lord: but herald saie to the go-
 uernour, and him also, that we haue bene a good fea-
 son in this countrie, and are here now but with a so-
 ber compaignie, and they a great number, and if they
 will meet vs in field, they shall be satisfied with fight-
 ing inough: and herald bring me word if they will so
 do, and by my honour I will giue the a thousand
 crownes. We haue a proud sort amongst you, but I
 trust to see your pride abated shortly, and of the
 erle Huntleys too: I wis he is a glorious yong gen-
 tleman.

The order of
 war touching
 heralds vio-
 lated.

This said, the earle of Marwicke continued his
 request, that he might receiue this challenge: but the
 lord protector would in no wise grant it. These mes-
 sengers had their answers, and therewith leaue to
 depart. The Scots in midst of this message, doing
 contrarie to the order of warre, which as it granteth
 safetie to heralds and trumpetters, to passe betwixt
 armie and armie: so during the time of anie such
 message, as this was, hostilitie on both parts ought
 to cease, but it skilled not. On the morow after, they
 had their guns taken from them (as saith maister
 Patten) and put into their hands that could vse them
 with more good manner. But now concerning the
 message of the herald, it was thought that he was
 sent therewith, not for that it was beleued of them,
 that it might be accepted; but rather that whilst he
 was doing his errand, he might surueie the English
 power: or else for that upon refusal of the offer, they
 might vse the victorie (whereof they accounted them-
 selues assured) with more crueltie.

The daime
 doubt of the
 Scots.

If nothing they doubted more, than least the
 Englishmen would haue bene gone backe, and got-
 ten to the water, before they should haue encounte-
 red them, and therefore they had appointed to haue
 giuen the English armie a cannibado in the night
 before the daie of the battell: but peradventure, un-
 derstanding that the Englishmen had warning of
 their intention, and were provided for them if they
 had come, they staied and came not at all. But in the
 morning, they were by verie timelie, and being put
 in order of battell, they marched straight towards
 the English campe, against whome then, though they
 saw the English horsemen readie to make: yet
 could not be perswaded, but that it was for a policie
 to staie them, till the English footmen and carriages
 might fullie be bestowed a shipboard, and that for the
 same purpose the English ships were come backe
 from before Litch.

Ordinance
 plaied against
 the enimie.

In the night of this daie, the dukes grace ap-
 pointed, that earle in the next morning part of the
 ordinance should be planted in the lane (whereof men

tion before is made) vnder the turre of the wall, next
 to their campe, and some also to be set vpon the hill
 nie to Andzelve church afore remembred: and this
 to the intent we should with our shot cause them el-
 ther wholie to remoue their campe, or else much to
 annoie them in that place where they laie. It was
 not the least of the Englishmens meaning also to
 win from them certeine of their ordinance, that laie
 nearest vnto this church. And herewith the same mo-
 ning, being the tenth of September, and Saturday,
 somewhat before eight of the clocke, the English ar-
 mie dislodged, & marched straight toward the church
 of Andzelve, as well for intent to haue incamped
 nere the same, as for placing their ordinance, and o-
 ther considerations afore remembred.

Saturday the
 tenth of Sep-
 tember, the
 daie of the
 battell.

The Scots either for feare of the Englishmens
 departing, or hope of their spolling, were out of their
 campe comming toward them, passed the riuer, ga-
 thered in arais, and well nere at this church, per the
 Englishmen were halfe waie to it, so quite dis-
 appointing the Englishmens purpose. Which at the
 first seemed verie strange in their eyes, as altogether
 beside their expectation, as they that thought they
 would neuer haue forsaken their strength, to meet
 them in the field. But after it was knowen that they
 did not onelie thus purpose to do, but also to haue
 assailed them in their campe, as they laie if they had
 not bene stirring the timelier, and hauing caused all
 their tents to be let flat downe to the ground, yet
 they came out, because none should lie lurking be-
 hind them in their campe, and as well the nobles
 as other, leaving their horses behind them (except
 such as were appointed to serue on horsebacke) mar-
 ched on with their souldiours on foot.

They came speedilie forwards on both sides, the
 one till then no whit aware of the others intent: but
 the Scots indeed with a rounder pale betwene two
 hillocks, betwixt the Englishmen and the church, mu-
 stered somewhat byn, at whome as they staied, the
 English galle shot off, & slue the maister of Greine,
 with fife and twentie others nere by him, and there-
 with so skard foure thousand Irish archers, brought
 by the earle of Argile, that where (as it was said)
 they should haue bene a wing to the foreward, they
 could neuer after be made to come forward. Her by
 on did their armie hastilie remoue, & from thence de-
 clinning southward, toke their direct waie toward
 Faurside braie. Of this, sir Rafe Wane, lieutenant
 of all the English horsemen, first of all, or with the
 first, noting it, quicklie aduertised the lord protector,
 who thereby did readilie conceiue their meaning,
 which was to win the hill, and thereby the wind and
 sunne, the gaine of which thae things (as is thought)
 whether partie in sight of battell can hap to obtaine,
 hath his force doubled against his enimie.

The English
 men & Scots
 march the way
 armie toward
 the other.

The galle
 The Irish
 archers

In all this enterprise, they vled for haste so litte
 the helpe of horse, that they plucked forth their ordi-
 nance by draught of men, which at that present be-
 gan frelie to shot off towards the English armie,
 whereby it was perceiued they ment more than a
 skirmish. Herewith euerie man began to applie him
 selfe in his charge and dutie which he had to do. And
 herewith the lord protector, and other of the counsell
 on horsebacke as they were, fell straight in consula-
 tion. The sharpnesse of whose circumspica wise-
 doms, as it quicklie espied out the enimies intents,
 so did it among other things promptlie prouide ther-
 in remedie, to preuent them (as needfull it was) for
 the time asked no lesse.

Their deuise was, that the lord Greie of Willton,
 marshall of the armie, with his band of Bullenars,
 and with the lord protectors band, and the earle of
 Marwicke, all to the number of eightene hundred
 horsemen, on the left hand on the east halfe, and sir
 Rafe

The deuise of
 the lords by
 their consula-
 tion.

Kase Lane, with sir Thomas Darcie capteine of the
penkioners, and men of armes, and the lord Fitz-
waters, with his band of demulances, all to the num-
ber of sixtene hundred, to be readie and euen with
the lord marshall, on the west halfe. And thus all
these togither afoze to encounter the enemies afront,
whereby either to breake their arate, and that waite to
weaken their powver by disorder, or at the least to
stop them of their gate, and force them to state, while
the fore-ward might wholie haue the hilles side, and
the battell and rere-ward be placed in grounds next
that in order, and best for aduantage. And after this,
that the same horsemen should retire vp to the hilles
side to come downe in order afresh, and infest them
on both sides, whilest the foot battells should occupie
them in fight afront.

The lord
Darcie
was
sent to the
lord protector.

Which enterpryse, though it seemed right dange-
rous to the assailers, yet was it not moze wiselie de-
uised by the counsell, than valiantlie and willinglie
executed of the lord marshall, & the others. For euen
there taking their leaues of the counsell, the said
lord marshall requirung onelie, that if it went not
well with him, the dukes grace would be good to his
wife & children, he said he would meet those Scots,
and so with their hands the foresaid capteins toke
their waie, and made towards the enimie. By this
time were the fore-wards on either part aduanced
within two slight shot in sunder. The Scots came
on so fast, that it was thought of the most part of the
Englishmen, they were rather horsemen than foot-
men. The Englishmen againe were led the moze
with speed, to shew that they were as willing as the
Scots to trie the battell. The master of the ordinance
to their great aduantage pluckt vp the hill at that
instant certeine peeces, and some after planted two
or three canons of them welnigh upon the top there,
whereby hauing so much the helpe of the hill, he might
ouer the Englishmens heads shot niest at the eni-
mie. As the lord protector had so circumspectlie taken
order for the arate and station of the armie, and for
the execution of euerie mans office beside, he being
perfectlie appointed in fatte armour, accompanied
onelie with sir Thomas Chaloner knight, one of the
clearkes of the kings priuie counsell, got him to the
hight of the hill, to farrie by the ordinance, where he
might best surueie the whole field, and succour with
aid where most he saw need, and also by his presence
to be a defense to the thing that stood weakest in
place, and also most in daunger, the which how much
it stood in stead, anon ye shall heare further.

The Scots
are here
upon the
hill.

As he was halfe vp the hill, the erle of Warwicke
was ware the enemies were all at a sudden state, and
stood still a good while, so that it seemed to him that
they perceiuing now their owne follie in leauing
their ground of aduantage, had no will to come anie
further forwarde, but gladlie would haue bin whence
they came. The reasons were these. First because at
that time, beside the full muster of the English foot-
men, of whom they thought there had bene none
there in field, but all to haue bene either shipt, or a
shipping; then they saw plaine that the Englishmen
were sure to haue the gaine of the hill, and they the
ground of disaduantage out of their hold, and put
from their hope: and hereto, for that their herald
gaue the lord protector no warning, the which by him
(if they had ment to fight it out) who would not haue
presumed that for the estimation of their honoz, they
would little haue stucke to haue sent; and he againe,
and it had bene but for his thousand crowns, would
right gladlie haue brought: Well yet both so euer
their meaning changed, finallie considering belike
the state they stood in, that as they had left their
strength to some, so now to be to late to repent, vp-
on a change of countenance, they made hastilie for-

ward againe, and as it seemed) with no lesse stout-
nesse of courage, than stronglie in order, whose ma-
ner, armour, weapon, and order in fight in those
daies and also before (though now somewhat chan-
ged as well as amongst other nations) was as in-
sueth.

Harquebutters had they few, and appointed their
fight most commonlie alwaies on foot. They used to
come to the field well furnished, with sacke and skull,
dagger, buckler, and swords, all notable brode and
thin, of exceeding good temper, and vniuersallie so
made to slice, as hard it is to deniue the better: here-
to euerie man his pike, and a great hercher wrapped
twisse or thysle about his necke, not for cold but for
cutting. In their arate toward the joining with the
enimie, they thrust so nie in the fore-ranke, shoul-
der to shoul-der, togither with their pikes in both hands,
streight afoze them, and their followers in that or-
der so hard at their backs, laseng their pikes ouer
their foregoers shoulders, that if they dw assaile vn-
disseuered, no force can well withstand them.

Standing at defense, they thrust shoulders like,
twisse so nie togither, the fore-ranks well nie to kni-
ling scope low before, for their fellows behind, hol-
ding their pikes in both hands, and therewith in their
left their bucklers, the one end of their pike against
their right foot, the other against the enimie breast
high, their followers crossing their pike points with
them before, and thus each with other, so nie as place
and space will suffer, through the whole ranks so
thicke, that as easilie shall a bare finger pearse
through the skin of an angrie hedgehog, as anie in-
counter the front of their pikes. Thus prouided, they
(I meane the Scots) addresed themselves to encoun-
ter inflamed with a heat of furious hatred, but not
advised whether the cause were iust or vniust, for
the which they were vp in armes: which folish mad-
nesse the poet pointeth at, and painteth out, saying:

*Arma scotos poscit, valida contendere vi vult,
Is nec habet pensi sit id equum an prorsus iniquum.*

The lord marshall notwithstanding, whome no
danger detracted from doing his enterpryse, with
the companie and order afoze appointed, came full in
their faces from the hill side towards them. Here-
with waied it verie hot on both sides, with pitifull
cries, horrible roze, and terrible thundering of guns,
beside the daie darkened aboue head with smoke of
the artillerie, the sight and apperance of the enimie
euen at hand before, the danger of death on euerie
side else, the bullets, pellets and arrowes flieng each
where so thicke, and so vncerteinlie lighting, that
no where was there anie suretie of safetie, euerie
man stricken with a dreadfull feare, not so much per-
chance of death, as of hurt, which things though they
were but certeine to some, yet doubted of all, as-
sured crueltie at the enemies hands, without hope of
mercie, death to flie, and danger to fight.

The whole face of the field on both sides vpon this
point of joining, both to the eie and to the eare so hea-
uie, so deadlie, lamentable, furious, outragious, ter-
rible, confuse, and so quite against the quiet nature
of man, as if to the nobilitie the regard of their ho-
nor and fame, to the knights and capteines the esti-
mation of their worship and honestie, and general-
lie to them all the naturall motion of bounden du-
tie, their owne safetie, hope of victorie, and the fauour
of God, that they trusted vpon for the equitie of their
quarrell, had not bene a moze vehement cause of
courage, than the danger of death was cause of feare,
the verie horrour of the thing had bene able to haue
made anie man to forget both prowesse and policie.
But the lord marshall and the others, with vresent
mind and courage warilie and quicklie continued
their course towards them. The enimies were in a
fallowe

The order of
the Scots in
warres both
touching their
furniture and
disposition.

The encoun-
ter is verie
hot betwene
both sides.

The face of
the field at the
point of join-
ing.

follow field, whereof the furrowes laie sidelong toward the Englishmen, next to whome by the side of the same furrowes, & a stones cast from the Scots, was there a crosse ditch or slough, which the Englishmen must needs passe to come to them, wherein manie that could not leape ouer stucke fast, to no small danger of themselves, and some disorder of their fellows.

The order of
the Scottish
battels.

The enimie perceiuing the Englishmen fast to approach, disposed themselves to abide the hunt, and in this order stood still to receiue them. The earle of Angus next to the Englishmen in the Scottish forward as capteine of the same, with an eight thousand men, and foure or five paces of ordinance on his right hand, and a foure hundred horsemen on his left. Behind him westward, the gouernour with ten thousand Inland men (as they call them) the choicest soldiers counted of their countrie. And the earle of Huntlee in the rere-ward, welnie euen with the battell on the left side with eight thousand. The foure thousand Irish archers as a wing to them both, last indeed in order, & first (as they said) that ran awaile. The battell and also the rere-ward were garded likewise with their ordinance according.

The Irish
archers on
a wing.

Edward
Shelleie.

The lord
John Greie.

Edward Shelleie lieutenant vnder the lord Greie of his band of Bullenars, was the first that passed ouer the slough. The lord Greie himselfe next, with the lord John Greie and others in the foremost ranke, and so then after two or thre rankes of their former bands. But badlie yet could they make their rate, by reason the furrowes laie trauesse to their course. That notwithstanding, and though also they were nothing likelie well to be able thus afront to come within them to do them hurt, as well because the Scottishmens pikes were as long or longer than their stauces, as also for that their horses were all naked without bards, whereof though there were right manie among them, yet not one put on, for as much as at their comming forth in the morning, they looked for nothing lesse than for battell that daie: yet did those worthe gentlemen, the lord Greie of Wilton, the lord John Greie, and maister Shelleie with the residue, so valiantlie & stronglie giue the charge vpon them, that whether it were by their prowelle or power, the left side of the enimies that his lordship did set vpon (though their order remained vnbroken) was yet compelled to swaie a good waie backe, and giue ground largelie, and all the residue of them beside to stand much amazed.

Beside this, as the Englishmen were welnie at their enimies, they stood verie braue and bragging, shaking their pike points, & crieng: Come lounds, come here tilkes, come here tilkes; and such like rhotelike they vsed. But though (saith maister Patten) they meant but small humanitie, yet shewed they thereby much ciuilitie, both of faire plaie, to warne yer they stroke, and of sozmall order, to chide yer they fought. The English capteines that were behind, perceiuing at eie, that both by the vniuenness of the ground, by the sturdie order of the enimie, and for that their fellows were so nie and streight before them, they were not able to anie aduantage to mainteine this onset, did therefore according to the devise in that point appointed, turne themselves, and made a soft retire vp toward the hill againe. Howbeit, to confesse the truth, some of the number that knew not the prepened policie of the counsell in this case, made of a sober aduised retire, an hastie, rash, and vnadvised flight: howbeit, without capteine or standard, & vpon no cause of need, but of a mere vndiscretion and madness. A madness indeed, for first the Scots were not able to pursue, because they were fatuere; and then if they could, what hope by flight to farrre from home in their enimies land, where was

The English
horsemen re-
celled.

no place of refuge?

The valiant lord Greie, Edward Shelleie, little Preston, Hampton, and Jerningham, Bullenars, Kitchiffe, the lord Fitzwaters brother, sir John Cleres sonne and heire, Kableie a gentleman of right commendable prowelle, Digs of Kent, Ellerker a pensioner, Segraue: of the duke of Summersets hand, Standleie, Woodhouse, Conisbie, Hogill, Porris, Denis, Arthur, and Atkinson, with other in the fore-ranke, not being able in this earnest assault, both to tend to their fight afore, and to the retire behind: the Scots againe well considering hereby how weake they remained, caught courage afresh, ran sharplie forward vpon them, and without anie mercie, slue the most part of them that abode furthest in pcease a fir more of Bullenars, and other than before are named, in all to the number of twentie sir, and most part gentlemen. My lord Greie yet and my lord John Greie, and likewise my lord Edward Scimer (as some grace was) returned againe; but neither all in safetie, nor without evident markes they had bin there: for the lord Greie with a pike through the mouth was rased a long from the tip of the tong, and thrust that waie verie dangerouse more than two inches in the necke; and the other two had their horses vnder them with swords soze wounded. Like as also a little before this onset, sir Thomas Darcie vpon his approach to the enimies, was stricken glancing wise on the right side, with a bullet of one of their field pices, and thereby his bodie bruised with the bowing in of his armour, his sword hilts broken, and the forefinger of his right hand beaten flat. Euen so vpon the parting of this fraie, was sir Arthur Darcie slayd at with swords, and so hurt vpon the wedding finger of his right hand also, as it was counted for the first part of curing to haue it quite cut awaile.

About the same time, certefine of the Scots ran on hastilie to the kings standard of the horsemen (the which sir Andrew Jammoche bare) and laicng fast hold vpon the staffe therof, cried, A king, a king, that if both his strength, his hart, and his horse had not bene good, and herewith somewhat aided at this pinch by sir Rafe Coppinger a pensioner, both he had bene slaine, and the standard lost, which the Scots neuerthelesse held so fast, that they brake and bare awaile the nether end of the staffe to the burrell, and intended so much to the gaine of the standard, that sir Andrew (as hap was) scaped home all safe, and elsc without hurt. At this businesse also the lord Fitzwaters, both earle of Sufter and lord chamberleine to the quenes maiestie, capteine there of a number of demilances was vnhoist, but some mounted againe, scaped yet in gre at danger, and his horse all belwen. Hereat further were Caluerleie the stard-bearer of the men at armes, and Clement Panton a pensioner, thrust each of them into the leg with pikes, and Don Philip a Spaniard into the knee, ouerle others maimed and hurt, and manie horses soze wounded beside.

By this time had the English fore-ward accordingly gotten the full vantage of the hilles side, and in respect of their march stood sideling toward the enimie: who neuerthelesse were not able in all parts to stand full square in arrate: by reason that at the west end of them vpon their right hand, and toward the enimie, there was a square plot inclosed with turffe (as their manner of fencing in those parts, as well as in diuerse other is) one corner whereof did let the square of the same arrate. The battell in good order next them, but so as in continuance of arrate, the former part thereof stood vpon the hils side, the taile vpon the plaine, and the rere-ward whole vpon the plaine. So that the placing and countenance of

Gentlemen
slaine.

The lord
Greie hurt.

Sir Andrew
Jammoche.

The lord
Fitzwaters.
Quene
Elizabeth.

Caluerleie &
Clement Panton.

Don Philip
Spaniard.

The placing
of the English
battagall.

The battell.

The rere-
ward.

Reg. 1.

of the English armie in this wise, they shewed themselves in maner to compasse in the Scots battels, that they should no waie escape them: but how little able they were to do it with power and number, you may easilie coniecture.

Those horsemen that were so repelled, and in their coming backe vnderlie bzake their arraie from the residue, ran so hastily through the ranks of the English fore-ward as it stood, that it did both disorder manie, feared manie, and was a great encouragement to the enimie. The worthie earle of Mar-
10
tuke, who had the guiding of this fore-ward, right valiantlie had conducted the same to their standing, and there did verie noble encourage and comfort them with such cheerefull words, offering to live and die among them, that doubtlesse his presence, becoming himselfe in such manlike sort, stood the whole companie in great stead. Neither wanted there the cheerefull diligence of those capteines, with whome his honor was furnished in that fore-ward likewise to encourage their bands, nor the worthie behaviour of other in the battell and reere-ward, everie one according to his calling, shewing such proofe of his dutie, as the most part certeinlie deserved to have their names registered in the kalender of fame, where no rust of cankered oblivion might fret out the remembrance of their commendable demeanours: and therefore if anie among them should have shewed anie lacke of courage, their dispraise had bene the more, sith by others they saw such worthie example
20
given, and were to stand upon this resolution, to have hearts hardened against all hazards in a iust cause, whereof they hoped almightie God had undertaken the managing and direction, unto whome they had committed the same; as the poet truelie saith:

*Iusta Deo commissa Anglorum causa tonanti,
Audaces animos fecit impavidosque pericli.*

But sith there were so manie that did well, & therefore deserveng a longer processe to be made of their high valiances shewed in that dangerous service, than this volume may permit, I will proceed to the battell. The Scots were somewhat disordered with their coming out about the slaughter of the Englishmen, the which they did so earnestlie follow, that they toke not one to mercie. The dukes grace placing himselfe (as ye have heard) on the hill of Faur-
30
side bzaie, and therewith perceiuing the great disorder of the stragling horsemen, that had in the retire broken arraie, hemmed them in from further straying, whome sir Rafe Wane, and others of the capteins some after with great dexterity brought into good order and arraie againe, and with all the rest of the strengths of the whole armie, by the policie of the lords, and diligence of everie capteine and officer beside, were so fitlie and aptlie applied in their feat, that where this repulse given by the enimie to the horsemen was doubted of manie, to turne to the whole losse of the field, the same was wrought and advanced according as it was devised, to the great certeinie of gaine and victorie. For first at this
40
slough, where most of the horsemen had stood, sir Peter Gheintas capteine of all the harquebutteres a foot did verie valiantlie conduct & place a good number of his men, in maner hard at the faces of the enimies, whereunto sir Peter Gamboa a Spaniard, capteine of two hundred harquebutteres, Spaniards, and Italians on horsebacke did readilie bring his men also, who with the hot continuance of their shot in both parts, did so frontlie staie the enimies, that they could not well come further forward: then the archers that marched in arraie on the right hand of the footmen, and next to the enimies, pricked them sharpelie with arrows as they stood. Therewith the master of the ordinance, to their great annoiance, did gall them

with haille shot and other out of the great ordinance, directlie from the hill top, and certein other gunners with their peeces a flanke from the reere-ward, most of the artillerie and mislive engines then wholie thus at once, with great puissance and beheimencie occupied about them, here with the full sight of the Englishmen, all shadowed from them before by the horsemen, and dust raised, whome then they were ware in such order to be so nere upon them, and to this the perfect arraie of the horsemen againe coming contragouldie to set on them afresh, miserable men, perceiuing themselves then all to late, how much to much they had ouertaken themselves, began suddenlie to shrinke.

Their gouernour and other the principall capteins that had brought them to the bargaine, toke their horses and fled amaine, which other perceiuing did quicklie follow, and with the foremost of that crue their Irishmen, and therewith turned all the whole rout, cast downe their weapons, ran out of their wards, off with their iackes, and with all that euer they might, betooke them to the race that their gouernour began. The Englishmen at the first had found them (as what could scape so manie eies) and sharpelie and quicklie with an vnouerfall outcrie, They die, they die, pursued after in chase so egerlie, and with such fiercenesse, that they ouertoke manie, and spared indeed but few, that when they were once turned, it was a wonder to see how sone, and in how sundrie sorts they were scattered. The place they stood on like a wood of stanes streved on the ground, as rushes in a chamber, vnassailable (they laie so thicke) for
50
either horse or man. Here at the first had they let fall all their pikes, and after that, euerie where scattered swords, bucklers, daggers, iackes, and all things else that was of anie weight, or might be any let to their course: which course among them, three waies spectallie they made, some along the sands by the frith towards Lath, some straight towards Edinburgh, whereof part through the parke there (in the walles whereof, though they be round about of flint stone, yet were there manie holes already made) and part of them by the high waie that leadeth along by the abbate of Holierood house; and the residue and most part of them towards Waket, which waie by means of the marish our horsemen were worst able to follow.

Sundrie shifts, some they used, some soie, made they in their running: diuerse of them in their courses, as they were ware they were pursued but of one, would suddenlie start backe, and lash at the legs of the horse, or foine him in the bellie, and sometime did they reach at the rider also, whereby Clement Passon in the arme, and diuerse in other parts of their bodles otherwise in this chase were hurt. Some other laie flat in a furrow as they were dead, there by past by of the Englishmen vntouched, and (as was reported) the earle of Angus confessed he conched in that sort till his horse hapt to be brought him.
60
Other some were found to staie in the river, couring downe his bodie vnder the root of some willow tree, with scant his nose above water for breath. Some for lightnesse cast a waie shoes and doublets, and ran in their shirts, and some were scene in this race all breathlesse to fall flat downe, and haue run themselves to death.

Before this, at the time of the onset, which the English horsemen gaue, there came eastward five hundred of the Scottish horsemen by along this Faur-side bzaie, straight upon the English ordinance and cartage. The lord protector (as ye have heard) most spectallie for doubt hereof, placing himselfe by the same, caused a peece or two to be turned toward them, with a few shots whereof they were sone turned
70
ned

The Scots
die and are
sharpe
pursued.

The enimies
cast a waie
their munition
and furniture
the light-
ner to die and
be gone.

The earle of
Angus.

Parson Heble
one of the lord
protectors
chaplains.

ned alld and fled to Daketh. But had they kept on their purpose, they were prouided for accordingly. For one parson Heble a chapleine of his graces, and two or thre other, by and by discharged foure or fife of the carts of munition, and therewith bestowed pikes, billes, bowes and arrowes, to as manie as came; so that of carters and other, there were some weaponed about a thousand, whome parson Heble and the other did verie hant somlie dispose in arraie, and made a pretie muster.

The manner of
the slaughter.

To retorne now after this notable stretoing of their footmens weapons, began a pittifull sight of the dead corpes, lieng disperfed abrode, some their legs off, some but hough, and lest lieng halfe dead, some thrust quite through the bodie, others their necks halfe a sunder, manie their heads clouen, with other thousand kinds of killing. After that, and further in chase all for the most part killed, either in the head, or in the necke, for the horsemen could not well reach them lower with their swoords. And thus with blood and slaughter of the enimie, this chase was continued fife miles in length, westward from the place of their standing which was in the fallow fields of Widdeske, untill Edenburgh parke, and well nigh to the gates of the towne it selfe, and into Liff, and in breadth nie foure miles, from the fforth sands by toward Daketh southwards: in all which space, the dead bodies laie as thicke as a man may note cattell grazing in a full replenished pasture. The riuer ran all red with blood (a signe of great slaughter) so that in the same chase were slaine to the number of ten thousand men, some saie above fouretene thousand, as I doe find by this report concerning the battell:

The number
of Scots
slaine.

*Milia bis septem sunt morte absumpta Sotorum,
Cetera pars certam querit fugiendo salutem.*

The causes
why so few
Scots were
taken.
The Scottish
mens bow.

To conclude, considering the smallnesse of the Englishmens number, and shortnesse of the time (which was scant fife houres, from one till well nigh fir) the mortallitie was so great (as it was thought) the like afore time had not bene scene. One great cause why the Englishmen spared so few of them, was thought to be their tyrannous bow by them made (which the Englishmen certainly heard of) that whensoever they fought and ouercame, they would kill so manie, and spare so few: a sure proofe wherof they plainlie had shewed at the first onset giuen, where they killed all, and saued not a man that came within their danger. An other respect was, to reuenge their great and cruell tyrannie shewed at Danier hough, where they slue the lord Cuers, whome otherwise they might haue taken prisoner and saued, and cruellie killed as manie else of our men as came into their hands. An other occasion also was their armor among them so little differing, all clad alike in iacks covered with white leather, doublets of the same, or of fustian, and most cominonlie all white hosen, not one with either chaine, brooch, ring, or garment of silke, vnlesse chains of latten drawne foure or fife times along the upper stocks, or to the master Pattens woords, the thighs of their hosen and doublet slanes for cutting.

Danier
hough.

The apparell
of the Scots.

This lacke for difference in apparell was the chiefest cause that so manie of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and so few saued. The outward shew, the resemblance or signe, whereby a stranger might discerne a poore man from a gentleman, was not among them to be scene: as for woords and godlie profers of great ransoms, were as rise in the mouths of the one as the other. And it came here to passe, that after at the examination and counting of the prisoners, there were found taken above twentie of their common countrie people, to one of their gentlemen, whome no man need to doubt the Englishmen had rather haue spared than the other, if they

could haue scene anie difference betwene them in taking. And yet verelie considering the case as it stood, the Englishmen shewed more grace, and more to mercie, than the respects before mentioned might seme to haue required. For beside the earle of Huntleie, who in godd armie appointed like a gentleman of anie among them, but could not then escape because he lacked his horse, and hapned to be taken by sir Rafe Dane, and beside the lord of Peter, Hobbie Hambleton capteine of Dunbar, the master of Sanpole, the lord of Wilmes taken by John Bzer, a brother of the earle of Caillis, and besides one Pontrell, taken by Cornelius comptroller of the ordnance in the armie, and one Camals an Irish gentleman, and besides manie other Scottish gentlemen more, taken by diuerse others.

The prisoners reckoned in the marshals booke were numbred to aboue fiftene hundred. Touching the slaughter, sure they killed not so manie, as for the time & oportunitie they might, if they had minded crueltie. For the lord protector moued with pitie at the sight of the dead bodies, and rather glad of victorie than desirous of slaughter, some after (by gelle) fife of the clocke, staid the staward of his horsemen at the furthest part of their campe westward, & caused the trumpets to sound a retreat. Whereat also sir Rafe Sadler treasurer (whose great diligence at that time, and readie forwardnesse in the chieft of the fraie before, did worthilie merit no small commendation) caused all the footmen to staid; and then with much trauell & great paine made them to be brought in some order againe: which was a thing not easilie done, by reason they all as then were somewhat busie in applying their market, the spoile of the Scottish campe, where was found good prouision of white bread, ale, otencakes, oteneale, mutton, butter in pots, chiese, and in diuerse tents good wine also, and in some tents among them was found some silver plate and chalices, which with good deuotion permaie be sure were plucked out of their cold clowts, and thrust into their warme bosoms.

The plot of their campe called Camonston edge, nigh Silberton a place of the lord of Wilmsons, halfe a mile beyond Hunselburgh, and foure miles on this side Edenburgh, occupied in largenesse with diuerse tents and tenticles, that stood in sundrie places out of square, about a miles compasse, wherein as the Englishmen vpon the found of the retreat somewhat assembled, they all with a loud and entire outcrie and hallowing, in signe of gladnesse and victorie, made an vniuersall noise and shout, the which noise wherof (as after was reported) was heard vnto Edenburgh. It was a wonder to see, but (as they saie) make hands make light worke, how some the dead bodies were stripped out of their garments sharke naked; even from as farre as the chase went, vnto the place of the onset, whereby the personages of the enimies might by the waie easilie be viewed and considered, the which for the talnesse of their stature, cleannesse of skin, bignesse of bone, with due proportion in all parts was such, as the beholders, if they had not scene it, would not haue believed that there had bene so many of that sort in all their countrie. Among them laie manie priests, and kirkmen, as they call them, of whome it was bruted that there was a whole band of thre or foure thousand, but it was found afterwards not to be altogether so.

Among other battens, standards, and pennons, a banner of white sarsenet was found, vnder which it was said these kirkmen came, whereupon was painted a woman with hir haire about hir shoulders, kneeling before a crucifix, & on hir right hand a church, after that written in great Romaine letters,

At the response ne obliuiscaris. It was said that this was the abbat of Dunfermlings banner, but whether it was his or the bishop of Dunblis, the gouernours brother, who (as was said) were both in the field, his meaning was, to signifie that the church made intercession for Christ his husband, not now to forget his spouse, being at that time afflicted and persecuted by the Englishmen. But whose deuise soeuer it was, it made seene, that this church comming thus to battell, full appointed with weapon, and garded with such a sort of deacons to fight, howsoeuer in painting he had set his out, a man might well thinke, that in condition, he had rather framed his like a curst queane, that would plucke his husband by the pate, except he had his will, than like a make spouse, that went about humbly by submission and prayer to desire his husbands helpe, for redresse of things amisse.

But now to leaue this prelat with his *Afflicta sponsa*, and to make an end with this battell. There was upon the fiftide brate, a little castell or pile, which was herie buile all the time of the battell, as anie of the Englishmen came nigh it, to shoot at them, with such artillerie as they had; which was none other than of handgunes and harquebuts, & of them not a dozen neither. A little hurt they did, but as they saw their felowes in the field thus dyen and beaten awaie before their faces, they plucked in their peeces, and couched themselves within all mute: but by and by the house was set on fire, and they for their good wils burned and smothered within. Thus (saith master Patten) throughe the fauour of Gods bountie, by the valiantie and policie of the lord protector, by the forward indour of all the nobles and counsell there beside, and by the willing diligence of euerie capitaine, officer, and true subiect else, they most valiantlie won the victorie ouer their enemies, of whome such slaughter was made in the field, as ye haue heard, amongst whome (as the prisoners reported) beside the lord Fleming, the lord of Loghemware, the master of Creim, the master of Arskin, the master of Oglebie, the master of Auerdale, the master of Rouen, and manie other of noble birth amongst them, there were of lards, lards sons, and other gentlemen slain about twentie six hundred, & among the prisoners also there were manie gentlemen, speciallie of name these: the earle of Huntlie lord chancellor of the realme, the lord of Pester, Hobbie Hamilton capteine of Dunbar, the master of Sanpale, the lord of Wilmines, and a brother of the earle of Camis. Two thousand by lurking and lying (as they had bene dead) escaped awaie in the night all maimed and hurt. Herewith of weapons and armor more was found than the Englishmen did vouchsafe to giue carriage for: & yet were there conueied thence by ship into England, of sacks speciallie and swords, about thirtie thousand.

This night the Englishmen with great gladnesse and thanksgiuing to God (as good cause they had) about seauen of the clocke pitched their campe at Edgebuckling brate, beside Pinkerslough, and a mile beyond the place they camped at before. Now after the battell, among other questions, one was moued who killed the first man that daie in the field, the glorie whereof one Jeronimo an Italian would gladly haue had, a gentleman sure that had serued that daie right valiantlie: howbeit it was after well tried, that Cutbert Spilgrau, a gentleman of the earle of Marthwicks, deserued the praise of killing the first enemy that died that daie, who right hardlie slew a guner at his peece in the Scots foreward, yeeuer they began anie whit to turne. As for the ordinarie soldiors, it was a pleasure unto them to make rehearsall of their adventures past, and to record what dangers (in maner inenitable) they had esca-

ped, according to the poets report in that case, saying:

res est meminisse laboris
Præteriti incunda: graue effugisse periculum
Summa recordari securamente voluptas.

The next daie being fundaie the eleuenth of September, somewhat before none, the armie remained, & marching along the Forth side toward Lieth, about thre of the clocke in the after noone pitched their field, a picke shot on this side that towne on the southeast halfe, somewhat shadowed from Edenburgh by a hill, but yet the most part of it laie within the full sight and shot of the castell there, and in distance somewhat about a quarter of a mile. The lord marshall, and the most part of the horsemen were bestowed and lodged in the towne of Lieth. The dukes grace, the lord lieutenant, and the rest of the armie in the campe. On tuesday the thirteenth of September, the smaller vessels of the English fleet burned Binkorne, and a towne or two standing on the north shore of the Forth against Lieth.

In the after none the dukes grace rolied up the Forth a six or seuen miles westward, as it runneth into the land, and toke in his waie an Island there, called saint Comins ins, which lieth foure miles beyond Lieth, and a good waie nearer the north shore than the south, yet not within a mile of the nearest. It is but halfe a mile about, and had in it an abbey, but the monks were gone: fresh water inough, and store of conies, and is so naturalie strong, that but by one waie it can be entred; the plot whereof the lord protector considering, did quicklie cast to haue it kept, whereby all traffike of merchandize, all commodities else comming by the Forth into their land, and bitterlie the whole vse of the Forth it selfe, with all the haueus vpon it, should quite be taken from them.

The next daie the lord protector riding backe againe eastward, to view diuerse things and places, toke Dakesh in his waie, where a house of George Douglas did stand, and comming somewhat nere it, he sent Summerlet his herald with a trumpet to know who kept it, and whether the keepers would hold or yeld it to his grace: Answer was made, that there were thre score persons within, whome their maister lieng there saturday at night after the battell, did will that they, the house, and all that was in it, should be at his graces commandement. Whereupon the chiefest came, and in name of all the rest humbled himselfe to the dukes will. From thence his grace passed to the place where the battell had bene stricken, and so by Dunsleburgh returned backe to the campe.

On thursdaie being the fiftenth of this moneth, the lord Clinton high admerall, taking with him the gallie whereof Richard Brooke was capteine, and foure or five other smaller vessels besides, as well appointed with munition and men, rolied up the Forth a ten miles westward, to an haue towne standing on the south shore called Blache Pesse, where at toward the water side is a castell of a pretty strength, as nigh whereunto as the depth of the water would suffer, the Scots for safegard had laid the Marie Willoughbie, and the Anthonie of Newcastle, two tall ships, which with extreme inturie they had stolen from the Englishmen before time, when no war was betwixt vs: with these late there also an other large vessell called the Bosse, and seauen more, whereof part laden with merchandize. The lord Clinton and his companie with right hardie apprech, after a great conflict betwixt the castell and his vessels, by fine force wan from them those thre ships of name, and burnt all the residue before their faces.

The sixteenth of September the lord of Winton a Scottis gentleman came to the dukes grace from

The English armie in the campe by Lieth.

S. Comins ins.

The castell of Dakesh.

Blache Pesse an haue towne on the south shore of Scotland.

Three ships of name wane from the Scots.

the English armie in the campe by Lieth.

the English armie in the campe by Lieth.

the English armie in the campe by Lieth.

the English armie in the campe by Lieth.

the English armie in the campe by Lieth.

the English armie in the campe by Lieth.

Sir John
Luttrell.
S. Coms
was kept with
a garrison of
Englishmen.

their counsell for cause of communication, and returned againe to them, hauing with him Forreie an herald and king at armes of ours, who founde them with the old quene at Sterling. On saturday the seventeenth of September, sir John Luttrell in the after none departed toward saint Coms ins, hauing with him an hundreded harquebutters, fiftie pionsers, & two rowe barks well furnished with munition, and thre score and ten mariners to remaine there, & keepe that from invasion of the enimies, against whom the English were so sharple whetted, that when they came to encounter, they gaue prowse of their manhood by wounds and bloodshed, according to the report of C.O. in these verses following :

*Anglorum pectora Manors
Belliger exauit, crescant ad vulnera vires.*

The earle of
Bothwell.

In the time whilist the armie laie thus in the campe betwene Lich and Edenburgh, manie lards and gentlemen came in to the lord protector to require his protection, the which his grace to whom he thought good did grant. This daie came the earle of Bothwell to his grace, who hauing bene kept in prison by the gouernour, the night after the battell was set at libertie, and comming thus to the lord protector, was friendlie welcomed and interteined; and hauing this night supped with his grace, he departed.

Lich burned.

Lich was set on fire this saturday, whereas it was meant, that there should haue bene but one house onelie burnt, belonging to one Barton that had plaid a slipperie part with the lord protector. But the solbours being set a worke to fire that house, fired all the rest. Sir great ships also that laie in the haven, which for their age and decaye were not so apt for vse, were likewise set on fire and burnt. On sunday the eighteenth of September, the lord protector for considerations mouing him to pittie, hauing all this while spared Edenburgh from hurt, did so leaue it, but Lich and the ships burning, some after seauen of the clocke in the morning, caused the campe to dislodge, and as they were raised and on foot, the castell shot off a peale, with chambers hardie and all, of foure and twentie peeces. Passing that daie seauen miles, they camped earlie for that night at Craufston by a place of the lard of Wilmsons.

The armie
dislodged.

Craufston.

The same morning the lord protector made maister Andrieu Dubleie knight, brother to the earle of Marwike, dispatched my lord admerall and him by ships full fraught with men and munition toward the winning of an hold in the east side of Scotland called Broughticrag, which stood in such fort in the mouth of the riuer of Taie, as that being gotten, both Dundee, saint Johns towne, and diuerse other townes standing vpon the same riuer the best of the countrie in those parts, set vpon the Taie, should either become subiect vnto this hold, or else be compelled to forgo the whole vse of the riuer, for hauing anie thing comming in or outward. The lord admerall, and the said sir Andrieu sped themselves with such good successe and diligence in that enterprise, that on the wednesday following, being the one and twentieth of September, after certeine of their shot discharged against that castell, the same was yelded vnto them, the which sir Andrieu did then enter, and after kept, as capitaine to his high praise and commendation.

Broughticrag
yelded to the Eng-
lishmen.

Lawder.

But now to the armie. On monday the nineteenth of September, they marched ten miles, and incamped a little on this side a market towne called Lawder. Here as they were settled in their lodging, the herald Forreie returned from the Scottish counsell, with the lard of Wilmson, and Rose their herald, who vpon their sute to the lord protector, obtained that sue of their counsell should haue his graces

safe conduct, that at anie time and place within fifteen daies, during his abode in their countrie, or at Berwike, the same sue might come and commune with sue of the English counsell, touching matters in controuersie betwene them. Rose the herald departed earlie with his safe conduct, the campe raised, and that daie they went seauen miles till as far as Hume castell, where they camped on the west side of a rockie hill that they call Hare crag, standing about a mile westward from the castell.

Here they did so much by shewing that they meant indeed to win the castell by force, if otherwise they might not haue it, causing a certeine number of harquebutters vpon appointment before to beset the castell, and to watch that none should passe in or out, that in the end, the labie of the house, and other that were within in charge with it, yelded it vp to the lord protector's hands: for the labie doubting the losse of his son that was prisoner with the Englishmen, hauing the first daie bene with the lord protector, and got respite till the next daie at none, in the meane time consulted with his sonne, and other his friends the keepers of the castell, returned at the time appointed the next daie, being the one and twentieth of that moneth, and made sute for a longer respite till eight of the clocke at night, and therewith safe conduct for Andrieu Hume his second son, and John Hume lard of Colban Banos, a kinsman of his husbands, captains of this castell, to come and speake with his grace in the meane while. It was granted him. Whereupon these captains about thre of the clocke came to the lord protector, and after other couenants (with long debating on both parts) agreed vpon, the and these captains concluded to giue their assent to render the castell, so far forth as the rest of the keepers would therewith be contented, for two or thre within (said they) were also in charge with keeping it as well as they, for knowledge of whose minds the duke sent Summerfet his herald with this labie to the castell vnto them; who as the herald had made them psume to the articles, would faine haue had leasure for foure and twentie hours longer, to send to their lord to Edenburgh, where he laie hurt (as before you haue heard) and in danger of death, which followed of the fall that he caught at the fridaies skirmish before the battell, to know his will and pleasure in this point of rendering by the castell: but being wiselie and sharple called vpon by the herald, they agreed to the couenants afore by their labie and captains concluded on: whereof part (as the sequels shewed) were these. That they should depart thence the next daie in the morning by ten of the clocke with bag and baggage, as much as they could carie, leauing all munition and vittels behind them in the castell. Howbeit, to be assured of them, the lord protector prouiding ech waie to be readie for them, caused eight peeces of ordinance sented with baskets of earth to be planted on the southside toward the castell within power of batterie, and the harquebutters to continue their watch and ward.

On thursdaie morning being the two and twentieth of September, the lord Greie was appointed to receiue the rending of the castell into his hands, and sir Edward Dubleie now lord Dubleie after to be capitaine there. They both departed to it, and at the time set Andrieu Hume, and foure other of the chiefest there with him came out, and yelding the castell, deliuered the keies to the said lord Greie: his lordship causing the residue to come out then, sauing sir or seuen to keepe their baggage within, who all were in number seuentie and eight, entred the same with maister Dubleie, and diuerse other gentlemen with him. He found there indifferent good store of vittels and wine, & of ordinance two ballard culuerings, one

Hume castell

Hume castell
besieged and
yelded vnto
the lord protector.

Summerfet
the dukes
herald.

The combat
one of the
rending of
Hume castell.

The lord
Greie recei-
ued the pos-
session of
Hume castell.

An. Reg. 1.

one face, also three falconets of brass, and of iron eight pieces beside. The keeping of this castell the lord Greie betaking unto sir Edward Dupleie accordingly returned to the campe. This done, the next daie being fridaie, and the thre and twentieth of September, they dislodged, and went that morning to Rockesburgh, incamping in a great fallow field, betwixt Rockesburgh and Kelfete, standing eastward a quarter of a mile off. Here at Rockesburgh they began to build a fort within the compasse of an old ruinous castell, the plot and site whereof standeth naturallie verie strong, upon a hill east and west of an eight foor in length, and thre foor in breadth, drawing to a narrowness at the east end, the whole ground whereof the old walles did yet inuiron. Beside the heighth and hardnesse to come to, it is stronglie fenced on either side with the course of two great riuers, Tiuert on the north, and Tward on the south, both which joining somewhat nigh together at the west end of it. Tiuert by a large compasse about the fields (in which the campe laie) at Kelfete, doth fall into this Tward, which with great depth and swiftnesse runneth from thence eastward into the sea at Berwik. Quert this betwixt Kelfete and Rockesburgh there hath bene a great stone bridge with arches, the which the Scots in times past haue all to broken, because the Englishmen should not that waie come to them.

Some after the lord protector's surueie of the plot, and determination to doe as much in deed for making it defensible, as shottnesse of the time & season of the yere could suffer (which was) that one great trench of twentie foor broad with depth according, and a wall of like depth, breadth, and heighth, should be made crosse within the castell from the one side wall to the other, and fortie foor from the west end: and that a like trench and wall should likewise be cast a trauesse within, about a coits cast from the east end, and hereto that the castell walles on either side where need was, should be mended with turfe, and made with loups, as well for shooting directlie forward as for flanking at hand: the worke of which deuise did make that (beside the safegard of these trenches and walles) the keepers should also be much defended from the enemies force by both the end walles of the castell: the pioners were set a worke, and diligentlie applied in the same.

The lord of Hesseforth, and manie other lards and gentlemen of Tuidall and the Pers, hauing come and communed with the lord protector, and the counsell, made an assurance, as it were a truce for that daie, till the next daie at night; and on the next daie, while assurance lasted, these lards and gentlemen being the chiefest in the whole Pers and Tuidale, came in againe, whome the dukes grace with wisdom and policie without bloodshed did win then unto the kings obedience, for the which they did willinglie then receiue an oth: whose names in part insue. The lord of Hesseforth, the lord of Fernihurst, the lord of Greenehead, the lord of Hynthill, the lord of Humbleie, the lord of Markeston by Perside, the lord of Bonichestre, the lord of Dymelton, the lord of Haleslane, the lord of Warrmesete, the lord of Linton, the lord of Egerton, the lord of Marton, the lord of Hoth, the lord of Weddell, the lord of Keamerstide. George Crombull, John Holliburton, Robert Car of Greiden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Birton, Andrew Peitther, Sander Spur of Crleston, Marke Car of Littleton, George Car of Faldenside, Alexander Pakdowell, Charles Koffers, Thomas Car of the Pere, John Car of Wenthorne, Walter Holliburton, Richard Harganfor, Andrew Car, James Douglas of Caucers, James Car of Perlington, George Hoppingie,

William Dymelton of Enmerden, John Crimston. Manie more there were beside, but ouerpasse by maister Patten, for that they remained in the register with these, as he saith. The duke of Summerstend tended the furtherance of the worke so much, that he forbore not to laie his owne hand to the spade and shouell, thereby to encourage others: so as there were but few lords, knights, and gentlemen in the field, but with spade, shouell, or mattocke did therein their parts.

The five and twentieth of September being Sunday, the Scots began to bring vittels to the campe, & were so well intreated and paid for the same, that during the time of the Englishmens abode there, they wanted not of the commodities which their countrie could minister. The eight and twentieth of September a Scottish herald accompanied with certaine Frenchmen, that were perchance more desirous to marke the armie than to wit of their welfare, came and declared that within a seauen-night after, their commissioners, to whome safe conduct had bene granted, should come and commune with our counsell at Berwik: whose comming the earle of Marbrike, and sir Rafe Sadler with other the commissioners appointed, did so long while there abide. But what the Scots ment by breaking promise I cannot saie, howbeit come they did not, & therefore escaped not the iust note of dissimulation, howsoeuer else they could colour the matter in their owne excuse.

The same daie after none, the duke of Summerstend set adorned with titles of dignitie diuerse lords, knights, and gentlemen, the names and promotions of whom maister Patten hath set downe out of the heralds booke, as followeth: Sir Rafe Sadler treasurer, sir Francis Blane capitaine of the light horsemen, sir Rafe Wane lieutenant of all the horsemen: these knights were made banerets, a dignitie aboue a knight, and next to a baron. The lord Greie of Wilton high marshall, the lord Edward Selmer the duke of Summerstend's son, the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Walbrike a Cleuelander, sir Thomas Dacres, sir Edward Hastings, sir Edmund Wyldges, sir John Chin, sir Miles Partridge, sir John Contwete, sir Giles Pole, sir Rafe Wagnoll, sir Oliver Laurence, sir Hentie Gates, sir Thomas Chaloner, sir Francis Fleming master of the ordinance, sir John Gresham, sir William Shipwith, sir John Wats, sir George Blaag, sir William Francis, sir Francis Inolles, sir William Thornburrow, sir George Howard, sir James Willford, sir Rafe Copinger, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir John Peruen, sir Nicholas Strange, sir Charles Sturton, sir Hugh Askue, sir Francis Salmin, sir Richard Counleie, sir Parmaduke Conestable, sir George Audlete, sir John Holcroft, sir John Southworth, sir Thomas Danbie, sir John Talbot, sir Rowland Clarke, sir John Hordleie, sir John Foster, sir Christopher Dies, sir Peter Negro, sir Alanzo de Wile, sir Henrie Husleie, sir James Granada Babander, sir Walter Bonham, sir Robert Bhandling mair of Newcastle, and made knight there at the duke of Summerstend's returne.

But now that Rockesburgh was sufficientlie made defensible (the which to see it seemed the duke of Summerstend had bowed before he would thence depart) his grace and the counsell did first determine that my lord Greie should remaine vpon the borders there as the kings lieutenant, and then toke order for the forts: that sir Andrew Dupleie capitaine of Broughtierag had left with two hundred soldiers of harquebutters & others, and a sufficient number of pioners for his worke: sir Edward Dupleie capitaine of Hame castell threescore harquebutters,

The diligence of the duke of Summerstend to further the fortification to Rockesburgh.

A Scottish herald.

Creation of banerets, knights, &c.

Banerets.

Knights: Edward Selmer the duke of Summerstend's son.

Sir Francis Fleming.

Order taken for defense of the fort garned and built in this booke.

D d d d. y.

fortie

The armie re-
turneth home-
wards.

The danger
of the soldiers
in passing the
river of
Tweed.

Knights
made.

In invasion
made into
Scotland.

Annan
church towne.

The castell of
Dilke towne.

The homilies
& paraphrase
of Erasmus.

The lord pro-
tectors re-
turne.

fortie horsemen, and a hundred pionsers: sir Rafe Palmer capteine of Rochester thre hundred soldiers of harquebutters and others, and two hundred pionsers. As things were thus concluded, and warning given ouer night on this wednesday being Michaelmasse euen, on the next morrow being Michaelmasse daie euerie man fell to packing apase and got them homewards, passing ouer the Tweed there with some trouble and danger also, by reason of raine that latelic fell before, & had raised the streame, which being swift of it selfe, and the chanel breuen in the bottome with great stones made the passage cumbersome, so that manie as well horsemen as footmen were in no small perill as they passed thorough, and one or two dyoloned, and manie carriages ouerthrowne, and in great hazzard of losing.

The duke of Summerset rode freight to Petercastell, and thence homewards. The earle of Marwike, my lord Greie, and sir Rafe Sadler, with diuerse other rode to Berwik, to abide the comming of the Scottish commissioners. In the meane time of their taring there, the earle of Marwike made sir knights; sir Thomas Penill the lord Penills brother, sir Andrew Cobbet, sir Anthoine Strelleis, sir Arthur Panering, sir Richard Nerneie, sir John Vertenille. After that the earle of Marwike had taried for the comming of the Scots the full terme of the appointment, which was untill the fourth of October, and perceiued they came not, the next daie he departed homewards.

Here ye haue to vnderstand also, that in part of the meane time whilst the duke of Summerset was in doing of these exploits in Scotland (as ye haue heard rehearsed) the earle of Lenor, and the lord Wharton warden of the west marches, with an armie of fise thousand men, entred Scotland on that side, and first passing two miles after a daie and a nights defense, they wan the church of Annan, toke seuentie & two pionsers keepers of the same, burnt the spoile for cumber of cariage, and caused the church to be blowen by with powder, passing thence a fiftene miles within the land, they wan the castell of Dilke, the which they left furnished with munition and men, and so returned. But of this ye shall find more in the historie of Scotland, by the sufferance of God, where we intreat of the doings there in this peare.

Thus much haue I collected out of master Pattens booke, or rather exemplified the same, not much digressing from his owne words, except where I haue bin forced to abridge his worke in some places, wishing to haue inserted the whole, if the purpose of this volume would haue so permitted, as well for the full vnderstanding of euerie particular point, by him remembered, as also for his pleasant and apt maner of penning the same. Whilst the lord protector was abroad thus in wars against the Scots, the lords of the counsell that remained at home, chieselie by the good and diligent calling on and furtherance of the archbishop of Canturburie, and others of the cleargie, toke order for the advancement of religion, causing the bookes of homilies and the paraphrase of Erasmus to be set forth and had in churches.

At the comming backe of the lord protector from his iourneie into Scotland, the citizens of London determined to haue receiued him with great triumph: but he hearing thereof, forbade them in anie wise so to do: for (said he) if anie thing hath bene done to the honour of the realme, it was Gods doing, and therefore willed them to giue him the praise. Nevertheless the maior and aldermen, with certeine of the commoners in their liveryes and their hoods, hearing of his approach to the citie, the eight daie of October met him in Finnesburie field, where

he toke each of them by the hand, and thanked them for their good wils. The lord maior did ride with him till they came to the pound in Smithfield, where his grace left them, and rode to his house of Shene that night, and the next daie to the king to Hampton court. The fourth daie of November began a parlement, called and holden at Westminster, which continued till the foure and twentieth of December next following, & was then proroged. In this parlement, all colleges, chanteries, and free chapells were giuen to the king, and the statute of the six articles was repealed, with diuerse others tending to the like end. Moreover, during this parlement visitors being appointed to visit in London, the firste of November began to take downe the images in Pauls church: and shortly after all the images in euerie church, not onelie through London, but also throughout the whole realme, were pulled downe and defaced.

The lord protector and others of the counsell, considering now in what sort they had got fothold in Scotland, by reason of such peeces as they had taken and fortified within the realme, did devise for the more suertie of those places, which they had already got, and the better to bring the rest of the countrie vnto reason, to haue some holds also more within the land, and therefore first they caused a fort to be builded at Louder, where sir Hugh Willoughbie was appointed capteine with a convenient garri- son of soldiers to keepe it. Before this, it was thought expedient to fortifie the towne of Haddington, where- upon the lord Greie lieutenant of the north parts, with sir Thomas Palmer, and sir Thomas Wolcrosse, were appointed to go thither with a convenient number of men of warre & pionsers to see that towne fenced with trenches, rampiers, and bulwarks, as should seme to his lordship necessarie and behouefull; who therefore entering into Scotland the eighteenth of Apriill, passed forth to Haddington, where he began to fortifie, and there remained to see the worke brought to some perfection. During his abode there, diuerse exploits were both ballantlie attempted and luckilie achieved by his martiall conduct and politike direction, as occasions offered might moue him, which I would gladlie haue set downe at large, if I could haue come to the true vnderstanding thereof; but sith I cannot get the same, in such full manner as I haue wished, that yet which I haue learned by true report (as I take it) I haue thought good to impart to the reader.

The eight and twentieth of Maie, his lordship wan the castell of Yester, after he had beaten it right sore with terrible batterie of canon shot for the time it lasted, and therewith hauing made a reasonable breach for the soldiers to enter, they within yielded with condition to haue their liues saued: which the lord Greie was contented to grant to them all, one onelie excepted, who during the siege uttered blasphemous words of the king, abusing his maiesties name with vile and most opprobrious termes. They all comming forth of the castell in their shirts, humbled themselves to my lord Greie (as became them) and vpon strait examination who should be the railer that was excepted out of the pardon, it was knowne to be one Hewton a Scot: but he to saue himselfe, put it to one Hamilton, and so these two gentlemen accusing one an other, the truth could not be decided otherwise than by a combat, which they required, and my lord Greie therevnto assented, and pronounced iudgement so to haue it tried: which he did the rather, because all men do seme resolute in the triall of truth (as in a verie good cause) by losse of life to gaine an endlesse name; as one saith:

Mors perennanda vitæ ut fama perennius alatur.

1548

1548

London fort-
fied.

Haddington
fortified by
the lord Greie.

Yester castell
townt.

Vigian T. J.
well in the
tower of
same.

Hamilton and
Scottish gentle-
men accuse
each other.

An. Reg. 2.

At the appointed time they entered the lists, set by for that purpose in the market place of Haddington, without other apparell saving their doublets and hosen, weaponed with sword, buckler and dagger. At the first entrie into the lists, Hamilton kneeling downe, made his hartie prayer to God, that it might please him to giue victorie vnto the truth, with solemne protestation that he neuer bitred anie such words of king Edward of England, as his aduersarie charged him with. On the other side Newton being troubled (as it seemed) with his false accusation, argued vnto the beholders his guiltie conscience. Now were the sticklers in a readinesse, and the combatours with their weapons drawne fell to it, so that betwixt them were stricken six or seven blowes right lustilie. But Hamilton being verie fierce and egre, vpon trust of his innocencie, constrained Newton to giue ground almost to the end of the lists; and if he had giuen him to the end in deed, then by the law of armes he had wonne the victorie. Newton perceiuing himselfe to be almost at point to be thus overcome, slept forwards againe, and gaue Hamilton such a gash on the leg, that he was not able longer to stand, but fell therewith downe to the ground, and then Newton falling on him, incourteously slue him with a dagger.

There were gentlemen present that knowing as they tolke it for certeine, how Newton was the offender (although fortune had fauoured him in the combat) would gladly haue ventured their liues against him man for man, if it might haue bene granted; but he chalenging the law of armes had it granted by my lord Greie, who gaue him also his owne golue beside his owne backe, and a chaine of gold which he then ware. Thus was he well rewarded how so euer he deserved: but he escaped not so, for afterwards as he was riding betwixt the borders of both the realmes, he was slaine and cut in peeces. On the fourth of June, the towne of Dalkeith was burnt, and the castell wone by force, where fourtene Scots were slaine, and thre hundred taken prisoners, amongst whome were these men of name; the maister of Sporton, son in law to sir George Dornaglas, the lord of Blengarnie, the lord of Medderburne, and one Alexander Hume, a man of god reputation among them. The same daie the English horsemen burnt all the mills round about Edinburgh, within the compasse of six miles on each side the towne. The seventh of June they burnt Halkelburgh. Now after that my lord Greie had fortified Haddington, and furnished it with vittels, and munitions sufficient, the twelue of June he departed from thence home wards, leauing there in garrison about two thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen.

In this meane time, Henrie the French king succeeding his father Francis the first (who departed this life the last of March in the yere last past, to wit, 1547) made prouision of an armie, with a nauie of ships and gallics, to passe into Scotland to the aid of the queene and other of his faction. And first he had sent thither monsieur de la Chapelle de Hiron, a gentleman of god account, to assist the gouernour with his aduise and counsell, which gouernour desirous to recover the castell of Wroughticrag, and loth to see it possessed by the Englishmen, raised a power of eight thousand men, and with eight peeces of artillerie came before that fortesse, meaning to win it by siege; but by the valiant poyntes of sir Andrew Dudley, and the hardie manhood of such English souldiers as serued there vnder him, the Scots were repelled, and driuen to leaue their siege with dishonour.

Yet not thus contented, the earle of Argyle with an armie of his Irish Scots, or Irishmen men (if I

maie so call them) after this likewise came and besieged the place, but glad to take truce for a time with sir Andrew. Before the tearme of the same truce was expired, there came new succours to him, and thereupon the earle in the end was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill not farre off from the castell, where afterwards they builded a fortesse. But to returne to the French armie which was prepared to passe into Scotland, ye shall vnderstand that when their ships and prouisions were once readie, and the captains with their bands come downe to West in Britaine, where the nauie was rigged to receiue them, monsieur de Delle general of all the armie, reckoned to containe seuen or eight thousand men, imbarcked himselfe with all his people, and sailed forth on his iourne, till they arrived in the Forth, and there took land at Leith the sixteenth of June.

Shortlie after, hauing got their great artillerie on land, and taken aduise with the lord gouernour & other of the Scottish nobilitie, whome they found at Edinburgh, how to proceed in prosecuting the war against the Englishmen, it was resolved that without delay they should trie their forces about the recovery of Haddington, and go to besiege that towne, before they attempted anie further exploit. The gouernour and other of the Scottish lords, hauing with them seuen or eight hundred light horsemen, offered to go with them, to the better aduancing forward of that enterpryse. Hereupon setting forward, and coming to Halkelburgh, the captains with a certeine number of horsemen and footmen, as well of Scots as Frenchmen, were appointed to go before to view the said towne of Haddington. Upon their approach nere to the towne, there issued forth certeine Englishmen and Italians, that were of Libertos band, which skirmished with them right stoutlie, till at length the Frenchmen and Scots retired backe to Lauret a little from Halkelburgh (where their armie incamped for that night) and the Englishmen and Italians returned backe to their fortesse.

The next daie the Frenchmen and Scots with their whole power came before Haddington, where they were welcomed with a right sharpe and hot skirmish, in which was slaine with an harquebuse shot, one of the French captains called Villeneufue. In the meane time whilst this skirmish continued, the Reine, the Reinegrace with his Almans incamped himselfe on the one side of the towne, where the maister of the ordinance in the French armie, named monsieur Duno, caused trenches to be cast for the safe placing of the artillerie: the Englishmen still kept them occupied on each side the towne with skirmishing, to the annoiance of the aduersaries. So concluded, they incamped before the towne, cast trenches, lodged their ordinance, & laid their siege to the most aduantage, so far as they might be suffered. Shortlie after that this siege was planted, there came to the aid of the French, the earle of Argyle, with a great number of Irish Scots, and monsieur de la Chapelle brought an eight or nine hundred Scottish pioneers, which began a trench on the left hand of the abbeie gate, and likewise a transe to couer their souldiers that should watch and ward, from danger of the shot out of the towne on that side.

The Englishmen with often illues gaue their aduersaries small rest, procuring manie hot skirmishes, as occasion serued. At one of the which skirmishes Picro Strozzi, colonell of three ensignes of Italians, was stricken with a musket shot. Yet monsieur de Delle enforcing the siege to the uttermost of his power, caused one night with helpe of baskets filled with earth, six peeces of artillerie to be planted in batterie fast at the towne side, which at the break

Monsieur de Delle general of the French armie.
He landeth at Leith.

The French men resolve to besiege Haddington.

The French arme cometh before Haddington.

The Reine, the Reinegrace.

They plant their artillerie.

The earle of Argyle.
Monsieur de la Chapelle.

Picro Strozzi hurt.

Haddington battered.

D d d d d y.

of

of daie began to shoot off, and discharged that present daie three hundred and fortie shots. But after they perceived that they did little hurt to the fortifications of the towne in that place where this batterie was laid: the next night, the baskets & peeces of artillerie were removed lower, and not past three score paces from the ditches of the towne, where the next daie two hundred shots were discharged against the rampire. To conclude, they made such breaches in sundrie places for easie entrie into the towne, that it was greatlie marvelled vpon they durst not assaie to giue a generall assault.

They lodged so neare within the verie ditches, that there were deuised certaine plummetts of lead, tied with cords to a truncheon of a staffe, like to an handstaffe of a baile, wherewith the souldiours that watched and warded within the towne on the rampire, shue diuerse of the Frenchmen being their lodged within their ditches. Thus notwithstanding that the Frenchmen with their artillerie had broken downe the fortifications, so as the breaches were made verie reasonable and easie for them to enter; yet durst they not presume once to giue the assault: for the Englishmen although their powder was sore spent, and that for want of matches they were constrained to teare their shirts, and vse the same in stead of matches; yet they shewed themselves so valiant in defending the towne thus beaten & made weake on each hand, that there was no hope left to their aduersaries to win it of them by force. Although the French power on the one side, and eight thousand Scots on an other had so inuironed it, that the Englishmen within were driuen to most hard shifts, for want of things necessarie & requisite for their maintenance and defense of that towne.

But yet whilst they remained thus in such distresse and necessitie of things, two hundred Englishmen vnder the conduct of capteine Windham, Warham Scrintleger, and John Car of Marke, four times in one night to passe through all the watches on that side where the Scots laie, and entering the towne, and bringing with them great plenty of powder, and other necessities, greatlie relieved them within, & so encouraged them that they seemed to make small account of their enemies forces. Whereupon within few daies after, the Scots (five or six hundred light horsemen onelie excepted) brake vpon their campe and returned home. After this, my lord Greie remaining at Bertwilke, ment to make a voyage himselfe in person for the reliefe of them that were thus besieged in Haddington. Now when all things were so farre in a readinesse as the next daie he ment to haue set forward, letters were brought that night from the court, willing him to perforce that seruice by a deputie, and to staie himselfe till the comming of the earle of Shrewesburie, who was appointed with an armie to come verie shortly as generall into those parties.

By lord Greie hereupon appointed in his stead sir Robert Bowes, and sir Thomas Palmer, to go thither, who comming to Dunglas, left there certaine bands of footmen, and with the horsemen being in number thirtene hundred (whereof seven hundred lances were appointed vnder the charge of sir Thomas Palmer) they rode forward to accomplish their enterprise: but the French captains hauing knowledge of their comming, they prouided the best they could to repell them, appointing foure benches or ensignes of lanceknights to keepe a standing watch that night in the trenches, and the like number of French ensignes to watch about their campe. All the other of their bands were commanded to take rest, but yet with their armour on their backs.

Their generall monsieur de Delle himselfe, monsieur de Bailleraie admerall of their fleet, monsieur Dandelot cozenell of the French footmen, Piero Strozzi cozenell of the Italians, the Reinsgrauce cozenell of the lanceknights, and all other the noble men and capitaines of honour among them were all night long in armour, traueiling vpon and downe, some on horsebacke, and some on foot, to visit the watches and scouts, set in places and waies by the which they suspected that the Englishmen ment to come. The lord Hume riding abroad to learne what he might of the Englishmens demeanour, earlie in the morning returned to the campe, and certified monsieur de Delle, that they were at hand. Herewith were the Scottish and French horsemen that kept the scout called in, and monsieur Dandelot with great expedition ranged his battell of footmen in order, and so likewise did the Reinsgrauce his Almans.

The Englishmen diuided into two bands came and shewed themselves in the sight of the towne, and charging such Scots and Frenchmen as came forth to encounter them, gaue them the ouerthrow at two severall charges: but finally presuming to farre vpon their good lucke thus chancing to them in the beginning, followed in chase those that fled before them, untill at length they were inclosed and shut by betwixt the French footmen on the one side, and the Almans on the other. And herewith the Scottish horsemen vnder the conduct of the lords, Humes & Dune, & the French horsemen led by monsieur de Ctauges their generall, being assembled together effronces, after they had bene so repelled, were now ready to come forward againe: and perceiving their footmen so to haue inuironed the Englishmen, that they were not able to recover themselves, nor to get out of danger, but by disordering their ranks to take them to flight, followed amaine, so that those which escaped the Frenchmens hands were taken by the Scots that pursued them in chase, so that few were saved that were not either slaine or taken. By lord Greie lost thre score and twelue great horses, and an hundred geldings, with all the men vpon them, armed with his lordships owne furniture, onelie foure or five of his men came home, of the which Thomas Cornwallis now growne porter to the quenes maiestie was one, and Robert Car esquier an other. Then page to my said lord Greie.

The vndissembled rashnesse of sir Thomas Palmer was thought to be the chiefe occasion of this distresse of those horsemen, who after they had done sufficientlie for that time, would needs haue them to giue a new charge, and so were discomfited. After this ouerthrow and chase of our horsemen, the armie that was lent to passe into Scotland was halled forward with all speed possible: for although before the comming of the English horsemen, the French, vpon aduertisement giuen that they meant to come, had plucked backe their great artillerie, and sent the same vnto Edinburgh, keeping onelie with them sir field-pieces, and herewith removed their campe further off from the towne: yet by foresailing bitels and all other necessarie things from them within, they were driuen to such distresse, that they must of force haue left the towne to the enemies, if some power had not come within a while to remove the siege that laie thus to annoie them.

When therefore the armie was come to Newcastell, & the earle of Shrewesburie generall lieutenant of the same was there arrived, they passed forward to Bertwilke, and from thence marched straight towards Haddington. The number of the Englishmen and strangers was reported at the point of fiftene thousand, whereof three thousand were Almans vnder

The battlement
of the Eng-
lishmen.

Successors
entering the
towne.

Sir Robert
Bowes sent
to succour
Haddington.

The lord
Hume.

Dandelot.

Monsieur C.
tauges.

The English
horsemen
comfited.

Quene
Elizabeth.

The French-
men removed
their campe.

The earle of
Shrewesburie
generall
the armie.
The number
of souldiours
the same
was.

der

For the conduct of a right worthy and expert chieftaine, named Conrad Herminig, commonly called Costpenie. Beside this armie by land, there was also furnished forth a fleet by sea, under the conduct of the lord Clinton high admirall of England, and other capitaine of great experience in affaires and service by sea. This fleet was appointed so to keepe course with the armie by land, that the one might be euer in sight of the other. Monsieur de Delle aduertised of the comming forward of this armie, durst not abide their comming, but raised his field, and retired with his armie toward Edinburgh: howbeit they were no sooner dislodged, but that a great troope of the English horsemen were got within sight of them, and coasted them all the waie as they marched for the space of seven or eight miles, in manner to as farre as Hestelburgh, where the Frenchmen staid, and encamped in a place chosen forth to their most advantage.

The earle of Shrewesburie, and the lord Greie with the armie comming unto Haddington, were verie receiued of the capitaine and soldours within: where it might appeare how valiantlie they had defended that towne during the siege, being so destitute of all things necessarie for their reliefe, and the fortifications so weak, that if the noble prowesse of their worthy generall sir James Willford, and the incomparable manhood of the rest of the capitaine and soldours had not supplied all other want, it was thought impossible that they should haue defended the place so long a time against such forces as had bene there imployed against them. But such was the vndanted valiance of that noble crue and garrison, that euen the verie enemies themselves could not but payd high commendations to the capitaine and soldours for the hardie forwardnesse and manhood, which at all times they had found and tried in them at all points of service, when they came to deale with them. And verelie their fauour deserueth to be had in memorie for euer, not onelie for their worthy achievements, done by force of hand, to the beating backe and repelling of the enemies, but also for their patient suffering of hunger, thirst, continuall watching, nakednesse, sickness, and all other such calamities and miseries, as want of things necessarie for the reliefe and maintenance of mans life is wont to bring, to those that are inclosed in such wise by the enemy. All which extremities they were well content to endure, so that it might turne to the benefit and renowne of their countrie, in comparison whereof they esteemed all things else verie vile and contemptible, were the same neuer so good, as the poet saith:

*Tantus amor patrie mortalia pectora tangit,
Natalisque soli, pro quo bona cetera sordent.*

The noble earle of Shrewesburie could not forbear to shed teares, to vnderstand and perceiue that such worthy soldours should suffer such great distresse, whose valiant hearts could not be quailed with any afflictions. Thus with mournfull imbragings intermixed with pittifull regards they met. The earle entering the towne, furnished it with new bands of men, good store of vittells, munition, and all other things conuenient, and as then thought requiuit. Thus hauing refreshed the towne, within two daies after he passed forth towards the enemies, appointing by the aduise of that noble chieftaine the lord Greie, certaine bands of horsemen to keepe themselves close together in ambush, and to send a sennet to the French campe, to trie if they might traue the Frenchmen out of their strength. And as they watched, it partly came to passe: for diuerse of their horsemen issued forth of their campe, and professed the skirmish. The Englishmen suffered themselves to be chased, until they had got their enemies

within danger of their ambush, and then whirling about, gaue them the charge, enforcing them to make their career backe, with more than an eadie gallop; so that hauing the Frenchmen thus in chase, they staid and toke diuerse, and among the prisoners were two capitaine, Pierre Longue, and one Lucinet. The others that escaped, returned with this losse to their campe.

In the meane time, whilst these things were thus in doing, there came to the aid of the Frenchmen foureteene or fiftene thousand Scots, accounting herewith the Irish Scots which came with the earle of Argile. These Scots were scarce lodged, when suddenly the earle of Shrewesburie & the lord Greie came with their armie diuided into three battels of footmen, garded with two troops of horsemen, presenting themselves before the faces of their enemies in the same place, where their anant curours the daie before had shewed themselves to day forth the Frenchmen. Here the armie thus ranged in arraie of battell, staid about the space of an houre, looking if the enemies durst haue come forth to haue giuen battell: but when they perceiued that by no means the Frenchmen meant to forsake their strength, they returned backe to their campe. The English nauie being entered now into the Forth, was not idle: for comming to Bzent Land they set fire on foure ships, which they found there, and after passing by Lieth saluted them within the towne with cannon shot, and after intending to burne saint Pinets, were repelled from thence by the lord of Dune, and after returned to attend on the armie. The earle of Shrewesburie, and my lord Greie hauing executed so much as their commission would beare, and refreshed Haddington with all things needfull, departed homeward: and comming to Dunglas, began there to build a fortreffe. The English Almans as the armie passed by Dunbar, burned the towne. These Almans also, and certaine bands of Englishmen, as well horsemen as footmen, were left at Dunglas, untill the Forth there begun was in some strength. The earle of Shrewesburie with the rest of the armie came backe into England. My lord Greie remaining on the borders lieutenant of the north parts, after the earle of Shrewesburie was returned home, assembled all the horsemen then lieng on the borders, and being backed with the Almans footmen, entered againe with the same horsemen into Scotland, burning and wasting in the countries of Tindall, and Liddesdall, for the space of twentie miles, both house, corne, hate, and all other things that came within their reach, and after returned without encounter.

The ninth of October being tuesday, monsieur de Delle, with his Frenchmen and Almans, came in the morning long before daie to Haddington, meaning to haue wonne the towne by stealth. And verelie the enterprise was gouerned in such secret manner, that the Frenchmen had killed the English scouts, and were entered the base court, yer any alarm was raised: and hauing laine the watch, some of them ran to a place behind a church, where the Englishmen had their vittells and munitions, and some thrust vp to the towne gate, enforcing with great violence to beake it open, crying with noise and shouts, Victorie, victorie, whereof in deed they accounted themselves then assured. And questionles the Englishmen being thus awakened out of their slepps on the sudden, were in some great disorder: so that manie of them came running forth without either armour or apparell, their shirts excepted; & others ran they wist not well whither, nor where to take heed. But yet as the Frenchmen were thronged together at the gate to beake it open, a Frenchman (as the it

The Frenchmen chased.

The armie of the Scots come to ioinc with the Frenchmen.

The earle of Shrewesburie professed the enemies battell.

The Frenchmen burnt not come forth of their campe.

Ships burnt.

A fortreffe built at Dunglas.

The lord Greie entered against into Scots land.

A camellado giuen to Haddington.

The Frenchmen repelled.

whither they report that serued within the towne, but as other saie Iherio capteine of the Italians, with his match light gaue fier to a double canon, that laie readie bent against the gate, so that the same shooting off, made such a lane among the Frenchmen, that they were glad to giue place, and with such a fearefull crie, that those which were behind, not vnderstanding what losse their fellows before had susteined, brake their arrate and fled amaine.

Parliament.

The Englishmen herewith passed through a priuie posterne into the base court, and comming vpon them with their halberds, and blacke bills, slue of them great plentie, and doue the rest that escaped ouer the wall in such hast, that happie was he that could tumble ouer first. Monsieur de Delle yet gathering them together againe, gaue that morning three sharpe assaults to the towne, but was repelled with great losse, for they caried awaie with them sixteene carts and wagons laden with hurt persons and dead carcasses, besides three hundred that were found in the base court, which they could not come to, after they were beaten out, to take awaie with them. And thus was monsieur de Delle constrained to retorne, repenting himselfe of that his bold attempted enterprise, hauing lost no small number of his Frenchmen and Almans, being slaine in the place. In this meane time, the kings maiestie summoned his high court of parlement, to be holden vpon prorogation at Westminster the fourth of Nouember, where it continued till the fourteenth of March next ensuing.

Dundee spoiled.

In the meane time, the proceedings for the Scottish wars was not forgotten, wherupon in the deepe of the winter, there were conuied certeine bands of the English lancequenets, and some number of Englishmen, both horsemen and footmen by sea vnto Broughtierag, and passing from thence vnto Dundee, a two miles from thence, entred the towne, and began to fortifie it: but shortly after by the coming of the French armie with monsieur de Delle, they lost it, first spoiling the houses, and after set them on fire at their departure. The Reinsgrau coronell of the Almans, and monsieur de Etanges, being sent by monsieur de Delle before, entred Dundee, and lodged within it. Within two daies after their comming thither, they toke certeine of their bands, and going forth did vield and surueie the new fort, which the Englishmen had begun to make on the hill, a small distance from the castell. But the Englishmen and their Almans issuing forth against them, were at their elbottes yer they were halfe well aduised that they were got to neare them, whereby being giuen hastie to retire, they hardlie escaped out of danger, being so hostlie pursued, that if the Reinsgrau had not helued his approued ballancie, guided with no lesse policie than manhood, the whole troupe had bene (as was thought) bitterlie distressed.

The Reinsgrau constrained to retire.

In Christmasse this yere the castell of Yume was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, through treason of certeine assured Scots, that vsing to bring bittels to the Englishmen that kept it, had marked all the manner of the scouts and watches, with the places of the wall where the cline was most easie. Wherupon in the night season, certeine of the Scots secretly comming into the ditches, got by to the heighth of the wals, and entring the place, slue and toke vpon the sudden all that were within it. The fiftenth of Januarie, sir Thomas Seimer baron of Sudleie, lord admerall, and brother to the duke of Sommerfet lord protector, was arrested and sent to the tower, and after by authoritie of parlement he was attainted, and the twentieth of March next ensuing, in the third yere of this kings reigne beheaded

1549.

Sir Thomas Seimer sent to the tower.

Anno Reg. 3.

at tower hill. Forouer in this parlement, the use of the masse was clealie prohibited, and a booke for the vniuersitie of diuine seruice, and right administration of the sacraments, was set forth and established.

As haue heard how the Frenchmen fortified the towne of Dundee, where monsieur de Etanges, with his companie of horsemen lieng in garrison chanced in a skirmish to be taken by the Englishmen that late in Broughtierag, to the great relieving of them that toke him, and no lesse greefe of the French and Scots, for the tried ballancie that was thoroughlie knowne to rest in him. Forouer, the Englishmen that kept the towne of Haddington all this while against the enimies, could not come by anye bittels, but onelie by a conuioe of some conuent, ent powder to gard the cariages that brought the same from the borders. And as it fortuned at one time when the conuioe came and passed by Dunbar, a skirmish was proffered by the French which laie within that castell in garrison. And as sir James Wilford that was there amongst other vpon this occasion (according to his wonted ballancie) shewed himselfe verie forward and egre against the enimie, he was inclosed by an ambush, which the Frenchmen had laid on ech side the street within the towne, that he could by no means escape out of their hands, but hauing his horse there slaine vnder him, was taken prisoner euen by a Calceigne of the countrie of Balque named Pellicque, that toome no small commendation for that his god hap, in taking such a prisoner, whose name for his often approued prowesse was verie famous euen among the enimies, who saw well inough a resolutenesse in the man rather by perillous aduentures to purchase the perpetuitie of renowne, than by defect of courage or negligent seruice to lose both life and fame. Which persuasion should enter into the hart of euerie seruitor in the field, if they will be counted right ballant in deed, considering that he which in his life time doth performe nothing worthe memorie, is like a plaier entring vpon the stage, but shewing nothing either in speech or in action, as the poet verie fittlie saith:

*Qui nullum facinus tota memorabile vita
Ediderint, obscuri homines migrare videntur
Hinc, ut qui strucla nil dixerit his troia sena.*

Some haue written that he was taken through default of those that were appointed to follow him, sith he undertooke to charge the enimie, in hope that by them he should haue bene assisted. But surely those that had the charge of this conuioe, doubting by aduenturing too far, to put all in hazard, thought it wise dome rather to suffer the losse of one, than to ieopard the whole; not perceiuing which waie to remedie the matter at that present. Now after that the generall of Haddington was thus taken prisoner, to the great greefe vndoubtedlie, not onelie of all the garrison there, but also of all such as tendered the aduancement of the kings maiesties seruice, sir James Cross was thought a man most meet to supplie the place, and therefore by the lord protector and others of the counsell was ordeined generall of that towne of Haddington, and the garrison there, in which roome he bare himselfe so worthilie, as if he should not be suspected of Batterie, for that he liueth yet, and in such credit (as the world knoweth) might moue my selfe matter to saie rather much than sufficientlie inough in his due and right deserued commendation.

The king by the aduise of his counsell meaning to prosecute the wars in Scotland, with great forces retained a new power of lancequenets, and other strangers, vnder the conduct of diuers sundrie capteines: but in the meane time the French king meaning

Sir James Cross was thought a man most meet to supplie the place, and therefore by the lord protector and others of the counsell was ordeined generall of that towne of Haddington, and the garrison there, in which roome he bare himselfe so worthilie, as if he should not be suspected of Batterie, for that he liueth yet, and in such credit (as the world knoweth) might moue my selfe matter to saie rather much than sufficientlie inough in his due and right deserued commendation.

1. Reg. 3.

ning to breake with the king of England, thought to haue stolen the fortreffe of Bullognberg, so that a chosen power of men of warre, to the number of seven thousand, vnder the conduct of monsieur de Chatillon, being sent doونه about that exploit on Paie daie at night, came forward with their ladders, and all other furniture meet for the purpose, approaching about the houre of midnight nere to the fort, with in the which were not at that time manie about thre hundred and fiftie soldiers, vnder the gouernement of sir Nicholas Arnalt knight generall of that pace, a capteine of great courage, and no lesse diligence in his charge.

the number
of pikes and
bills broken
vpon the
Frenchmen.

And as it chanced, there were among the Frenchmen thre or foure Englishmen, which hauing matched themselves in marriage with women of that countrie, after the peace was concluded betwixt France and England, were discharged out of the king of Englands wages; and remaining with their wiues, got interteinement among the Frenchmen, and were with monsieur de Chatillon, now comming towards this enterpryse. Wherevpon one of the same Englishmen named Carter, that had a foretelling giuen intelligence to the said sir Nicholas of the Frenchmens doings, so farre as he might learne and vnderstand the same, would gladlie haue aduertised sir Nicholas Arnalt of the Frenchmens purpose at this time: but monsieur de Chatillon kept the matter so secret, that Carter nor any of the other Englishmen had knowledge thereof, till they were now marching forward, so that Carter could not get awaie from them, till they were approached within lesse than a quarter of a mile of Bullognberg, and then slipping aside from among them, came running so fast as he might towards the fort, crying; Wolves, wolves, as loud as his voice would serue, & so gaue the alarm to them within the fort.

Carter an
Englishman
being among
the French-
men, but to
betraye the
counsell.

One of the soldiers called Morgaine Deaton, that chanced to be there at hand in scout with thre or foure other, straight knew him, and brought him to the draw-bridge, where sir Nicholas Arnalt caused him to be drawen vp betwixt two pikes, vnto whome he declared how the Frenchmen were at hand, meaning to assaile his fort now vpon the sudden, in hope so to surpise it. Herevith, it needed not to will sir Nicholas to bestirre him, to cause euerie man to make readie, and place themselves as was thought most expedient. And vndoubtedlie the noble courage of that worthy gentleman, furthered much, to cause euerie capteine and soldier vnder him, to put awaie all feare, and to haue a regard to do his dutie, for the receiuing of the enemies; so as they seemed glad of the occasion, whereby they might shew proofe of their accustomed manhood against the enemy, that thus came to scale on them without warning, in purpose to kill euerie man that fell into their hands, if their intention had taken place, making now such hast forward, that before the Englishmen could be well readie with their armour and weapons in their appointed places, the Frenchmen were got to the ditch, and appointing thre thousand of their numbers, the most part gentlemen and double payes, with targets, battell ares, and pistols, to haue the first scale, saluted them within vpon their verie approach, with seven hundred harquebuts shot at the first volie.

The French-
men assault
Bullogn-
berg.

The Englishmen by order giuen by sir Nicholas, kept themselves close, till the Frenchmen by their scaling ladders, which they brought with them, and had quicklie raised against the walles, began to mount vp, and enter vpon them; at which instant, off went the flankers. Those of sir Nicholas Arnalts mons discharged verie well at the first, but at the second volie the morters burst. Albeit there were thre or foure pieces that were planted aloft on the same

mont, of the which the one discharged fise & twentie shot by the maister, and the other seven and twentie by his maistie. Sir Nicholas Arnalt here being accompanied with his capteins and soldiers about him, stood at defence so stoutlie as was possible, doing so valiantlie, that their fame deserueth to liue for euer. There were burst vpon the faces of the enemies (ouer and beside the shot that was bestowed among them) to the number of fiftene hundred pikes and blacke bills. The Frenchmen verelie stucke to it to the uttermost, and did what laie in the verie last point of their powers to enter vpon the Englishmen, supplying still the places of their dead and wearie men with fresh succors.

The number
of pikes and
bills broken
vpon the
Frenchmen.

Carter that came to bring word of their coming, with a pike in his hand, stood at the place of the bulworne where they thus gaue the assault, & fought right valiantlie, giuing manie wounds, and receiuing some againe: for he was hurt both in the thigh and arme, who suerlie of a privat soldier (if he were privat and ordinarie) seemed verie seruicable at all assaies, considering into what desperat adventures and hazards he did as it were cast himselfe, esteeming lesse the losse of life and lim, than the reproch and dishonour of his countrie, the glorie & renoume wherof (about all worlde things which are but temporary) all men are naturallie bound with might & maine both to seeke and saue; as one verie well saith:

Carter an
hardie soldier
and a good ser-
uitor.

Nascimur ut patriam vitæque operæque iuuenius.

Sir Nicholas Arnalt himselfe was hurt with a pike in the nose. Capteine Warren standing on the same bulworne with sir Nicholas, receiued two shots in his cosselet, and one of them droue two or thre links of his chaine into his necke. Capteine Wroughton had there fiftene of his armed men, euerie of them hauing their cosselets perced through. The number of the Englishmen that were slaine, was reckoned to be fise and twentie, and hurt eight and fiftie. Of Frenchmen there were slaine a great number, beside those that were hurt, and at length through shot, casting downe of stones and timber vpon their heads, scalding water and handblowes they were repelled, retiring out of the trenches hostile after the breake of the daie, hauing continued the assault from midnight till that time, still renewing their forces, in hope to achieve their wished price: but being thus beaten off, they gathered together their dead men, and lading fiftene waggons with their carcasses, they returned backe, without making anie further attempt at that time.

The French-
men repelled.

And so by the high valiance of sir Nicholas Arnalt, and the other capteins that serued in that fort vnder him, and chieflie by the assistance of almighty God, the giuer of all victories, the enemies were repelled, to their great dishonour, and the peace referred to the immortal renoume of the defendants. Within a daie or two after, the generall of the Frenchmen sent to know of prisoners taken; but sir Nicholas Arnalt answered the messenger, that he knew of no warre: and therefore if anie had attempted to make a surpise of his pace by stealth, they were serued accordingly to their malicious meanings. And indeed (said he) we haue taken none of your men, but we haue got some of your haue guilt armour & weapons. Well (said the messenger) it is not the cowle that maketh the monk, and no more is it the haue armour or weapon that maketh the man of warre: but the fortune of warre is such, sometime to gaine, and sometime to lose. Sir Nicholas receiuing him into the fort, made him good chere, and gaue him fiftie crownes in reward, and so he departed.

Fiftene waggons laden
with French
carcasses.

But concerning the liberaltie of sir Nicholas, I might here speake further thereof, how bountifullie he

he

The lord
Cobham with
a new supplie
of soldiers.

he rewarded the souldiers for their great manhood
shewed at that time, in defending so sharpe an as-
sault, to their great honour and no lesse confusion of
the aduersaries. The daie after the said assault, there
came to Bullognberg from Cisines, a supplie of
three or foure hundred men, vnder the leading of sir
William Cobham, now lord Cobham and others. Within
a while after, sir Nicholas Arnalt sent forth
three hundred footmen, and fise and twentie horse-
men, conducted by the said sir William Cobham, 10
capteine Putton of the Old man, & capteine Hore
of Bullognberg, with certeine cariages, to go vnto
a wood not farre off, called the North wood, to fetch
fagots and brush, to repaire and mainteine the ramp-
pires.

These capteins with their bands being passed
forward, about two miles in distance from the fort,
met with certeine of their scouts that were sent forth
that morning, who told them that they had discou-
ered the tract of a great number of horsemen. Where-
upon the Englishmen now being almost come to
the wood side, retired with all speed: and herewith the
French horsemen brake out of the wood, and follo-
wing them, fell in skirmish with them. The English-
men casting themselves in a ring, kept them off with
their pikes, wherewith they impaled themselves, and
hauing their small troope lined with shot, they also
galled the Frenchmen right fore therewith, as they
still approached them. Neuertheless, those horsemen
gaue three maine onsets vpon the Englishmen, with
the number of a thousand horse at two of the first
onsets, and the third they gaue with all their whole
power, being esteemed a fiftene hundred horsemen
in all.

The great
bataile of the
Englishmen
vnder the con-
duct of their
noble capteins

But such was the valiant prowesse of the English
souldiers, encouraged with the comfortable presence
of sir William Cobham, and other their capteins,
that conducted them in such order as stood most for
their safegard, exhorting them with such effectuall
words as serued best to purpose, that the enimie to
conclude was repelled with losse of seuentie of their
great horses that laie dead there in the field, within
the space of halfe a mile. There were also foure thou-
sand French footmen that came forward, but could
not reach, and so marching about the fort, returned in
vaine, after they once perceived that the English-
men were safely retired within their fort. The coun-
cell thus perceiuing the French kings purpose, which
he had conceiued to worke some notable damage to
this realme, as well in support of his friends in
Scotland, as in hope to recouer those peeces which
the English held at Bullongne, and in those mar-
ches, doubted also of some inuasion meant by him to
be attempted into this realme, because of such great
preparation as he had made, for leuieng of his for-
ces both by sea and land.

The prepara-
tion for warre
as well in
England as
France.

The counsell therefore made likewise provision
to be readie to resist all such attempts, as anie waie
forth might be made, to the annoiance of the realme.
But as things fell out, the same stood in good stead,
not against the forren enimie, but against a number
of rebellious subiects at home, the which forgetting
their dutie and allegiance, did as much as in them
laie (what founer their pretense was) to bring this
noble realme and their naturall countrie vnto de-
struction. But first, for that it maie appeare, that the
duke of Summerfet then protector, and other of the
counsell, did not without good ground and cause
mainteine the warres against the Scots, I haue
thought good to set downe an epistle exhortatorie, as
we find the same in the great chronicle of Richard
Grafton, sent from the said protector and counsell vnto
the Scots, to moue them to haue consideration
of themselves, and of the estate of their countrie, by

Nich. Grafton
in fol. 1294.

ioining in that friendlie bond and vnitie with Eng-
land, as had bene of the kings part and his fathers
continuallie fought, for the benefit of both realmes,
the copie of which exhortation here insueth.

Edward by the grace of God, duke of Summerfet,
earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe, lord Sei-
mer, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, go-
uernor of his most roiall person, and protector of
all his realmes, dominions, & subiects, lieutenant
generall of all his maiesties armies, both by land
and sea, tresuror and earle marshall of England,
gouernor of the Iles of Gernefeie and Ierfeie, and
knight of the most noble order of the garter, with
others of the counsell of the said most high and
noble prince Edward, by the grace of God of
England, France, and Ireland king, defender of the
faith, and in earth vnder Christ the supreme head
of the churches of England and Ireland. To the
nobilitie and counsellors, gentlemen and com-
mons, and all other the inhabitants of the realme
of Scotland, greeting and peace.

The lord
Cobham with
a new supplie
of soldiers.

Considering with our selues the present
estate of things, and wrieng moze deepe-
lie the maner and tearmes wherein you
and we do stand, it maketh vs to mar-
uell, what euill & fatall chance doth so disceur your
hearts, and maketh them so blind and vnmindfull of
your profit, and so still conciliate and heape to your
selues most extreame mischiefs, the which we thome
ye will needs haue your enimies, go about to take
awaie from you, and perpetuallie to ease you therof.
And also by all reason & order of necessitie, it shoul-
be rather moze conuenient for you to seeke and re-
quire moderate agreements of vs, whome God hath
hitherto according to our most iust, true, and godlie
meanings and intents, prospered and set forward,
with your affliction and miserie, than that we being
superiours in the field, masters of a great part of
your realme, should seeke vpon you yet to the intent
that our charitable minds and brotherlie loue should
not cease, by all meanes possible to prouoke and call
you to your owne commoditie and profit, even as
the father to the son, or the elder brother to the yonger;
and as the louing physician would doe to the
mistruifull and ignorant patient: we are content to
call and crie vpon you to looke on your estate, to a-
void the great calamitie that your countrie is in, to
haue vs rather brothers than enimies, and rather
countrimen than conquerors. And if your gouernor
or capteins shall retaine and keepe from you this our
exhortation, as heretofore they haue done our pro-
clamation, tending to the like effect, for their owne
priuat wealth & commoditie, not regarding though
you be still in miserie, so they haue profit and gouer-
nance ouer you, and shall still abuse you with feined
and forged tales: yet this shall be a witness before
God, and all christian people, betwene you and vs,
that we professing the gospel of Iesus Christ, accord-
ing to the doctrine thereof, do not cease to call and
prouoke you from the effusion of your owne blood,
from the destruction of the realme of Scotland, from
perpetuall enmitie and hatred, from the finall de-
struction of your nation, and from seruitude to for-
ren nations, to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with
vs, to that which your writers haue alwaies wished
might once come to passe.

The epistle
exhortatorie
sent to the
Scots.

Wherein appea-
reth the lord
protectors
care for their
good estate.

Who that hath read the stories in times past, and
doth marke & note the great battels past fought be-
twixt England & Scotland, the incursions, robes, &
spilles, which haue bene done on both parties: the
realme of Scotland fise times woone by one king of
England,

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The Scots
by the consent
of a parlement
granted their
great seale for
the confirma-
tion of a mari-
age to be had
between Ma-
rie the heire of
Scotland, &
prince Ed-
ward heire of
England,

what offers
are made to
the Scots.

Britaine was
the first name
of England
and Scot-
land.

the mutuall amitie. We haue offered not onlie to leaue the authoritie, name, title, right or challenge of conquerour, but to receiue that which is the shame of men cuerconquered, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glorie of anie victorie (if anie we haue had, or should haue of you) and to take the indifferent old name of Britains againe, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered, nothing on your part vnrefused, whereby ye might be inexcusable. And all the world might testifie all other meanes, not being able to do anie thing, after manie other waies and remedies attempted, battell of vs to be taken as an extreame refuge, to attaine right and reason among christian men: if anie man may right-fully make battell for his espouse and wife. The daughter of Scotland was by the great seale of Scotland promised to the sonne & heire of England.

If it be lawfull by Gods lawe to fight in a good quarrell, and for to make peace, this is to make an end of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace; which to confirme, we shall fight, and you to breake, is it not easie to discern the better part: God and the sword hath already, and shall hereafter (if there be no remedie) trie it. Who so willet the marriage to go forward; who so willet the peace and tranquillitie of both the realmes; who willet no conquest to be had, but amitie and loue to go forward, we refuse no man: let him bring his name and his pledge of good seruice in this quarrell, he shall not onlie be receiued to the amitie; but shall haue sufficient defense against the aduersaries, and recompense of his lining, if he susteine anie losse. We neither do nor intend to put anie man from his lands, tares, or offices, vnlesse he will needs resist, and so compell vs thereunto.

It herie grow,
lawfull, and
dountfull of-
fer.

The case of
the foresaid
marriage still
vied.

What face hath this of conquest? We intend not to disherit your queene, but to make hir heires inheritors also to England. What greater honour can ye seeke vnto your queene, than the marriage offered: What more meeter marriage than this with the kings highnes of England? What more sure defense in the nonage of your queene for the realme of Scotland, than to haue England your patrone and gar- rison? We seeke not to take from you your lawes nor customes; but we seeke to redresse your oppressions, which of diuerse we do susteine. In the realme of England, diuerse lawes and customes be accord- ing to the ancient vsage thereof. And likewise, France, Normandie, and Gascoigne haue sundrie kind of orders. Haue all the realmes and dominions that the emperor now hath, one custome and one sort of lawes: These vaine feares and fantasies of expulsion of your nation, of changing the lawes, of making a conquest, be driuen into your heads, of those, who in deed had rather you were all conquered, spoiled, and slaine, than they would lose anie point of their will, of their desire of rule, of their estimation, which they know in quietnesse would be seene what it were, as it were in a calme water.

The lord pro-
tectoz telleth
the Scots
who they be
that put
doubtes into
their heads,
&c.

Now in this tumult of disorder, when the realme is tolled by and downe with waues and surges of battell, famine, and other mischiefes which the warre bringeth, they thinke they cannot be espied; but loke on them you that haue wit and prudence, and consider the state of your queene and realme, you will not keepe hir sole and unmarried, the which were to you great dishonour. If you married hir within the realme, that cannot extinguish the title which we haue to the crowne of Scotland. And what dissention, enuie, grudge, and malice that shall breed among you, is easie to perceiue. You will marrie hir out of the realme, our title remaineth, you be subiects to a for- ren prince of another countrie, and of another lan- guage, and vs ye haue your enemies, euen at your

elbow; your succours farre off from you: and be we not in the bowels now of the realme: Haue we not a great part thereof, either in subiection or in amitie and loue? Who shall come into your realme, but he shall be met with, and fought with, if needs be, euen of your owne nation, who be faithfull and true to the realme of England in the waie of this most goodlie vntion by mariage.

And if anie forren power, prince, or potentate, or whosoener be your alder to nourish still discord, send you an armie also; how shall they oppresse you, fill your houses, waste your grounds, spend and consume your vittells, hold you in subiection, & regard you as slaves, which without them could not liue, & will take your queene to bestow as they lust, & spe- ciallie if their ruler or king (as perchance he may be) in other warres be otherwise occupied, to be a prey to vs, & a true conquest, then it should be too late to saie; We will haue a mariage and no conquest, We will haue peace & amitie, We are wearie of battell and miserie. The stubborne overcommend must suffer the victors pleasure, and pertinacitie will make the victorie more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue giuen the cause, if they send monie and capteines, but no souldiers. First if they be capteines, who ruleth and whodoth obeye? Who shall haue the honor of the enterpryse, and if it be well archiued? But whe- ther it be well archiued or no, which number is that which shall be slaine? Whose blood shall be shed? Their monie peraduenture shall be consumed, & their commandements obeyed. But whose bodies shall smart for it? Whose lands shall be wasted? Whose houses burned? What realme made desolate? He member what it is to haue a forren power within you, a strong power of your enemies vpon you, you (as it were) the campe & plaine betwixt them to fight on, & to be troden vpon, both of the victor, and of the ouerrunnen. And imagine you be before your eyes your wiues & daughters in danger of wantonnesse & insolencie of the soldiors, the proud looks of the capteins & soldiors, whom you call to helpe you, the contempt you shall bring your nation in, then take heed least indeed that follow which you feare, that is, that you shall be by them conquered, that ye shall be by them put from your holds, lands, tares & offices, that your lawes by them shall be altered, that your nation shall be by them destroyed. Consider in this realme, did not the Britons call in the Saxons for helpe, & by them were put out: Where be the Britons, once a great nation betwixt you and vs? How did the nation of France put out the Galles out of all France? How got the Turk first all Grecia, & now of late all Hungarie, but being called in for to aid & helpe? And did not the Goths by like means get all Italie, and the Lombards one part thereof now called Lombardie? What looke you for more? Reddie soldiors, & hauing their weapons in their hands, and knowing that you cannot liue without them, what will not they com- mand you to do? What will they not inuade vpon you? What will they not thinke they may do? And what will they thinke that you dare do? This forren helpe is your confusion, that succour is your detri- ment, the victorie so had is your scruttade: what is then to be thought of losse taken with them? The strangers and forren soldiors shall oppresse you with in, our power and strength without; and of your owne nation, so manie as loue quietnesse, goodlines, and wealth of your realme, shall helpe also to scourge and afflict you. Is it not better to compose and ac- quite all this calamitie and trouble by mariage, to end all forraies and battels by such and so honorable a peace? Hath not the emperor Spaine & Burgun- die by title of mariage? How holdeth the French king Britaine now latelie annexed to that crowne, but

Further
duty to
make the
Scots
ward in this
manage.

It true saying.

The lord pro-
tectoz telleth
the Scots
that the inuade-
ment which
he would haue
the Scots in
present.

Examples
confirming
the former
sermon.

Insolent
soldiors and
the lord pro-
tectoz
reneweth.

The lord
pro-
tectoz
reneweth
the former
sermon.

Comma-
ndment
of
the
king
of
England
to
the
king
of
Scotland
in
the
year
1547.

The
king
of
England
to
the
king
of
Scotland
in
the
year
1547.

Comma-
ndment
of
the
king
of
England
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The
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year
1547.

Comma-
ndment
of
the
king
of
England
to
the
king
of
Scotland
in
the
year
1547.

unt by title of marriage? How have all the great
princes of the world happily and with quiet made
of two kingdoms one, of diverse lordships one, of
nations alwaies at warre with themselves, or else
in doubtfull peace, one well governed kingdome,
rule, and dominion, but by that godlie, most quiet,
and most amiable composition of marriage? Two
meanes there be of making one rule, whereto title is
pretended, and perfect agreement betwixt two na-
tions, either by force or superiortie, which is conquest;
or by equalitie and loue, which is by parentage & ma-
riage: you hate the one, that is, conquest; and by re-
fusing the other, you enforce upon you hatred & malice.

You will not have peace, you will not have ali-
ance, you will not have concord; and conquest com-
meth upon you whether you will or no. And yet if all
things were considered, we feare it will appeare that
it were better for you to be conquered of us, than
succoured of strangers, lesse losse to your goods, lesse
hurt to your lands, lesse dishonour to your realme;
this nation which is one in tongue, one in countrie and
birth, having so little diversitie to occupie the whole,
than other powers come in to you, neither like in
language, nor yet like in behavio, who should rule
over you, and take you to be but their slaves. But
we effrons and finally declare and profess unto you,
that although for the better furtherance of this god-
lie purpose of uniting the realmes, and for the sure
defense of them which favour the marriage, we are
compelled for the time to keepe holds, and to make
fortifications in your realme: yet the kings maie-
sties mind and determinat pleasure is, with our ad-
vice and counsell to be as before is declared, that
where favour may be shewed, not to use rigour, if
by conditions you will receive this amitie offered,
not to follow conquest: for we desire loue, unitie,
concord, peace and equalitie. Let neither your go-
verners nor your kirkemen, nor those, who so often
have falsified their faith and promise, and by treache-
rie and falshood be accustomed to prologe the time,
sed you forth with false words, and bring you into
the snare from whence they cannot deliver you. They
will peradventure provide for themselves with pen-
sions in some other realme, and set soldiors stran-
gers in your holds to keepe you in subjection, under
the pretense to defend them against us. But who
promiseth pensions for you? How are you defended
when they are fled away? Who conquereth you when
the strange captives have your holds, when your
land is wasted, and the realme destroyed, and the more
part kept from you? Who will let by the marriage of
the queene to give a title with the war of England; to
marrie the name, an other rightie king holding the
land: If we two being made one by amitie, be most
able to defend us against all nations, and having the
sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garrison, & God for
defense, should make so noble and well agreeing mo-
narchie, that neither in peace we may be ashamed,
nor in war afraid of any worldlie or foren power:

who should not you be as desirous of the same, and
have as much cause to rejoice at it as we? If this ho-
nor of so noble a monarchie do not move you to take
and accept amitie, let the griefe and the danger of the
aforenamed losses feare you to attempt that thing
which shall displease God, increase warre, danger
your realme, destroy your land, undo your children,
wast your grounds, desolate your countries, and
bring all Scotland either to famine & miserie, or to
subjection and servitude of an other nation. We re-
quire but your promised queene, your offered agree-
ment of unitie, the joining of both the nations, which
God of his infinite clemencie and tender loue that he
hath declared to beare to both the nations, hath offe-
red unto us both, and in manner called us both unto

it, whose calling and prouocation we have, and will
follow to the best of our powers, and in his name, and
with his aid, admonition, exhortation, requests, and
ambassages, not being able to do it, and to find fla-
blesse in promises, we shall not willing, but con-
strained pursue the battell, chastise the wicked & ma-
licious by the angrie angels of God, fire and sword.

Wherefore we require and exhort you all, who
have loue to the countrie, pittie of that realme, a true
hart to your queene and miserie, regard of your
honors and promises made by the great scale of
Scotland, and who favour the peace, loue, unitie,
and concord, and that most profitable marriage to en-
ter and come to us, and declaring your true and god-
lie harts therunto, to aid us in this most godlie pur-
pose and enterprise. To be witness of our dowings
we refuse no man, temporall nor spirituall, lord ne
lady, gentleman nor other, who will aid this our pur-
pose, and minish the occasion of slaughter and de-
struction, to whom we shall keepe the promises here-
tofore declared, and further see reward and recom-
pense made according to the desert.

And for a more sure proofe and plainer token of
the good mind and will which we beare unto you, that
which neuer yet was granted to Scotland in anie
league, truce, or peace betwixt England and Scot-
land, because yet shall have proofe of the beginning of
loue and amitie of both the realmes: the kings
highnes considering the multitude of them which are
come to his maiesties deuotion, and of them that be
well-willers and aiders of this godlie enterprise,
hath by our advice and counsell granted, and by these
presents doth grant, that from henceforth all manner
of merchants and other Scottishmen, who will enter
their names with one of the wardens of the mar-
ches, & there profess to take part with us in this be-
fore named godly purpose, to his owne commoditie,
& to serve all such as be of the same agreement, may
lawfullie and without anie trouble and vexation en-
ter into anie port, cricke, or haven of England, and
there use their traffike of merchandize, buye and sell,
bring in the commodities of Scotland, and take and
carrie forth the commodities of England, as libe-
rallie and as frellie, and with the same and none o-
ther custome or payments therefore, than English-
men and the kings subiects do at this present: min-
ding further upon the successe hereof to gratifie so
the furtherers of this most godlie enterprise and uni-
on, that all the world may be witness of the great
zeale and loue which his highnes doth beare toward
you and your nation. And all this the kings high-
nesse, by our advice and counsell, hath willed to be
declared unto you; and given in commandement
unto us, and all his lieutenants, wardens, rulers,
and other head officers, ministers, and subiects, to
see executed and done, according to the true purport,
effect, and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

Although this admonition and wholesome exhor-
tation might have moved the Scots to have regar-
ded their owne state, yet it little availed, as by the se-
quel it appeared. For having both great promises
made by the French, and now considering therewith
the hurle burlies and tumults that sprong up in
England, they continued in their obstinat purposes,
not to yeeld unto such reasonable motions as had
bene offered, if they would have shewed themselves
conformable thereto, and not have so stubbornlie de-
nied to submit themselves to that which of right they
were bound unto. So that herein they shewed them-
selves verie peruerse and wilfull, rejecting not one
lie the good advice that the duke gaue them, but also
not so much as once thinking what might insue to
their great mischance upon their refusal, and what be-
nest

fire & sword
Gods angrie
angels.

The kings
grant as a
proofe of the
beginning of
loue betwixt
England and
Scotland.

The Scots
reject the be-
nefit of this
exhortation.

60

nefit rebound to them by admitting the offer: naie, they were of opinion and beleefe, that if so by aue a boote might befall England, it would be an occasion of great ruth and yettchednesse to Scotland: as one of late hath affirmed in his poetickall supposal:

*— si hæc prædix Britannia
Cederet, omnia Scotia miserabile regnum,
Genti infelici nihil est nisi flere reliquum.*

A proclama-
tion for the
laying open of
inclosures.

But now to let the Scots alone for a time, we will returne to the rebellion which followed in this yeare, to the whole disappointing of the plot laid by the counsell, for the present subduing of the Scots, as it was verie like that it should haue so come to passe, if none other let had come. So it was, that the kings maiestie, by the aduise of his vnckle the lord protector, and other of the counsell, thought good to let forth a proclamation against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open, for the behoofe of the inhabitants dwelling nere to the same, who had greivouslie complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the vse of those fields and commons, and had inclosed them into parks and severall pastures for their priuat commodities and pleasures, to the great hinderance and vndoing of manie a poore man.

The meaning
of the forsaide
proclamation.

This proclamation tending to the benefit and reliefe of the poore, appointed that such as had inclosed those commons, should vpon a paine by a daie assigned late them open againe. But how well souer the letters forth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby peradventure to appease the grudge of the people that found themselves grieued with such inclosures; yet verelie it turned not to the wished effect, but rather ministred occasion of a foule and dangerous disorder. For whereas there were few that obeyed the commandement, the vndisciplined people presuming vpon their proclamation, thinking they should be bozne out by them that had let it forth rashlie without order, toke vpon them to redresse the matter: and assembling themselves in vniuersall wise, chose to them capteins and leaders, brake open the inclosures, cast downe ditches, killed by the deare which they found in parkes, spoiled and made haucke, after the manner of an open rebellion. First they began to plaie these parts in Summerfetshire, Buckinghamshyre, Northamptonshyre, Kent, Essex, and Lincolnshyre.

Commotions
in Summer-
fetshire, and
other places.

In Summerfetshire they brake by certeine parkes of sir William Herbert, and the lord Sturton: but sir William Herbert assembling a powler together by the kings commission, due and executed manie of those rebellious people. In other places also, by the good diligence and policie vsed by the counsell, the rebels were appeased and quieted. But shortly after, the commons of Devonshyre and Cornwell rose by waie of rebellion, demanding not onelie to haue inclosures laied open, and parkes disparted: but also thorough the instigation and pricking forward of certeine popish priests, ceased not by all sinister and subtil meanes, first vnder Gods name & the kings, and vnder the colour of religion, to persuaide the people to assemble in routs, to chole capteins to guide them, and finally to burst out into open rebellion. Their chiefe capteins were these, Humfrie Arundell esquier, gouernour of the Mount, James Rosogon, John Rosogon, John Paine, Thomas Amberhill, John Soleman, and William Segar. Moreover, of priests which were principall stirrers, and some of them chiefe gouernours of the camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names we find to be as folloze: Robert Wocham, John Thompson, Roger Barret, John Wolcocke, William Alfa, James Pourton, John Barroto, Richard Benet, besides a multitude of other priests

Rebellion in
Devonshyre.
John Fox in
Acts & Mo-
numents.

The names of
the capteins
of the rebels.

which ioined with them.

The whole companies of these rebels amounted little lesse than to the number of ten thousand stout and valiant personages, able indeed (if their cause had bene good and favoured of the Lord and giuer of victories) to haue wrought great feats. But being (as they were) ranke and malicious traitors, the almighty God confounded their deuises, and brought them to their deserued confusion. A strange case, that those mischeuous and wicked traitors could not be warned by the evil successe of their diuicelish attempted outrage, in the yeare last past: at that time certeine seditious persons in Cornwell fell vpon one of the kings commissioners named master Boole, sent thither with others for the reformation of matters in religion, in like manner as other were sent at the same time into other shires of the realme, for the which murder a priest being apprehended, arraigned, and condemned, was byatone into Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered the seauenth daie of Iulie, in the said last yeare before mentioned, to wit, 1548. Other of his complices and associates were executed and put to death in diuerse other parts of the realme.

But now touching these other that rose in this present summer. At the first they were in great hope that the other disordered persons, which stirred in other parts of the realme, would haue ioined with them, by force to haue disappointed and vndone that which the prince by law and act of parlement, in reformation of religion, had ordeined and established. But afterwards perceiving how in most places such mischeuous mutinies and diuicelish attempts, as the commons had begun, partlie by force and partlie by policie were appeased, or that their cause being but onelie about plucking downe of inclosures, and enlarging of commons, was disuoid from theirs: so that either they would not, or could not ioine with them in aid of their religious quarrell: they began somewhat to doubt of their wicked begun enterprife. Notwithstanding now, sith they had gone so farre in the matter, they thought there was no shrinking backe: and therefore determining to proceed, they fell to new deuises, as first before all things to bring into their hands all such places of force, wealth, and defense, as might in any respect serue for their aid and furtherance. Here vpon the second of Iulie, they came before the citie of Exeter, incamping about the same in great numbers, and vsed all waies and meanes they could deuise how to win it by force, sometimes assaunting it right sharplie, sometimes firing the gates, otherwhyles vndermining the wals, and at other times (as occasions serued) procuring skirmishes.

Finally, nothing was left vndone which the enimie could imagine to serue his purpose for the winning of that citie. And albeit there wanted not lastie stomachs among the citizens to withstand this outward force of the enimie: yet in proceesse of time, such scarcitie of bread and bittels increased, that the people waxed wearie & loth to abide such extremitie of famine. Whobeyt the magistrats (though it grieved them to see the multitude of the citizens in such distress) yet hauing a speciall regard of their dutie toward the prince, and lone to the common-wealth, left no waies vnought to quiet the people, & staie them in their dutifull obedience to resist the enimies: so that comforteing the people with faire promises, and relieuing their necessities verie liberallie, so farre as their power might extend, did in such sort vse the matter, that euerie of them withyn resolved with one generall consent to abide the end, in hope of some speedie reliefe. And in the meane while, when their corne and meale was consumed, the gouernours

The hope
of others faint
them.

Exeter be-
sieged.

The great
loue of the
citizens of
Exeter.

In Reg. 3.

of the citie caused bzaie and meale to be moulded by inch, for otherwise it would not sticke together.

Also they caused some excursions to be made out of the citie, to take and fetch into the citie such cattell as were found pasturing abroad nere to the walls, which being brought in, were distributed among the poore. To conclude, into such extremities were the miserable citizens brought, that albeit mans nature can scarce abide to feed upon any vnaccustomed food; yet these fillic men were glad to eat horse flesh, and to hold themselves well content therewith. Whilke the siege thus remained before Excester, the rebels spoiled and robbed the countrey abroad, and laying their traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certaine articles to be sent by to the king. But herein such diuersitie of heads and wits was among them, that for euery kind of bzaine there was one manner of article: so that neither appeared any consent in their diuersitie, nor yet any constancie in their agreement. Some seemed more tollerable, others altogether vnreasonable, some would haue no iudices, some no state of gentlemen. The priests ever harped upon one string, to ring the bishop of Rome into England againe, and to halloow home cardinall Pole their countreiman. After much a do, at length a few articles were agreed upon, to be directed vnto the king, with the names of certaine of their heads set therevnto, the copie whereof here in such.

The articles of the commons of Devonshire and Cornewall, sent to the king, with answers afterward following vnto the same.

Iff, forsomuch as man, except he be borne of water, and the Holie-ghost, can not enter into the kingdome of God, and forsomuch as the gates of heauen be not open without this blessed sacrament of baptism; therefore we will that our curats shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well on the wake daies, as on the holie daies.

Item, we will haue our chyliden confirmed of the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocesse resort vnto him.

Item, forsomuch as we constantlie beleue, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration being at masse, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is verie reallie the bodie and blood of our sauour Iesus Christ God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the verie selfe same bodie that was borne of the virgin Marie, and was giuen vpon the crosse for our redemption: therefore we will haue masse celebrated as it hath bene in times past, without any man communicating with the priests, forsomuch as manie rudelie presuming vnborthilie to receiue the same, put no difference betwene the Lords bodie & other kind of meat; some saing that it is bread before and after, some saing that it is profitable to no man except he receiue it: with manie other abused termes.

Item, we will haue in our churches reservation.

Item, we will haue holie bread and holie wafer in the remembrance of Christs precious bodie and blood.

Item, we will that our priests shall sing or saie with an audible voice, Gods seruice in the quier of the parish churches, and not Gods seruice to be set forth like a Christ masse plaie.

Item, forsomuch as priests be men dedicated

to God for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments, and preaching of Gods word, we will that they shall liue chast without marriage, as saint Paule bid, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saing vnto all honest priests, Be you followers of me.

Item, we will that the six articles, which our soveraigne lord king Henrie the eight set forth in his latter daies, shall be vsed and so taken as they were at that time.

Item, we praise God saue king Edward, for we be his both bodie and goods.

For the pacifying of these rebels, were appointed by the king and his counsell, sir John Russell knight lord priue seale, the lord Greie of Wilton, sir William Herbert after earle of Penbroke, sir John Paulet, sir Hugh Paulet, sir Thomas Spencie, and others, with a conuenient power of men of warre both on horsebacke and foot. Amongst others, there were certaine strangers that came with my lord Greie, as capitaine Germane an Hennover, with a band of horsemen, most part Albanoises and Italians. Also capitaine Paule Baptiste Spinola an Italian boine of a noble house in Genoa, with a band of Italian footmen. But now the lord priue seale that was ordeined by the king and his counsell, generall of that armie, vpon his first approaching towards them, sent vnto them the kings maiesties proclamation: the effect whereof was, that all such persons as were vnlawfullie assembled, and did not within three daies next after the proclaiming thereof, yield and submit themselves to the lord priue seale (the kings lieutenant) they should from thenceforth be deemed, accepted, and taken for rebels against his roiall person, and his imperfall crowne and dignitie.

And further, the kings maiestie, for a more terror to the rebels, and the incouragement of such other his louing subiects, as should helpe and aid to apprehend any of the said rebels, he by his said proclamation granted and gaue all the offices, fees, goods and possessions, which the said rebels had at and before their apprehension. This proclamation notwithstanding, the rebels continued in their wicked deuises & traitorous purposes, hastening to the hazards of their owne deaths & bindings, as the poet saith of the wolfe flyng to the hidden hoke:

Oculum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum.

Whereupon yet once againe the kings maiestie, for the auoiding of the shedding of christian blood, sent vnto them a most gentle and louing message in writing, thereby to reduce them againe to their dutifull obedience: but all would not serue nor auail to moue their obstinate minds to leaue off their desperate and diuelish enterpryse. The message was as followeth.

The kings message to the rebels of Cornewall and Deuonshire.

Although knowledge hath bene giuen to vs, and our dearest uncle the duke of Summerfet gouernor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subiects, and to the rest of our priue counsell, of diuerse assemblies made by you, which ought of dutie to be our louing subiects, against all order of law, and otherwise than euer any louing or kind subiects haue attempted against their naturall and liege soueraigne lord: yet we haue thought it meet, at this verie first time, not to condemne and reiect you, as we might iustlie doe; but to vse you as our subiects, thinking that the diuell hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall

Ecce est.

boine

The captiue appointed to go against the Deuonshire rebels.

Strangers.

Ric. Grafton.

A proclamation.

How spiff. lib. 2.

borne Englishmen, so suddenlie to become enemies to your owne native countrie of our subiects, to make you traitors, or vnder pretense to relieue your selues, to destroye your selues, your wiues, children, lands, possessions, and all other commodities of this your life. Whis we saie, that we trust, that although ye be ignorantlie seduced, ye will not be vpon knowledge, obstinate.

And though some amongst you (as euer there is some cockle amongst god corne) forget God, neglect their prince, esteeme not the state of the realme, but as carelesse & desperat men delite in sedition, tumults & wars: yet neuertheless the greater part of you will heare the voice of vs your naturall prince, and will by wisdom and counsell be warned, and cease your euils in the beginning, whose ends will be euen by God almighties order your owne destruction. Wherefore as to you our subiects by ignorance seduced, we speake and be content to vse our princelie authoritie like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to auenge your forgetfulness. First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selues against our other louing subiects, to arraie your selues to the war, who amongst you all can answer for the same to almighty God, charging you to obeie vs in all things: How can anie English god hart answer vs, our lawes, and the rest of our verie louing and faithfull subiects, who in deed by their obedience make our honour, estate, and degree?

Disorder in
subiects.

Abusing of the
kings name.

Ye vse our name in your writings, and abuse the same against our selfe. What iniurie herein do you vs, to call those which loue vs, to your euill purposes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordinance and prouidence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawfull succession, and our coronation: but not to this end, as you vse our name. We are your most naturall soueraigne lord & king, Edward the first, to rule you, to preserve you, to saue you from all your outward enemies, to see our lawes well ministered, euerie man to haue his owne, to suppress disordered people, to correct traitors, thieves, pirates, robbers, & such like, yea to keepe our realmes from other princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the bishop of Rome. Thus god subiects, our name is written, thus it is honored and obeyed, this maiestie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So that of this your offense we cannot write too much. And yet doubt not but this is enough from a prince to all reasonable people, from a roiall king to all kindhearted & louing subiects, frō the puissant Is. of England, to euerie naturall Englishman.

False causes.

Your pretense, which you saie, moueth you to do thus, and wherewith you seeke to excuse this disorder, we assure you is either false, or so vaine, that we doubt not, that after that ye shall hereby vnderstand the truth thereof, ye will all with one voice acknowledge your selues ignorantlie led, and by error seduced. And if there be anie one that will not, then assure you the same be ranke traitors, enemies of our crowne, seditious people, heretikes, papists, or such as care not what cause they haue to prouoke an insurrection, so they may do it, nor in deed can war so rich with their owne labors & with peace, as they can do with spoiles, with wars, with robberies and such like, yea with the spoile of your owne goods, with the lining of your labors, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your owne households, wiues and children: such they be, as for a time vse pleasant persuasions to you, and in the end will cut your throtles for your owne goods.

Baptisme.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessitie chance, shall not be christened but vpon the

holie daies: how false this is, learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue set forth by free consent of our whole parlement in the English tong teacheth you the contrarie, euen in the first lease, yea the first side of the first lease of that part which intreateth of baptism. God subiects (so) to other we speake not like & be not deceived. They which haue put this false opinion into your eares, they meane not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subiects. Be this knowne vnto you, that our honor is so much, that we may not be found faultie of one tote or word: proue it, if by our latus you may not christen your children when ye be disposed vpon necessitie, euerie daie or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but seeing you may do it, how can you beleue them that teach you the contrarie? What thinke you they meane in the rest, which moue you to break your obedience against vs, your king & soueraigne, vpon these so false tales & persuasions in so euident a matter? Therefore all you which will acknowledge vs your soueraigne lord, and which will heare the voice of vs your king, may easilie perceiue how you be deceived, and how subtiltie traitors and papists, with their fallshood seeke to atchieue and bying their purpose to passe with your helpe. Euerie traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and feed it secretlie: euerie papist his poperie, and nourish it inwardlie; and in the end make you our subiects partakers of treason and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to be a commonweale and holiness.

And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads the blessed sacrament of Christs bodie, should not differ from other common bread? If our lawes, proclamations, and statutes be all to the contrarie, whie shall anie priuat man persuade you against them? We do our selfe in our owne hart, our counsell in all their profession, our lawes and statutes in all purposes, our god subiects in all our doings most highlie esteeme that sacrament, and vse the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common bread, that we thinke no profit of other bread, but to mainteine our bodies: but this blessed bread we take to be the verie food of our soules to euerlasting life. How thinke you, god subiects, shall not we being your prince, your lord, your king by Gods appointment, with truth more proueable, than certeine euill persons with open fallshood? Shall anie seditious person persuade you that the sacrament is despised, which is by our lawes, by our selfe, by our counsell, and by all our god subiects esteemed, used, participated, and daily receiued? If euer ye were seduced, if euer deceived, if euer traitors were beleued, if euer papists poisoned god subiects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, nor the reuerence of the sacrament, nor the health of your soules that they that at, god subiects: it is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seeke. How craftie, how pitiouslie, how cunninglie so euer they do it, with one rule iudge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes.

Almightie God forbiddeth vpon paine of euerlasting damnation, disobedience to vs your king, and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God erre? If your offense be towards God, thinke you it is pardoned without repentance? As Gods iudgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your iudge is incorruptible, your fault is most euident. Liketise are ye euill informed in diuerse other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the masse, for the maner of your seruice of mattins and euen song. Whatsoeuer is therein ordered, hath bene long debated, and consulted by manie learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning

Sacrament
of the bodie,
et.

Disobedience
to a king is
disobedience
to almighty
God.

learning in this realme concluded, in nothing so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so fauile ended. As for seruice in the English tong hath manifested reasons for it, and yet perchance seemeth to you a new seruice, and yet in deed is none other but the old. The selfe same words in English which were in Latine, saving a few things taken out, so fond that it had bene a shame to haue heard them in English, as all they can iudge which list to report the truth.

The difference is, that we ment goblie, that you our subiects should vnderstand in English, being our naturall countrie tong, that which was heretofore spoken in Latine, then seruing onelie them which vnderstand Latine, & now for all you that be borne English. How can this with reason offend anie reasonable man, that he should vnderstand that anie other faith, and so to consent with the speaker? If the seruice in the church were good in Latine, it remaineth good in English: for nothing is altered, but to speake with knowledg, that before was spoken with ignorance: and to let you vnderstand what is said for you, to the intent you maie farther it with your owne deuotion, an alteration to the better, except knowledg be worse than ignorance. So that whosoever hath moued you to mislike this order, can giue you no reason, nor answer pourses, if ye vnderstand it.

Wherefore you our subiects, remember we speake to you, being ordeined your prince and king by almighty God, if anie wise we could aduance Gods honour more than we do, we would do it, and see that ye become subiects to Gods ordinance. Obieie vs your prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teach you, which haue power to rule you, and will create our iustice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulnesse, disobedience, obstinacie, & destruction of the realme. For the masse, we assure you, no small studie & trauell hath bene spent by all the learned clergie therein, and to auoid all contention thereof, it is brought euen to the verie use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as holie fathers deliuered it: indeed somewhat altered from that which the popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And although you maie heare the contrarie of some popish and euill men, yet our maiestie, which for our honoz maie not be blemished nor stained, assureth you, that they deceiue you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your heads for to furnish their owne purposes.

Confirmation
children.

And so likewise iudge you of confirmation of children, and let them answer you this one question. Thinke they that a child christened is damned, because he dieth before bishopping? Marke good subiects, what inconuenience hereof cometh. Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learning, and theis vpon shamelesse errors. To conclude, beside our gentle maner of information to you, what fouler is contained in our booke, either for baptisme, sacrament, masse, confirmation and seruice in the church, is by parlement established, by the whole clergie agreed, yea by the bishops of the realme deuised, & further by Gods word confirmed. And how dare you trust, yea how dare you giue eare without trembling, to anie singular person to disallow a parlement; a subiect to perswade against our maiestie, or anie man of his single arrogancie against the determination of the bishops, and all the cleargie, anie intimated argument against the word of God?

But now you our subiects, we resort to a greater matter of your unkindnesse, a great vnnaturalnes, and such an euill, that if we thought it had not bene begun of ignorance, and continued by perswasion of certaine traitors amongst you, which we thinke set on number, but in their doings busie, we could not

be perswaded but to vse our sword and do iustice: and as we be ordeined of God for to redresse your errors by auengement. But lone and zeale yet ouercometh our iust anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; and rather for your owne causes, being our christened subiects, we would ye were perswaded than vanquished, taught than ouerthrowne, quietlie pacified than rigorously persecuted. We require to haue the statute of sir articles reuined. And know you what ye require? We know ye what ease ye haue with the losse of them? They were lawes made, but quicklie repented; so bloudie they were to be borne of our people, yet at the first in deed made of some necessitie. Wh subiects how are ye trapped by euill persons? We of pitie, because they were bloudie, toke them awaie, and you now of ignorance will aske them againe. You know full well that they helped vs to extend rigour, and gaue vs cause to draw our sword verie often.

Six articles.

And since our mercie moued vs to write our lawes with milke and equitie, how are ye blinded to aske them in bloud? But leauing this maner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wit, the same hath bene aduulled by parliament with great reioisse of our subiects, and not now to be called in question. And dareth anie of you with the name of a subiect, stand against an act of parliament, a law of the realme? What is our power if lawes should be thus neglected? What is your suertie if lawes be not kept? Assure you most merelie, that we of no earthlie thing vnder the heauen make such reputation as we do of this one, to haue our lawes obeyed, & this cause of God to be thoroughly maintained, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares brydth, nor giue place to anie creature liuing: but therein will spend our whole roiall person, our crowne, treasure, realme, and all our state, whereof we assure you of our high honoz. For herein resteth our honoz, herein do all kings knowledg vs a king. And shall anie one of you dare bryeth or thinke against our kingdom and crowne?

The authoritie of a parliament.

In the end of this your request (as we be giuen to vnderstand) ye would haue them stand in force till our full age. To this we thinke, that if ye knew what ye spake, ye would not haue vttered the motion, nor neuer giuen bryeth to such a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdom? We of lesse authoritie for our age? We we not your king now as we shall be? Shall ye be subiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we shall haue? If ye would suspend and hang our doings in doubt untill our full age, ye must first know, as a king we haue no difference of yeares, but as a naturall man and creature of God we haue youth, and by his suffrance shall haue age. We are your rightfull king, your liege lord, the soveraigne prince of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance; not onelie when we shall be one and twentie yeares of age, but when we were of ten yeers. We possesse our crowne not by yeares, but by the blood and descent from our father king Henrie the eight. If it be considered, they which moue this matter, if they durst utter their selues, would denie our kingdom.

But our good subiects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish his honoz, enlarge his power, not abate it, knowledg his kingdom, not deferre it to certaine yeares. All is one, to speake against our crowne, and to denie our kingdom, as to require that our lawes maie be broken vnto one and twentie yeares. We we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? Wherein be we of lesse maiestie, of lesse authoritie, or lesse state, than our progenitors kings of this realme, except your unkindnes, your vnaturalnesse will diminish our estimation?

¶ See. liij.

¶ We

We haue hitherto since the death of our father, by the good aduise and counsell of our deare and intire beloued uncle the duke of Summerſet, and gouernor and protector, kept our eſtate, maintained our realme, preſerued our honour, defended our people from all enimies. We haue hitherto bene feared and dread of our enimies, yea of princes, kings, and nations. Yea herein we be nothing inferiour to anie our progenitors, which grace we acknowledge to be giuen vs from God, and howe else, but by god obedi-
10 ence, god counsell of our magiſtrates, and by the au- thoritie of our kingdome?

England hitherto hath gained honour during our reigne: it hath wonne of the enimie, and not loſt. It hath bene maruelled that we of ſo yong yeares haue reigned ſo noble, ſo roſallie, ſo quietlie. And howe chaunceth that you our louing ſubiects of that our countrie of Cornewall and Deuonſhire, will giue occaſion to ſlander this our realme of England, to giue courage to the enimie, to note our realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a preſe to our old eni-
15 mies, to diminish our honour which God hath giuen, our father left, our good uncle and counsell preſerued vnto vs? What greater euill could ye commit, than euen now when our forren enimie in Scotland, and vpon the ſea ſecketh to inuade vs, to do our realme diſhonour, than to ariſe in this maner againſt our law, to prouoke our wrath, to aſke our vengeance, and to giue vs an occaſion to ſpend that force vpon you, which we meant to beſtow vpon our enimies, to begin to ſlaie you with that ſword that we drew forth againſt Scots, and other enimies, to make a con-
20 queſt of our owne people, which otherwiſe ſhould haue bene of the whole realme of Scotland?

Thus farre we haue deſcended from our high ma-
teſtie, for loue to conſider you in your ſimple igno-
rance, and haue bene content to ſend you an inſtruc-
tion like a father, who of iuſtice might haue ſent you
your deſtructions like a king to rebels. And now we
let you know, that as you ſee our mercie abundan-
tie, ſo if ye prouoke vs further, we ſwear to you by
the liuing God, ye ſhall ſee the power of the ſame
God in our ſword, which howe mightie it is, no ſubiect
knoweth; howe puiſſant it is, no priuat man can
indge; howe mortall, no Engliſhman dare thinke.
But ſuerlie, ſuerlie, as your lord and prince, your on-
lie king and maſter, we ſaie to you, repent your
felues, and take our mercie without delaie: or elſe
we will forthwith extend our princelie power, and
execute our ſharpe ſword againſt you, as againſt in-
fidels and Turks, and rather aduenture our owne
roſall perſon, ſtate, and power, than the ſame ſhould
not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie,
learne of certeine which latlie did ariſe, as they per-
ceiuing pretended ſome griefes, and yet acknowledged
their offences, haue not onelie moſt humble
their pardon: but ſeeke alſo by our order, to whome
onelie all publike order apperteineth, preſent redreſſe
of their griefes. In the end, we admoniſh you of
your duties to God, whome ye ſhall anſwere in the
daie of the Lord, & of your duties towarde vs, whom
ye ſhall anſwere by our order, and take our mercie
whyleſt God ſo inclineth vs, leaſt when ye ſhall be
conſtrained to aſke, we ſhall be too much hardened
in heart to grant it you. And where ye ſhall heare
now of mercie, mercie, and liſe; ye ſhall then heare
of iuſtice, iuſtice, and death. Written the eight of
Julie, in the thirde yeare of our reigne.

Although the rebels received this princelie meſ-
ſage, & wholeſome admonition from the kings ma-
teſtie, yet would they not reforme themſelues, as
dutiſull ſubiects ought to haue done, but ſtood ſtill in

their wicked begun rebellion, offering to trie it at
the weapons point. There wanted not priſtes and
other buſie bodie among them, ſuch as by all waies
and meanes poſſible ſought to kindle the coles of
malice and hatred betwixt the king and his ſubiects;
which as the maner is among all the like wicked
diſpoſed people, contriued to riſe and ſtrew abroad
faſe forged tales, and feined rumors, giuing it out,
that the people ſhould be conſtrained to paie a rata-
10 ble taſke for their ſheepe and cattell, and an excuſe for
euerie thing that they ſhould eate or drinke. Theſe
and ſuch other ſlanderous brutes were ſped abroad
by thoſe children of Beliall, whereby the cankered
minds of the rebels might the more be hardened
and made ſtiſſe from plieing vnto anie reaſonable per-
ſuaſion, that might be made to moue them to re-
turne vnto their dutiſull obedience, as by the lawes
both of God and man they were bounden: and ſo it
came to paſſe. For the rebellious rout were growne
to an obſtinacie, ſeeming ſo far from admitting per-
ſuaſions to ſubmiſſion, that they became reſolute
in their peſſilent actions; willfullie following the
20 worſt, which they knew full well would redound to
their detriment; and auoiding the beſt, which they
doubted not might turne to their aduantage, agree-
able in ſenſe and meaning vnto that of the poet:

Qua nocere ſequar, fugiam qua proſpere credam.

Herevpon when no hope was left to procure them
by anie quiet meanes to laie downe armes, the lord
princie ſcale, and the lord Greie, with their forces,
30 although not comparable with the rebels in num-
ber, about the latter end of Julie ſet vpon them, and
by great manhood put them from their ground, not-
withſtanding they fought berie ſtoutlie, & gaue it not
ouer for a little: and although they were thus driuen
to giue place at this firſt onſet, yet they got toge-
ther againe, and abroad a new charge, defending
their ground, & doing what they could to beat backe
and repell thoſe that came to aſſaile them. But ne-
uertheleſſe through the power of the almightie God
40 fauouring the rightfull cauſe, the rebels were diſtel-
ſed, and followed in chaſe with great ſlaughter for
the ſpace of two miles. This was about the begin-
ning of Auguſt.

Their chiefe captiues, to wit, Humfreie Arun-
dell, Whinſland, Holms, and Burie, were taken
and brought hy to London. There were taken alſo
others of their captiues, as Thomas Underhill,
John Soleman, William Segar, Templon, and
50 Barret, which two laſt were priſtes; alſo Woier and
Henrie Lee, two maiors, all the which were executed
in one place or other, as they had well deſerued. The
ſaid Woier being maior of Bodmin in Cornewall,
(as Grafton reporteth) had bene a buſie fellow a-
mong the rebels, to ſet them forward in miſchiefe:
howbeit ſome that loued him ſought to excuſe him,
as if he had bene forced hereto againſt his will by
the rebels, who would haue killed him, and burnt his
houſe, if he had not conſented to them. But howe
ſoouer it was, ſir Anthoine Kingſton that was prior
60 uoſt marſhall in the kings armie vnder the lord prin-
cie ſcale, wrote his letter vnto the ſaid maior, ſig-
nifieng to him, that he and other with him would
come and dine with him ſuch a daie. The maior ſe-
ming to be glad thereof, made the beſt purueſance
he could to receiue them, and at the time appointed,
ſir Anthoine Kingſton came with his companie, and
were right hartilie welcomed of the maior. But be-
fore they ſat downe to dinner, calling the maior a-
ſide, he told him that there muſt be execution done
in that towne, and therefore willed him that a paire
of gallowes might be framed and ſet by with ſped,
ſo that they might be readie by that time that they
ſhould make an end of dinner.

Godlie and
princelie ad-
monition.

Faſe rumors

Howe the
rebels

The rebels
put from their
ground.

John Foxe
The captiues
of the rebels
taken.

Sir Anthoine
Kingſton prior
uoſt marſhall

The

The maior with all diligence caused the same to be done: so that when dinner was ended, sir Antho-
nie calling the maior to him, and asking whether the
gallows were set up accordinglie as he had willed,
the maior answered that they were readie. Where-
with sir Antho-
nie taking the maior by the hand, de-
sired him to bring him to the place where they stood,
and comming thither and beholding them, he said to
the maior: I thinke you maister maior that they be
strong enough: *Pea* sir, quoth he, that they are. Well
then said sir Antho-
nie, get you euen vp vnto them,
for they are prouided for you. The maior greatlie as-
tonished herewith, said: I trust you meane no such
thing to me. Sir said he, there is no remedie, ye
haue bene a busie rebell, and therefore this is appoin-
ted for your reward: and so without respect or staie,
there was the maior hanged.

At the same time, & nere the same place dwelled a
miller that had bene a great dower in that rebellion,
for whom also sir Antho-
nie Kingston sought: but the
miller being thereof warned, called a good tall fel-
low that he had to his servant, and said vnto him: I
haue businesse to go from home, if anie therefore
come to aske for me, saie thou art the owner of the
mill and the man for whom they shall so aske, and
that thou hast kept this mill for the space of three
yeares, but in no wise name me. The servant pro-
mised his maister so to do. And thoslie after came
sir Antho-
nie Kingston to the millers house, and
calling for the miller, the servant came forth,
and answered that he was the miller. How long,
quoth sir Antho-
nie, hast thou kept this mill? He an-
swered three yeares. Well then said he, come on,
thou must go with me, and caused his men to late
hands on him, and to bring him to the next tree,
saieing to him: Thou hast bene a busie knaue, and
therefore here shalt thou hang. Then cried the fel-
low out, and said that he was not the miller, but the
millers man. Well then, said sir Antho-
nie, thou
art a false knaue to be in two tales, therefore said
he, hang him by: and so incontinentlie hanged he
was. After he was dead, one that was pre-
sent, said sir Antho-
nie: Sorelie sir this was but the
millers man. That then said he, could he euer haue
done his maister better seruice than to hang for
him?

Benie other were executed by order of the mar-
shall law, & a great part of the countrie abandoned
to the spoile of the soldiers, who were not slouthfull
to gleane what they could find for the time their li-
bertie lasted. Thus far the report of this rebellious
boile, whereupon it first kindled, by what meanes
the same sparkled and became a flame, and what de-
uises were used to extinguishe & quench it. Where-
in we see how prone the people are to rise by routs
upon occasions of discontentments; how hastic and
bradie to undertake dangerous enterprises, how
willfull and obstinate to persist in their pernicious
proceedings, how cold-hearted and hopelesse when
then for the course of their plots of perilous policie
either interrupted, undermined, or ouerthrowne; and
finally, what a reprochfull reward redoundeth both
to the ringleaders in rebellions, as also what falleth
to the shares of all such as shake hands and become
confederats to the furthering and strengthening of
riots, mutinies, insurrections, commotions, and
barbarities. Whereby the state is disquieted, (that
more is) the prince brought into a conceipt of sus-
pecting his subjects loialties; besides a wicked pre-
sident to posterities, without feare of shame, remorse
of conscience, regard to allegiance, or foresight of
afterclaps, to attempt the like. Now it resteth, that
for the further truth and knowledge hereof, we adde
a new report (new I meane, in respect of the pub-

lication, having not heretofore bene printed) though
old enough, and sufficientlie warranted by the re-
porter, who upon his owne notice hath deliuered no
lesse in writing, than himselfe upon verie good and
infallible grounds obserued, and hath left testified in
the discourse following; wherein there is not one
word either added, or inuerted: but all things (from
point to point) agreeable to the written copie.

The description of the citie of Exces-
ter, and of the sundrie assaults giuen to the
same: collected and gathered by Iohn
I.owell (alias Hooker) gentleman
and chamberleine of
the same.



Excesster or Excester is a famous and
an ancient citie, being the metropole
and Emporium of the west parts of
England, situated and lieng in the pro-
uince sometime called *Dumnonia*, that
is to saie, the countrie of *ballics*: for whereas are
manie hilles (as that countrie is full of hilles and
mountains) there are manie *ballics*. But in *cor-*
ruptie it is named *Deuonia*, or *Deuonshire*, and not
Daneshire of the *Danes*, as some would haue it.
Of the first foundation thereof, by reason of the sun-
drie inuasions of foreyn nations, who with their hosti-
lities and cruell warres did burne and destroye the
same, there remaineth no certeine memorie, nei-
ther among the records of the said citie, ne yet in a-
nie one other writer.

But most certeine it is, that it was first builded
and founded by the *Britons* or *Butes*. For the
names which they gaue and used, are yet at this pre-
sent had in remembrance, as well among the chro-
nographers of this land, as also among the *Corin-*
nians, who were sometimes one with this prouince;
but now in a countie of themselves, and next borde-
ring to this, and in the same diocesse. And they are
the remanent of the blond of *Brutus*. For when *Cad-*
wallader king of this land, by reason of a great fa-
mine and pestilence was driven to forsake the same,
& to flee into little *Britaine* named *Armorica*, which
is now under the dition of the French king: diuers
& the most part of his people fled, some into *Wales*,
and some into *Cornwall*, where euer since they and
after them their posteritie haue remained and conti-
nued.

The old chonographers, searchers, and writers
of antiquities do find, that this citie was called *Co-*
rinia, and thereof the cathedrall church of the same
was (as *Bale* saith) named *Ecclesia Coriniensis*: which
name, if it were first giuen by *Corinus* (as *Leland*
writeth) who after the arriual of *Brutus* into this
land, was made the first duke of this whole west
countrie of *Deuon* and *Cornwall*, which were both
comprised vnder the name of *Corinia*, and wherof this
citie euer hath bene and is the metropole, and al-
waies parcell sometime of the kingdome, then of the
duchie, and after of the earledome, and now againe
of the duchie of *Cornwall*: then out of doubt this
citie is of no lesse antiquitie than the said names do
import. It was also called *Augusta*. Of this name
there were diuerse cities, so named by the *Romans*:
but this onelie was named *Augusta Britannorum*, and
so called (as some thinke) by the *Romans* at the con-
clusion of the peace made at the siege of this citie be-
twene king *Arminius* and *Vespasian* colonell of
the *Romane* armie vnder *Claudius Augustus*. The
Britons in their tong or language do call this citie
by sundrie names; the first and eldest in remem-
brance is call *Penhulgoſſe*, that is to saie, the pro-
perous

Corinia,
Bales lib. 1.
Cenuria,
Lelandus in
Genealogia.

Penhulgoſſe,

Pennehaltes
caire.

Pen necaire
the chiefe ci-
tie, Caire ruth
the red citie,
Caireiske the
citie of Exe.

Houeden.

Ptolomeus in
tabulis.

Baleus centur,
lib.

New lords
new names.

Spunketon.

Ex. v. c. l. i. l. i. s.

Polydorus his.
lib. 5. Exor.

perous chiefe towne in the wood, as doth appere by
Geseiric of Monmouth, and Ponticus Virunius. It
was also called Pennehaltescaire, that is, the chiefe
citie or towne upon the hill; as doth appere in a tra-
uerse betwene the bishop, deane, and chapiter of this
citie of the one partie; and the maior, bailiffe, and
communalitie of the other partie, concerning their
liberties. But the names which the Cornish people
do at these presents remember & rekeine, are special-
lie three, Pennecaire, Caiveruth, Caireiske. Penne-
caire signifieth, and is to saie, the chiefe citie. Caive-
ruth signifieth the red or reddish citie, so called and
taking the name of the ground and soile whereupon
it is situated, which is a red earth. Caireiske is the
citie of Ilike, being so called of the river, which the
Britons name Ilike, and doth fast by the same. And
of this name Houeden in his chronicle maketh men-
tion, saieing thus: *Anno Domini 877 exercitus Dana-
rum ab Wareham nocte quadam, federe disrupto, ad Exce-
cestre diuerterunt, quod Britannice dicitur Caireiske.*

Ptolomeus the famous astronomer, who was a-
bout the yere of our Lord 162, doell being king of
this land, nameth this citie Isca; and the river Isca-
ra. And Bale the searcher of antiquities following
the same opinion, doth also name the citie Isca, and
the inhabitants therein Isicans. But under corre-
ction be it spoken, a man maie well thinke that
Ptolomeus being in Alexandria, and so farre distant
from this land, was misinformed, or the print mis-
taken. For it is most likelie that the river should be
named Isca according to the British speech, wherein
it was called Isca; and which name by transposing
of the two middle letters, doth at this present re-
maine being now named Isca or Exa. But what-
soever the censures and opinions of Ptolomeus and
of Bale, who wrote onelie upon report, be herein, it
is certeine, that the names which the Brites or Bri-
tons gaue, were of longest continuance. And this
citie was called by their denominations, by the
space of fiftene hundred yeres, untill the coming
of the Saxons, the Dics, and the Scots into this
realme, which was about the yere of our Lord foure
hundred and fiftie. For they, where, and whensoever
they prevailed in any place, did for the most part al-
ter and change the names of all places & townes, ac-
counting it a great renoume, as also a perpetuall
memoriall of their chualtrie, to geue new names, ei-
ther of their owne deuises, or of their owne native
countries; for so is it written of them: *Picti, Scotti, An-
gli, Dani, & Normanni in hac insula rerum potius, cuncta im-
mutarunt, pro trophæis habentes, loca à se deictis nova impone-
re nomina.* The Saxons therefore as of all other cities
& townes (few excepted) so of this also they changed
and altered the old names and called it Spunketon;

and by which name it was so called by the space of
three hundred and od yeres, and untill the time of
king Athelstane: for he about the yere of our Lord
nine hundred thirtie and two, being much greued
and troubled with the rebellion of the Cornish peo-
ple, because they refused and denied to acknowledge
him for their lawfull king, did bend his force, & con-
duct his armie against them. And having subdued
and prevailed ouer them, he returned to this citie:
and while he rested here, he repaired the same; and
the walles which before were but mightie ditches of
earth, and the banks set with great poles of timber
now destroyed, he builded all of square stone, as it
is recorded: *Hanc urbem primus Athelstanus in potesta-
tem Anglorum fugatis Britonibus reducit, turribus muni-
uit, & muris ex quadratis lapidibus tandem cinxit.* And
then he altered and changed the former names, and
called it after the name of the river *Esseterra* or *Exe-
terra*, that is to saie, Exeter. For so is it written,
Est Exonia vils Deuonie comitatus, loco præcelso ad occiden-

tem versus posita: abluuntur flumine Exi, à quo nomen habet.
Others name it of the river flowing by it, which they
saie is named *Excestria*, & thus they write: *Clarissima
urbium est Excestria, quæ ab anni Excestro qui eandem præ-
terfuit est sic nuncupata.* I find it also written in an old
chronicle, that it is named *Exancestria* or *Exancestrie*:

which shuld seme to be so called by the Saxons. For
the most part of the cities, townes, & forts, which they
builded or reedified, did end in cestre; as Glocestre,
Lecestre, Banchestre, Salinchestre, Dorcestre, Wor-
cestre, Colchestre, Cicestre, Alcestre, Bicestre, & it is
citie of Excestre, with others. For Caire in British
& Cestre in Saxonish are one thing, & do signifie in
Englisch a fort, towne, or castell. This citie (as is be-
fore said) being walled about with stone by king A-
thelstane is not altogether foure square, but decli-
neth somewhat toward a roundnesse, and contain-
eth in circuit or compasse fiftene hundred whole pa-
ses, after siue sot to a pale; which accounting after
the Italian maner one thousand pases to a mile, it is
a mile and halfe about, & somewhat more. The situa-
tion of this citie is verie pleasant and delicate, be-
ing set upon a little hill among manie hilles. For
the whole countrie round about is mounteinous and
full of hilles. It is pendent towards the south and
west parts, after and in such sort, that be the fiers
nener so foule or filthy, yet with a shoure of raine
they are cleansed and made sweet. And albeit hilles
are commonlie drie, yet nature is so beneficiall to
this little hill, that it is in euerie quarter full of water
springs: & by that meanes the whole citie is throug-
hly furnished with welles and sirpits; the great god
benefit and commoditie thereof hath well appeared
in sundrie times of necessitie, and especiallie in the
time of the late commotion, which was in the yere
of our Lord 1549. For albeit the enimie, by beking
and spoiling of the pipes or canales, whereby water
was conueied to the founteins of the citie, from cer-
teine springs distant not a mile from the same, did
abridge them of that water: yet most comfortable
they did intoy without impeachment the welles and
sirpits within the walles, which abundantly flowed
with waters to the satisficing of all people therein.

There are also within this citie certeine foun-
teins or conduits, whereunto, through certeine ca-
nales or pipes of lead, the waters from certeine
springs, rising in the fields not far from the citie, are
brought and conueied. And these waters are of most
pryce, because by the carriage thereof they are puri-
fied, and made lighter than are the other waters
springing within the citie: and by that meanes more
meet for dressing of meats. Of these conduits two
are spectall, the one of them standeth and is within
the cemiterie or churchyard of the cathedrall church
of the said citie, and is called saint Peters conduit:
the other being of great antiquitie standeth in the
middle of the citie, at the meeting of foure principall
streets of the same, and whereof sometimes it toke
his name, being called the conduit at Quatrefois
or Carfor; but now the great conduit.

At the higher end of this citie is a verie old and
ancient castell, named Rugemont, that is to saie
the red hill, taking that name of the red soile or earth
whereupon it is situated. The site or situation of it
is eminent and aboue both the citie and countrie ad-
joining: for they do all lie as it were vnder the lee
thereof. It hath a goodlie and pleasant prospect to-
wards the seas: for betwene that and it is no hill
at all. It is stronglie ditched round about, and was
first builded (as some thinke) by Iulius Cesar: but
rather and in truth by the Romans after him when
they had their recourse to it for their defense, refuge,
and abode, manie yeres. The same was sometimes
the palace of such kings, as unto whom the king-
dome

Caire, (as
Caire)

The site of
Excestre and
circuit.

The citie is
full of foure
springs.

The rebels
dye and
spoil the
pipes of lead
top waters.

The conduits
for water.

Saint Pe-
ters conduit.

The great
conduit.

Castell Eng-
mont.
The site of
the castell.

The castell
builded by the
Romans.

domes of Westfex or Westfarons was allotted unto: and after them, it was the habitation of the earles of Cornetwall, and last of all of the dukes of Excester. It was alwaies parcell and of the inheritance of the earledome, but now of the duchie of Coznewall: it is in great ruine and decaie, and not easilie to be gotten with force, if it were reedified and inuironed.

Exterior of the

Church in the

At the lower end and part of this citie, without the walls, floweth a goodlie and a pleasant riuer, which the Britons called *Iska*; Ptolomeus by misinfozation nameth it *Iska*; but the other old writers named it *Esse, Exe, Exa, or Excestrum*: and these names be retained at these presents. It hath his head or spring in a certeine moze or desert distant from the citie nere about foure and twentie miles, called *Ermore*. It floweth into the maine seas about eight miles from the citie, at a place named *Ersmouth*, and by the waie it is increased with sundrie riuers, brooks & lakes, the chiefe of which are *Crædie* and *Collome*. It is well stozed and is plentifull of samon, trout, peale, dace, pike, and other like freshwater fishes: which albeit they be verie good and delicate, and especiallye the samon and pike: yet they are the lesse esteemed, because the seas being so nere do furnish the citie & countrie verie abundantlie with sundrie kinds of sea fishes most delicate.

The haven of Exeter.

The decaye of the haven of Exeter. High Court: the first whereof of the

The maine seas are not distant from the citie above eight miles, out of which commeth an arme serving for the port of the same: which (as doth appeare by certeine old and ancient records) did sometimes flow up to the verie walls of the citie, where boats and vessels were wont to be laden and unladen of all kind of wares and merchandizes, at a proper place appointed for the same: which at these presents keepeth his old and ancient name, and is called the *watergate*. The decaye thereof hapned about the yeare of our Lord 1312, by one *Hugh Courtneie* the third of that name, and earle of Deuon: who being offended and incensed against this citie, his wrathfull humoz could not be satisfied, untill by some meanes he did impaire and annoie the state of the commonwealth of the same. And seeing that among other commoditties, the vse of the haven and watercourse to the citie to be one of the chiefest, he was neuer quiet untill he had destroyed the same: wherefore minding to performe what he had conceived, he did in the yeare of our Lord 1313, the fifth yeare of king Edward the second, enterpryse & begin his pretended deulle and mischief.

Edward Courtneie.

And first whereas the ladie *Isabella de Fortibus*, countesse of Armerle and of Deuon, his ancestre had builded certeine waers upon the riuer of *Exe* (the proprietie and seignozie whereof did appertene to the citie) the one of the west side of the riuer of *Exe* in *Erminster* pariss, and the other of the east side of the same riuer in the pariss of *Topesham*; leaving betwene the said two waers a certeine aperture or open space of thirtie fot, thozough which all boats and vessels without let or hinderance might haue and had their vsuall passage and repassage, to and from the citie unto the seas: the said earle to abidze and destroye this great benefit and commoditie, did leuie and build a new waer in the said aperture or open come, stopping, filling, and quirtting the same, with great trees, timber, and stones, in such sort, that no vessel nor vessels could passe or repasse.

After him Edward Courtneie earle of Deuon, and nephew to the said *Hugh*, did not onelie mainteine and continue the doings of his ancestoz, by his daillie reparing and defending the same: but also to worke an otter destruction for euer, of anie passage or repassage to be had thenceforth to and from the said citie; under pretense to build and make certeine

mils, did erect two other waers, the one at saint James ouerthwart the whole riuer, and the other at *Lampreford*: by meanes whereof not onelie the citie did susteine the whole losse of the haven, but the whole countrie also was surrounded about it, and in process of time altogether, and as it is at these presents couered with salt waters. For which grieues and iniuries upon complaints made thereof, diuerse sundrie writs and commissions of inquirie were awarded and granted by the king; and the said earle by sundrie inquisitions and verdicts found gilty. And yet notwithstanding, such was their powler and authoritie, and such was the iniquitie of those daies, as no iustice could take place, nor law haue his due course against them.

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Furthermore also the foresaid *Hugh*, to increch the gaine and commoditie of the lading & unloading of merchandizes within the port & riuer to himselfe, did build a keie and a crane in the riuer at his towne of *Topesham*, distant from the citie about thre miles: and by powler did infozce and compell all manner of merchants arriving within that port to unlade & lade all their wares and merchandizes brought within that port (to be laden and unladen) there onelie. And from thence, euer since, all wares and merchandizes haue bene caried and recaried to and from the citie by horse, cart, and waine, though to the gaine of the earle and his tenants, yet to the great trouble and hinderance of the citie and merchants of the same. Neuerthelesse, the port hath euermore and yet doth keepe his old and ancient name, being called the port of the citie of *Excester*: and alwaies hath bene and presentlie is paid a tribute unto the citie, by the name of the towne custome, for all kind of wares and merchandizes, discharged within that port or riuer, or the members thereof.

And although the watercourse thus being destroyed can hardlie be restored to his old pristinate and naturall estate; for that thozough long continuance the old conrie can not be discerned: yet now at length after manie attempts and with great expences, a watercourse and passage begun in the yeare 1564, is recovered, and by certeine sluices, boats, and vessels of fiftene or sixtene tuns are coueied and brought up to the citie, and there discharged at the old and ancient place, called the *watergate*: & there is builded a verie faire large keie or wharfe, as also an engine called a crane fit for the purpose. Within the citie were sometimes but few pariss churches, untill the time of *Innocentius* the third: who when in the yeare 1198 he had established the doctrine of transubstantiation, and had made it an article of the symbole, as appeareth in the decretals, *Titulo de summa trinitate, canone Firmiter*: then his next successor *Honorius* the third, in the yeare 1218 did not onelie confirme the same, but also by decre did establish reseruacion, candlelight, and pteing for the dead, as doth appeare, *Decret. tit. de celebratione missarum, canone Sane cum, & Sane cum creatura*: by which means the number of sacrificing & massing pteiffs did not onelie increase, but churches also and chapels began in all places and euerie where to be builded and erected.

And among others in this citie in the yeare 1222 and the first yeare of king *Henrie* the third, the pariss churches were limited, and increased to the number of nineteene churches within the citie and subarbs, and were called by the name of the christianitie euen to this daie. Euerie of which in times past was a sufficient and competent living to mainteine a massing sacrificer; for such and so great was the blind deuotion of the people then in that Romish religion: but the same now being abolished, and the gospel preached, the livelihoods are so small, as not sufficient for

Sundrie inquisitions and verdicts found gilty against the earles of Deuon for destroying of the haven.

A keie first builded at Topesham. The merchants compelled to lade and unlade at Topesham keie.

The haven is recovered and renewed againe.

A keie and a crane builded at Excester.

The pariss churches first limited in Excester.

A monasterie
of saint Be-
nets order
builded in
Excester.

King Ethel-
red the first
founder of the
monasterie.
King Edgar
founder of a
religious
house in Ex-
cester.
The cathed-
rall church
was first a
monasterie
and founded
by king Al-
thelstane.
Chronica ecclesie.

King Canu-
tus confir-
med the pri-
uileges of the
monasterie.

K. Edward
the confessor
removed the
monks into
westminster,
and made
this a cathed-
rall church.
Leofricus the
first bishop of
Excester.

Polyd. hist. li. 19
Chronica chro-
nicorum, lib. 7.

The charter
of the church.

the most part to mainteine a poore clerke or scholar, & by reason thereof, the most part of them doe lie void and vacant, without incumbent.

Besides these parish churches, there was also a monasterie, sometimes of monks of saint Benets order, but since a cathedrall church, being of a verie faire and sumptuous building of freestone and with beautifull pillars of grate marble. It standeth and is situated in the east part of the citie; and (as some report) was first founded and built by king Ethelred, the third sonne to king Ethelwolhus. Some thinke that king Edgar did it. True it is that euerie of them builded a house for religious persons within this citie, of which the one was spoiled and burned by the Danes, and the other in procelle of time was built to the monasterie, which is now the cathedrall church. But the cathedrall church it selfe was founded & builded by king Althelstane, the sonne to king Edward the elder: for so is it recordeed in the historie of the same church, the words whereof are these: *Althelstanus subingatis Cornuwallensibus, reuersus est ad ciuitatem, qua antiquitus Monketon vocabatur, nunc autem Exeter: ac ibi sedens, anno Dom. 932, non tam lacerata eiusdem ciuitatis mania reparabat, quin & mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis, Deo & sancto Petro famulantibus.*

This king besides his great charges and expenses in building of this church, which at the first was but small, and that part which is now called the Ladie chapell, he placed therein monkes of S. Benets order, prouided liuelihoods for them, and appointed a ruler or gouernour ouer them, and who was called by the name of an abbat, towards whose diet and liuelihood he gaue spozhefull and Refractors bare: and which at these presents doe remaine to the said church and are annexed to the dignitie of the treasurer'ship of the same. The church being thus begun, kings, princes, & noble men were from time to time gladlie and willinglie verie liberall contributoz to the aduoluing and finishing of the same. For about foure score yeares after king Althelstane, king Knoght who was also named Canutus or Canutus, at the earnest suite of one of his dukes named Athelred, did confirme and grant to Athelred then abbat of the said church, and to his successors manie and sundrie priuileges and liberties, vnder his letters patents, dated the second yeare of his reigne, Anno Domini, 1019.

After him about thirtie yeares, king Edward the confessor removed the monkes into Westminster, and made this church a cathedrall church, and removed the bishops see which was then at Crediton into this citie, making Leofricus bishop thereof, and whom he and his wife quene Edith did put in possession of the same, as appeareth by his letters patents dated the eight yeare of his reigne, Anno Dom. 1050, whoboth the monke of Burie, Polydorus, and others doe affirme and write, that this should be done about the twelue yeare of William the conqueror, for thus they doe write: *Habitum est Londini, sub Lanfranco, antistitem & sacerdotum comitum, in quo decretum est, quod aliquot sedes episcopales, que in oppidulis & pagis antea fuerant, in uribus & locis celeberrimis collocarentur, unde factum est ut Bathonia, Lincolnia, Sarisburia, Exonia, Cestreria, & Cicestria urbes, huiusmodi nouis episcoporum domicilijs sunt nobilitate.*

But the reuerence of these writers reserued, this cannot be true concerning this church, because the words of the charter thereof doe witnesse the contrarie, and declare expresselie, how that king Edward and quene Edith his wife did put Leofricus the first bishop in possession, the one by the one hand and the other by the other hand, leading him betwene them vp to the high altar, and there put his hands vpon the

same: And yet it may be true, that at the foresaid counsell, this remouing and placing of this bishop might be ratified and confirmed. Likewise William the conqueror, in the third yeare of his reigne 1069, did not onelie confirme the former charter, but also at the instance and request of William Warewell, then his chapleine, but afterwards bishop of the same see, did giue vnto it the seignories of Blimington, Hampton, and S. Stephens in Crediton, which the said William Warewell being afterwards bishop did distribute, giuing Blimington to the religious canons, whome he placed there: Hampton was annexed to the deanerie, but S. Stephens was reserued alwaies to the bishop, and to his successors, whereby they are barons, and so lords in the parliament house.

It was also enlarged from time to time with great possessions, reuenues, buildings, riches, priuileges, and sundrie other commodities, by kings, princes, prelates, bishops, and sundrie others. And this one thing is to be noted, that albeit there were about foure hundred yeares distant from the first foundation and building thereof, vnto the ending and finishing of the same; yet it is so vniuersallie and decentlie compact and builded in one mould, as though it had bene done at one instant. The bishop is distinct from the chanons both in house and reuerence: his liuelihoods being no part nor parcell of that which apperteineth to the deane and chapter. It was sometimes of great reuenues and large possessions, but the moze part thereof hath bene consumed and exhausted by a wastfull bishop. The bishop and chanons haue verie faire houses, which are situated about the church & cemiterie, and are inclosed euerie night by shutting fast of certeine gates, by which occasion it is called a close, *A claudendo*: and which gates are to be shut euerie night (except at certeine times) and to be opened euerie morning at certeine hours appointed, as it appeareth by a composition made for the same betwene the communalitie of Crediton, and the bishop and deane of the same. In the middle of the cemiterie or churchyard is a verie faire fontaine or conduit of water conueied by certeine pipes of lead from out of the same felos, as is the cities conduit. And albeit the springs of both waters are in the same field, and not farre distant: yet this doth excell the other. Out of this well or fontaine waters are conueied to sundrie of the chanons houses, as also of late vnto the bishops house, and yet it serueth besides the whole close and citie. The citie it selfe is verie populous, and was sometimes chiefele inhabited with clothiers & clothworkers of broad clothes, seruing much for the Spanish and south countries; and which in those daies were of such goodnesse & substance, that the names of them doe remaine in those countries: but now it is chiefele inhabited with merchants, kerles, clothiers, and all sorts of artificers, among whom the merchants are the chiefe & welthe.

The gouernement of this citie was sometimes by foure bailiffes, which before the conquest were called portgreues, that is, the chiefe lords or rulers of the towne: for porta is taken for a towne, and greue in Saronie is Dominus or maior: but after the conquest they were after the French tong named Protogres, that is to saie Prefecti or rulers, and now stewards. Not long after the conquest there was ordered and constituted a senate of six and thirtie persons, but of later yeares by king Henrie the seventh of foure & twentie persons, out of which number yearelie there was and is chosen one to be the chiefe governor for the yeare following; and is called by the name of a maior, whome the Sarons called speregreue, that is, *Mayor dominus*, or the chiefe ruler. This maior associated with the foure prouds

The countie
contains
the charters
of the church,
and interest
the possessor
of it.

The cathed-
rall church
was foure
hundred yeares
in building.

S. Peters
conduit.

The inhabi-
tants of this
citie.

The gouern-
ment of this
citie.

Portgreues.

Protogres.

Against
the chiefe
ruler.

or bailiffes, hath the hearing, decerning, and determining in all ciuill causes betwene partie and partie, and for which they keepe wakerie upon euerie mondaie a court in the Guildhall of the said citie: but the bailiffes retaining their old and ancient custome, doe keepe the like courts, and in the like causes distinalie from the maior: by themselves, at all time and times (the mondaies and festiual daies excepted) as it shall please them to assigne, and with their court is called by the name of the prouost court.

Thus the maior and bailiffes both iointlie and seuerallie haue iurisdiction to decerne and determine in ciuill matters. But if the matters doe touch and concerne the prince, the crowne, the common peace, any criminall matter, or the publike state of the citie and common-wealth of the same, then the same are decided by the maior and iustices, or by the maior and common counsell, or by the maior himselfe, or by some other officer or officers, according to the nature and qualitie of the cause and offense. But because it requireth a large and speciall course, to describe the gouernement of this citie and common-wealth of the same, the charge of euerie officer, the diuersitie of officers, their seuerall iurisdiccions, and a number of other things incident vnto their charges: there is a particular booke imprinted, and at large the same is set out, in such order as is requisite, and appertaining to the gouernement: whereby euerie man may know his office and charge, and what to him doth appertaine. And let it suffice, that partie through god gouernement, and partie of a god inclination, the people of this citie haue bene alwaies dutifull and obedient to the king and the lawes: and haue in great awe and reuerence their gouernours and magistrates for the time being. And this one thing is not so strange as worthe to be noted, that euen from the beginning, from time to time they haue bene carefull for their common-wealth, and vigilant for the preservation of the same. And as in times of peace and quietnesse the same hath bene well gouerned: so in times troublesome and vniquiet, it hath bene most valiantlie defended against the innasions and assaults of the enemies, as by sundrie histories it may appeare: whereof for example

1 First Aruragus king of this land, then named Britaine, minding to staie the land in his ancient estate, freedom and libertie, did withowt law and denie to paie vnto the Romans the tribute which they did requite and demand: wherefore Claudius the emperor sent Vespasian then duke of the Romane armie, into this realme with a great host, either to recover the tribute, or to subdue the land. This Vespasian is he, who in the foure and twentieth yeare after this his iourneie, did destroye Ierusalem. Wherefore this duke landing in Dorsetshire, then named *Totonessum litus*, came to this citie, laid siege vnto it, and gaue continuall assaults therevnto, for eight daies continuallie together. Aruragus the king, being then in the east parts of the land, and hearing of this, with a great armie and powere marcheth towards this citie to remove the siege, and incountereth with the enimie. The Romane after long fight, and not able to preuaile, is contented to come to parlee, and in the end a composition was concluded, as if doth appeare, and is set downe and written by sundrie historiographers. The chronicle of the cathedrall church of the said citie hath these words: *Anno Domini 49, Vespasianus cum Romano exercitu ciuitatem nunc vocatam Exeter, octo diebus obsedit, sed minime preualuit, Arurago rege ciuibus auxilium prestante.*

Geffrie of Monmouth hath these words: *Vespasianus a Claudio missus est, ut Aruragum vel pacificaret, vel romane subiectioni restitueret. Cum igitur in portu in*

Rutapi applicare voluisset Vespasianus, obuius ei Aruragus, atque prohibuit ne portum ingrederetur. Retraxit itaque se Vespasianus a portu illo, retortisque velis in litore Totonessio applicuit. Nactus deinde tellurem Caier Penbuloite, que nunc Exonia vocatur obsecratur, eandem adiuit, cumque octo diebus eandem obsedit, superuenit Aruragus cum exercitu suo, praeliumque commisit: die illa, valde laceratus fuit utrorumque exercitus, sed neuter est victor: potius, mane autem facto, mediante Genessia regina, concordie effecti sunt. Matthew of Westminster writeth: Aruragus Britannorum rex in tantam prelosum est superbia, quod Romana potestatis noluit diutius subiectionem parere. Vespasianus igitur a Claudio missus cum in Rutapi portu applicare incepisset, Aruragus illi obuius prohibuit ne ingrederetur. At Vespasianus retortisque velis in Totonessio litore est applicuit, et ciuitatem qua Britannice Caier Penbuloite, nunc autem Exonia appellatur, obsedit: clapsis inde septem diebus Aruragus superuenit, praeliumque commisit, et utrorumque exercitus valde lacerato, mediante Genessia Claudi filia, duces amici facti sunt.

Florus histori-
rum.

In the historie intituled, Noua historia de gestis Anglorum a Britonibus vsque ad Henricum sextum, is written the like in effect: *Vespasianus a Claudio missus est ut Aruragum pacificaret, vel Romana ditioni restitueret, cui obuius Aruragus, prohibuit ne terram suam ingrederetur, timens Vespasianum armorum cohortem, retraxit se, retortisque velis in Totonessio litore est applicuit, atque urbem Exonia obsedit, post septem dies superuenit Aruragus, praelium committitur, laceraturque utrorumque exercitus, sed neuter potius victoria, demum mediante Genessia regina, reconciliati sunt.* It was also in manie troubles and great perplexities, in the uncerteine and troublesome states of this realme, when sometimes the Romans, sometimes the Brits, sometimes the Scots, sometimes the Saxons, and sometimes the Danes made their incursions and warres within this land, by reason whereof the records and memorials in those daies for the most part were lost and consumed.

40 And yet Matthew of Westminster writeth that it was besieged by Penda king of Mercia, in the yeare of our Lord 632, in the time of Cadwallin one of the last kings of the Britons. The historie is this, Edwin the Saxon king of the Northumbers, having wars against Cadwallin: Cadwallin, did him preuaile and had such conquests over him, that Cadwallin was driven to forsake his realme of Wales, and to flee into Ireland, where he being, was bene carefull and pensifull how to recover his countie againe. Wherefore he repareth his armie and gathereth a new force, and gaue sundrie attempts to aschine to his purpose: but all was in vaine, for he could neuer set foot on land in his countie. Edwin was alwaies at hand and in a readinesse to uop and resist the same, for this Edwin had about him in his seruice a man named Pellitus, who was a magician and verie skilfull in necromancie, and who by his art and science did foretew and declare vnto Edwin what things were a doing and attempted against him.

2
Florus histori-
rum.

Penda king
of Mercia.
Edwin king
of Northum-
berland.
King Cad-
wallin is dri-
uen to flee into
Ireland.

60 Cadwallin hauing continuallie euill successe, was in utter despaire and distrust to preuaile against Edwin, and therefore as one giuing ouer all, saileth ouer the seas into Armozica now called little Britaine, vnto Salomon the king thereof, and vnto him doth disclose his miserable estate and fortune, as also greatlie complaineth of Pellitus and of his sorceries. When these two kings had thoughtlie consulted and debated the matter, it was at length concluded and thought best, that some one man being bold and wittie should be sent ouer to the court of king Edwin, to giue the aduenture to kill Pellitus. Whereupon the matter being discovered to Wilenus nephew to king Cadwallin, he taketh vpon him to en-
terpryse

Pellitus a
witch doth
foretell to
king Edwin
of things to
come.

King Cad-
wallin saileth
into Armo-
rica.

Wilenus the
kings nephew
is sent to kill
Pellitus.

terpise the matter, and to couer himselfe from all suspicion, apparelleth himselfe in a poze beggers weed, and so sailleth ouer into England, and trauellith forthwith towards king Edwins court, who then laie at Poike, and there ioineth and accompanieth himselfe among the poze people, whose custome and maner was, to lie about the kings gates at dinner and supper times, waiting for the almesse usuallie giuen and wont to be distributed amongst the poze.

Wilemus hili-
lith Pellitus.

Pellitus being the kings almoner, and hauing the charge to distribute the said almesse, commeth forth and setteth the poze folke in order. Wilemus being there and amongst them, watcheth his time to worke his purpose, and thrusting himselfe in the middle of the presse of the people, suddenly with his polnado or weapon which for the purpose he had prepared, thrusteth Pellitus into the bodie, & gaue him a deadlie wound whereof he died, and forthwith (the thing in such a thrust not perceived) thrusteth himselfe awaie priuilie, and through woods, hills, thickets, and dales out of the common waie, commeth to this citie of Excester, & declareth vnto the citizens (who were then Britons) what he had done: whereof they were verie glad and iollull, and in good hope that their king Cadwallo should yet againe returne; and therefore vpon good aduise doo prepare and make readie both themselves and the citie, aswell for the resisting of the enimie, as for the receiuing, succouring and aiding of their king.

King Wenda
besiegeth Ex-
cester.

King Wenda aduertised of this murder, and vnderstanding the whole course of the matter and practice, taketh in grieffe the iniurie thus done to his neighbor and countriman king Edwin. And therefore to reuenge the same murdereth his subiects and gathereth a great armie; and vnderstanding that Wilemus was come to this citie marcheth towards the same, and in the end laieeth his siege round about it, minding the bitter subuersion thereof. But the citizens manfullie withstanding his force, did defend and keepe both themselves and their citie, vntill that king Cadwallo, who before was aduertised both of the fact of Wilemus and of this preparation of Wenda, did with his force and armie come to the citie, who did not onelie rescue the same; but also toining the battell with his enimie gaue him the ouerthrow, and to deliuered his countrie, and recouered himselfe and his kingdom.

3
Polyd. lib.

It was also in greater troubles in the time of king Alured or Alured the fourth sonne to king Ethelwulfus. For Polydorus and others doe write, that in the sixt yeare of the said kings reigne, the Danes concluded a peace with the said king, and gaue hostages for the true keeping thereof. And yet notwithstanding most perfidiously and falselie contrarie to the same, they assembled themselves, and vpon a sudden marched to this citie, and perforce entered and toke the same: *Daci etenim qui religionem & fidem pro suo commodo postponendam ducebant, Londino se mouent, & maximis itineribus Exoniā proficiunt, urbem per vim capiunt.* But long they inioied not the same, for after that winter passed, the king to be reuenged marcheth with a great power to this citie, which the Danes vnderstanding and thinking themselves too weake to withstand the king, as also bitterlie distrusting the citizens, thrust themselves awaie, of which some fled vnto Dartmouth and there toke shipping, and who for the most part were drowned in a tempest at the seas. Some fled to Chippenham or (as some saie) to Bisslow, but the king folloied and pursued these so sharplie, that he neuer left nor gaue ouer, vntill he had overcome and slaine the capitaine Hubbert and Hungar.

The Danes
are over-
throwne and
their captiues
are slaine.

4

Likewise in the ninetenth yeare of the reigne of

the said king, the Danes contrarie to their faith, pledges, and promises, did againe come to this citie, and laid siege to the same; *Danorum exercitus anno nona domini 877, ab Wreham nocte quadam seelere disrupto, ad Exoniam, quod Britanni dicitur Caeris, diuertunt, at audito regis aduentu, ad puppes fugerunt, & in mari praedantes manebant.*

It was also besieged by the said Danes in the ninetenth yeare of king Egelfred, in the yeare of our Lord 1001. For the Danes, which were in Normandie, being aduertised of the good lucke, successe, and great spoiles which their companions and countrymen in England had, and their feet set on edge therewith, suddenly prepared shipping, and came ouer the coasts and landed in Denon, and forthwith marched and toke their course towards the citie of Excester, thinking to haue found the citizens napping & to haue taken them suddenly and vnawares; *Sed ciuitas viriliter resistens eos reseruit.* The people & commons of Denon, Cornewall, Sumnerfet & Dorset, aduertised hereof, assembled themselves, & minding to rescue the citie, as also to encounter & aduerture the field with the Danes, met with them at a place neere the citie called Pimicho, and ioined battell with them, betwene whom the fight was cruell and the slaughter great. And thus doth Houeden testifie, whose words be these: *Memoratus paganorum exercitus de Normannia in Angliam reuocatus, ostium suum Exe ingreditur, & mox ad extinguendam urbem Exoniam egreditur, sed dum murum illius destruere moliretur, ac ciuibus urbem viriliter defendentibus repellitur, unde nimis exasperatus more solito villas succendendo, agros depopulando, hominesque cadendo per Dommoniam vagatur, quare Dommonenses in unum congregati, in loco qui dicitur Pimicho certamen cum eis ingunt.*

King Sweno being in Denmarke, and aduertised hereof, as also giuen to vnderstand how king Egelfred alias Ethelred or Egelfred had caused all the Danes in the realme to be suddenly slaine in one night, being much grieued therewith, did prepare and prouide a great armie for the reuenge thereof. And in the yeare of our Lord 1002, he landed in sumple and diuerse parts of this realme, being great hostilitie, and making great spoiles, and brought the whole land to an vnspokeable miserie and distresse: but at length, receiuing a tribute for a peace, he returned home into his owne countrie. Whomebeit the citizens of Excester hearing of this crueltie vsed in the east parts, made themselves strong: and doubting of so mightie an enimie, did make themselves readie, and prepared the citie to withstand him, if he should haue attempted anie force or hostilitie against them.

But the Dane being gone and returned home, and knowing nothing of this preparation, one Hugh then earle of Denon (as princes lacke no fauours) sent his letters into Denmarke to king Sweno, certifieng him both of the state and wealth of this citie, as also of the great preparation which had bene made to withstand him, persuaading him not to suffer such an iniurie. And as coles will be soon kindled: euen so the Dane vpon this aduertisement was in a great heat, and forthwith arreareth his armie, and repareth all things in readinesse to crosse the seas, anent to worke his will against this citie. And accordingly when time serued, in the yeare following, being the yeare of our Lord 1003, he toke the seas and landed vpon the coasts of Denon and Cornewall, and marched forthwith to this citie, and laid his siege against the same in the beginning of the moneth of August, and continued the same vntill the kalends of September: during which time were sundrie sharpe, fierce, and cruell assaults giuen by the Dane, and as valiantlie resisted by the citizens.

But in continuance of time, when they saw them-
selves

King Sweno
by the treach-
erie of the earle
of Denon
siegeth the
citie.

6

King Edward
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felices daile more and more to be weakened, vittels
to faile, the fire round about them, their wallies bea-
ten downe, themselves slaughtered and murdered,
and the enimie to increase and be strong, and in all
these distresses, their king Eldred being fled into
Normandie, to haue no care of them, nor to prepare
anie rescue, aid, or helpe for them: it was not to be
maruelled, if in so heauie a distresse they were ama-
zed and astonished. And yet considering with them-
selves that Sweno was a Dane, a cruell enimie, a
blondie murderer, an usurping tyrant, hauing no
other title to the crowne of England, but the sword,
did with one consent agree and conclude, neuer to
yeld nor giue ouer whilst anie were left living
able to withstand the same, wishing rather to die
manfullie for their common wealthe, than to liue in
reproch and infamie; and by death to reape an immor-
tall fame, than by life to become ignominious & in-
famous, and in the end also to be the miserable slaues
of a cruell and usurping tyrant.

When therefore after manie assaults, all the
most part of the ablest men were spent and consu-
med, and none or few left aliuie to withstand so mightie
and so manie enimies: the Dane on the seuen and
twentieth daie of August, with force entered the citie,
And after that he had serued and satisfied his blondie
appetites, in deflowring the women, murdering the
widowes, and making haucke of all the people, hee
spoiled the citie, burned the houses, rased the wallies,
bet downe the temples, and left nothing to be done
which might by fire, sword, and spoiles be consumed:
and this is so witnessed by sundrie writers. Reinolph
of Chelster writeth thus: *Daci cum suo rege Sweno Exce-*
ftriam venerunt, & urbem funditus destruxerunt, nullare in-
colum relicta, que aut ferro aut igni vastari poterat: & omnia
spolia cineribus tantum relictis secum deportauerunt. Hun-
tington hath these wordes: Daci in ea exarserunt sicut ignis
quem velit aliquis sanguine extinguere: aduolantes igitur
quasi multitudo locustarum, quidam Excestriam venerunt, &
urbem funditus destruxerunt: & omnia spolia cineribus tan-
tum relictis secum deportauerunt.

Houeden thus saith: *Rex Danorum Sweni peritium*
& proditorem Normannici comitis, quem Emma Domnania
profecerat, ciuitatem Exon infregit, spoliavit, & murum ab
orientali usque ad occidentalem portam destruxit, & cum in-
genti preda naues reperijt. It was also besieged by Wil-
liam the Conquerour in the first yeare of his reigne
Anno 1068. For when he first entered this land, and
by dint of sword fought the conquest thereof; the ci-
tizens of this citie, and the noble and gentlemen of
all the countrie about, entered into one common
league, conclusion and promise, to foine together and
to withstand the enimie to the uttermost. And this
confederacie being confirmed by a publike oth, pre-
paration on all parts was made accordinglie, for
the accomplishing of the same. But the conquerour
hauing preuailed, and subdued in a manner the whole
land, was aduertised that this citie stood vpon their
gard, and would not yeld nor submit themselves vnto
him. Whereupon he sent his armie from London
and besieged the same: and persecuting the siege to
continue, marched and came himselfe vnto the same,
but rather came no further than Salisburie. In the
meane time the citizens were aduertised how the
whole realme had yielded, and seeing also how their
confederats did daile thinke awaie from them, and
by that meanes they to grow weaker & weaker, and
therefore the lesse able to withstand so great a force,
and to keepe out so puissant an armie as was round
about them; and considering also, that small mercie
or fauor should they find if the citie by force were ta-
ken: did by way of intreatie offer submission, and de-
sire peace, which in the end they obtained: and so pati-
ng a grieuous fliis, they and the citie were restored.

But yet in token of his conquest, the king altered
and changed the gates of the castell, and took an oth
of all the citizens to be his liege and true subiects.

Houeden in his historie maketh mention, that
Githa king Harold's mother should be within this
citie, during the time that this siege and assault la-
sted: and persecuting the bent of the people to submit
and yeld themselves, secretlie conuied herselfe a-
waie. For these be his wordes: *Hyeme minuentur &*
Wilhelmus de Normannia in Angliam redijt, & Anglis im-
portabile tribution imposuit: deinde in Dunmoniam hostiliter
profectus est ad ciuitatem Excestriam, quam cines & normanni
Anglici ministri contra illum retinebant: & obsedit, & in-
gessit. Githa vero comitissa, mater scilicet Haroldi regis Anglo-
rum, & soror Swani regis Danorum, cum multis de ciuitate
fugientibus, & Flandriam petijt, cines autem dextris accep-
tu regi se dederunt. Also in the second yeare of king
Stephen Anno 1137, the lords and peeres of the
realme, remembering the oth which they had before
made to king Henrie the first, to whom they swore
to be true to Halw the kings onelie daughter and
heire, and to hir heires, and yet contrarie to the same
had sworn themselves to king Stephen, began to
repent themselves, & consulted how to restore Halw
the emperesse, and to expell Stephen. Wherefore
they assembled themselves in armie, & diuided them-
selves into sundrie cities, townes and castels.

Among whom one Baldwin Rideners then erle
of Deuon, with force entered and took this citie.
But the king so sharpelie followed and pursued
him, that he dyaue him from hence into the Ile of
Wight, which was then his lordship. But the king
when he had receiued the citie into his faith, mar-
ched with his armie to the said Ile, & took the same,
as also the earle himselfe, whome he forthwith bari-
shed. But Halw the emperesse afterwards remem-
bring this citie for such their seruice as she well li-
ked, did enlarge the liberties of this citie, for whome
yearelie euer after was an annuallie kept at the
charges of the citie.

It was also in great troubles in the eleuenth yere
of king Richard the second, Anno 1387. For a con-
trouersie being fallen betwene the king & his two
uncles, the dukes of Yorke & Glocester, none were
then so highlie in the kings fauour, as were Robert
Here marques of Dublin, and Michael de la Pole
earle of Suffolke, & others of their faction. So these
the king gaue in commandement, to collect and mu-
ster an armie, as it were for his defense, against his
said uncles: which when they had partlie done, whe-
ther it were because they mistrusted their owne
parts, or whether they doubted of the sequels of their
doings, they left their iourneie towards London, as
it was first appointed, and came towards this citie.
The two dukes who stood vpon their owne gard and
defense, hauing aduertisement hereof, followed and
persuaded them with all haste and speed: and hauing
ouertaken them at this citie, they ioined the fight
with the marques and the earle. But they trusting
more to their feet than to their hands, secretlie gaue
the slip and fled awaie, making no staie before
they came to Scotland; and from thence into Flaw-
ders, where they died.

It was moreover in troubles in the tenth yere of
king Edward the fourth Anno 1469, when the
states of this king, and of king Henrie the first were
doubtfull, and the whole realme diuided: some follo-
wing king Henrie, and some king Edward. In time
of which troubles the dukes of Clarence, the lord
Dineham, the lord Fitzwarren, and the baron of
Carew, who followed and took part with king Hen-
rie, came to this citie, being accompanied and stipa-
ted with a thousand fightingmen. The dukes was
great with child, and lodged in the bishops palace, but
the

Houeden.
Polychron. li. 7

Githa king
Harold's mo-
ther late in the
citie during
the siege, and
secretlie fled
awaie into
Flanders.
8

Baldwin Ri-
deners earle of
Deuon entered
into this citie,
and resisted
against king
Stephen.
Baldwin the
earle is taken
and bari shed.

Halw the
emperesse
remembering
this citie

Polydor. li. 20.
9

The marques
of Dublin, and
the earle of
Suffolke,
came to Cron
and are pur-
sued by the
dukes of Yorke
and Glocester.

The dukes of
Clarence with
others com-
meth to Cron
being great
with child & la-
eth in the bi-
shops palace, but
the

Sir Hugh Courtneie taketh siege to the citie.

The maior is required to deliver the keies of the citie, and refuseth so to do.

The maior and citizens do fortifie the citie.

The siege raised, and the citie deliuered.

The duke of Clarence and the Earle of Warwicke come from Edgecourt field to this citie, and from hence to Dartmouth.

the lords were in other houses within the close among the chanons, and here staid themselves. But sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who then fauoured and was on the part of king Edward, hearing of this assemblie, raiseth an armie of his friends and allies, approcheth therewith vnto this citie, besiegeth it, breakeh the bridges, and stoppeth all the waies leading to the same, and by which means no vittels could bee brought to the markets: and being thus incamped about this citie, sendeth to the maior, requiring him either to open the gates and to giue him entrie, or to deliuer vnto him the gentlemen which were therein. On the other side, the gentlemen which were within, they either mistrusting the maior and citizens, or not willing to stand to his courttesie, and be vnder his gouernement, required the keies of the citie gates to be deliuered vnto their custodie, and that all things to be done by their order and appointment.

In these doubts and perplexities consulting what were best to be done, they did at length resolue & conclude neither to yeld to the requests of them who were without, nor yet to satisfie the demands of them which were within the citie: but pacifying both parties with such good words, and in such good order as they might, did reserue to themselves the keeping and safe custodie of the citie, being the chamber of the king, & parcell of the revenues of the crowne, to the onlie vse of the king and crowne, as to them in dutie and allegiance did apperteyne. And therefore forthwith they rampired by the citie gates, fortified the walles, appointed souldiers, and did set all things in such good order as in that case was requisite, leauing nothing vndone which might be for the preservation of the state & commonwealth of the citie.

But yet for want of forescasting, in procelle of time the provision within the citie waxed short, and vittels to be scant; whereof it was doubted there would insue some famine, which the common people neither could nor would indure, if some remedie were not in due time had and prouided. The magistrats did their best indewor euerie waie, as well by diligence in following, as by counselling, in perswading euerie man to continue firme and true to the publike state, and their owne priuate commonweale. And albeit the common people were impatient to abide troubles, and loth to indure the present state of want and famine; yet they had that respect to their owne truth, faith, and safetie, as euerie man yelded himselfe contented to abide and indure the time of their deliuerance: and by the good will of God it followed, and the same toke good effect.

For about twelue daies after this sturre begun, by waie of intreatie and mediation of certaine chanons of the cathedrall church of this citie, the siege was remoued and raised; whereupon vertie shortly after did insue the field of Edgecourt, where the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwicke being put to the worst, did flee vnto this citie, and made their entrie into the same the third daie of Aprill, 1470, and laie in the bishops palace for a few daies, vntill they had caused to be prouided ships at Dartmouth for their passage ouer into Calis.

The king being aduertised which waie his enemies were gone, followed and pursued them with an armie of fortie thousand men, and came to this citie the fourteenth of Aprill 1470, hauing with him in his companie sundrie & diuerse great lords and estates, as namelie the bishop of Ely lord tresuror of England, the duke of Norfolkke earle marshall of England, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wiltshire son to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle Riuers, the lord Hastings, the lord Greie of Codner, the lord Audleigh, the lord Saie, the lord

Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Mountie, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, & the baron of Dingleigh, with a number of knights and gentlemen. But they all came too late; for the duke and the earle were both departed and gon to the seas before their comming.

Wherefore the king, after that he had rested and reposed himselfe here three daies, he departed and returned to London. It was also in great troubles, being besieged in the twelue yeare of king Henrie the seventh: by one Perkin Warbecke, 1470, who in the beginning of the moneth of September came to this citie, and incamped about it with his whole armie with ordinance battered the walles, fired the gates, vndermined it, and with mightie ladders scaled them, and left nothing vndone which might be to compasse their attempt: thinking and supposing that small would be the resistance against them. But such was the noble courage and valiant stomach of the citizens, that they manfully resisted and defended those forces, and indured the same to the bittermost, vntill that the king being aduertised thereof, did send the lord Edward Courtneie, earle of Denon and the lord William his sonne, with sundrie others well appointed, who came and rescued the citie: but in certeine conflicts the said earle and others were hurt; notwithstanding the enmie had the repulse, and was obliged to raise his campe and to depart.

Finallie & last of all, it was besieged in the third yeare of king Edward the sixt, 1549, by the commons of Denon and Cornewall: the historie whereof, so much as hitherto it hath not bene fullie and at large set forth by anie man, & wherat I John Hooker the writer herof was present, and *Tessimulatus* of things then done, I will somewhat at large discourse & set downe the whole course & maner of the same. It is apparant and most certeine, that this rebellion first was raised at a place in Denon named Sampford Courtneie, which lieth twelue wards from the citie about sixtene miles; vpon mondaie in the Twelfthmoneth being the tenth daie of June 1549. The cause thereof (as by the sequelle it did appeare) was onelie concerning religion; which then by act of parliament was reformed, and to be put in execution on Whitsondaie the ninth of June. The which daie being now come, and the statute made for the same to be put in execution throughout the whole realme: it was accordingly with all obedience receiued in euerie place, and the common people well inough contented therewith euerie where; sauing in this west countrie, and especiallie at the said Sampford Courtneie.

For albeit at the daie appointed by statute, they had heard and were present at the diuine seruice said, and had according to the new reformed order, and could not in anie respect, find fault, or iustlie reprehend the same: yet (as old bottles which would not receiue new wine) would rather wallow in the old dreggs and puddels of old superstition, than to be fed and refreshed with the wholesome and heauenlie manna. Wherefore they confederated themselves, bitterlie to renounce, reiect, and cast off the same, not onelie to the great offense of God, whome they ought in all truth and veritie to reuerence and hono; and to the great displeasure of the king, whome in all dutifullnesse they ought to haue obeyed: but also to the raising of open rebellion, the cause of the spoile of the whole countrie, and the vndoing of themselves, their wiues, and children; as in sequelle and in the end it fell out and came to passe.

And here doth appeare what great detriments too come and insue to the church of God, and what great troubles

Perkin Warbecke cometh to the citie and besiegeth it.

The earle of Denon cometh to rescue the citie and is hurt.

The rebellion of commons in Denon.

The rebellion first begun at Sampford Courtneie.

The cause of this rebellion was for religion.

Exeunt of
the people
from the
cathedral

Warhill
and Segar
with cap-
tains of the
military

The priest
his comp-
10 because he
should come
into the
cathedral

The justices
then to
Sampford
and do no
22

These gentle-
men were a-
head of their
company

trouble to the publike and commonweale: when as learned preachers do want to teach and instruct the people; and well persuaded magistrats to gouerne the common state. For these people lacking the one, & not stored with the other, were left to themselves, and to their owne dispositions: and thereby partlie of ignorance, but moze of a froward and a rebellious disposition, they do now bitterlie condemne to accept, and do openlie resist to receiue the reformed religion, now put, and to be put in vze and execution. For vpon the said mondaie, the priest being come to the parish church of Sampford, & preparing himselfe to saie the seruice according to the booke & reformed order set forth, & as he had done the daie before: some of the parishioners, namelie one William Underhill a tailor, and one Segar a laborer, and others who had consulted and determined before of the matter, went to the priest, and demanded what he ment to do, and what seruice he would saie? Who answered that according to the lawes set forth, he would saie the same seruice as he had done the daie before. Then they said, that he should not so do, saing further, that they would keepe the old and ancient religion, as their forefathers before them had done; and as king Henrie the eight by his last will and testament had taken order, that no alteration of religion should be made, untill king Edward his sonne were come vnto his full age. And therefore, for so much as he was now but a child, and could do nothing, they also would not haue a nie change.

In the end, all the parishioners joining and taking parts together, were all of the same mind, willing and charging the priest that he should vse and saie the like seruice as in times past he was wont to do: who in the end, whether it were with his will, or against his will, he relied to their minds, and yielded to their wills: and forthwith ranseth himselfe in his old popish attire, and saith masse, and all such seruices as in times past accustomed. These newes, as a cloud caried with a violent wind, and as a thunder clap founding at one instant through the whole countrie, are caried and noised euen in a moment through out the whole countrie: and the common people so well allowed and liked thereof, that they clapped their hands for ioie, and agreed in one mind, to haue the same in euerie of their seuerall parishes.

The iustices of peace dwelling not far from Sampford, being aduertised how disorderlie, & contrarie to the lawes, things had bene done in the church of Sampford; and how that the common people were clustered and assembled together, to continue and to mainteine their lewd & disordered behaviour: such of them, namelie, sir Hugh Pollard knight, Anthonie Harvie, Alexander Wood, and Marke Slader esquiers came & met at Sampford, minding to haue had conference with the chiefe plaiers in this enterlude, aswell for the redresse of the disorder already committed, as also to persuaade and pacifie the rest of the people. But they partlie vnderstanding before hand of the iustices coming, were so addited and wholie bent to their follies, that they fullie resolved themselves, to willfullie to mainteine what naughtilie they had begun. And therefore, when the iustices were come to the place, and requested to talke with them, they refused it; vntil the said gentlemen would leaue all their men behind, and go with them into a certeine seuerall close not far off; and so they would be contented to conferre with them.

The gentlemen, albeit they and their men were the greater number, and sufficient to haue repressed the small companie of the commoners then & there

assembled: yet whether it were because they thought in such a case to vse all the best & quietest waie for the pacifying of them; or whether some of them being like affected as they were, did not like the alteration, as it was greatlie suspected: they yielded, and according to the motion made, they left their men in the towne, & went into the foresaid close, & there hauing had conference a pretty while together, did in the end depart without anie thing done at all. Whereof as there appeared some weaknesse in the said iustices which were so white liured, as they would not, or durst not to repress the rages of the people (which they might haue done) so therof also ensued such a scab as passed their cure, and such a fire as they were not able to quench. For the commons hauing now their willes, were set vpon a pin, that the game was theirs, and that they had wone the garland before they had runne the race; nothing forcailling what might ensue, nor yet accounting what folle it is to triumph before the vicioie. Wherefore they assemblie & confederat themselves throughout the whole shire in great troops and companies, and do associat and flocke vnto them the Cornish people, minding to ioine together, and foolishlie to mainteine what rashlie they had begun.

The king and counsell then occupied in the weightie causes concerning the state of Scotland, being aduertised of this towards rebellion, & respecting the speedie redresse thereof, sent forthwith for sir Peter Carew knight, who then was in Lincolne shire, and for sir Calwen Carew, who was then attendant at the court: and to them commandement was giuen, that forthwith, and with all speed they should hasten and depart into Deuon, and there to vse, by the aduise of the iustices, all the best meanes and waies that they might for the appeasing of this rebellion, quieting of the people, and pacifying of the countrie; and to cause euerie man quietlie to returne to his home, and to refer the causes of their griefs and complaints (if they had anie) vnto the king and counsell: and if they then refused so to do, they to vse such other good means and waies as might be for the suppressing of them. And the counsell being daile moze and moze aduertised, that these begun rebellious did moze and moze increase; and doubting of the sequels thereof, by reason that in other places of the realme the like tumults were begun, though not for the like causes; do direct and giue an order to the lord Russell, then lord priue seale, and after earle of Bedford, that he also should follow and dispatch himselfe into Deuon; and he had a commission to deale in such order as he might best do for the pacifying of the said tumults and vprores.

The foresaid two knights, hauing receiued their commission vnder the kings hand, came in post into the countrie, and making their repaire to this citie, do forthwith send for sir Peters Courtneie then shiriffe and the iustices of the peace of the countrie; and vnderstanding, that a great companie of the commons were assembled at Crediton, which is a towne distant about seauen miles from Excester, and that among them were the Sampford men: & who were the chiefe of them toke counsell & aduise what was best to be done, and what waie meetest to be taken. In the end it was concluded, that the said sir Peter Carew and sir Calwen with others should ride to Crediton, & there to haue conference and speeches with the said commons, and to vse all the good waies and meanes they might to pacifie & appeale them, they then supping, and being persuaaded, that by good speeches and gentlie conferences they should haue bene able to haue compassed and persuaaded the said commons. But the people being by some secret intelligence aduertised of the coming of the gentlemen towards

Sir Peter
Carew and
sir Calwen
Carew sent
into Deuon,

The iustices
then do assemble
all at Excester.

Sir Peter
Carew by the
aduise of the
iustices rideth
to Crediton.

The people at
Kirtton doe
arme them-
selues & ramp-
pire by the
waies.

them, and they fullie resolved not to yeld one iote from their determinations, but to mainteine their cause taken in hand, doe arme and make themselves strong, with such armors and furnitures as they had; they intrench the high waies, and make a nightie rampire at the towne end, and fortifie the same, as also the barns next adjoining to the said rampires with men and munition, hauing perced the wallies of the barns with loopes and holes for their shot.

The foresaid gentlemen knowing nothing hereof, rode on their iourneie, and being come almost to the towne, they were aduertised how the waies were stopped and rampired, and that they could not ride into the towne. Whereupon they alighted from their horses, and after a little conference had, they agreed to go into the towne on foot, nothing thinking lesse that they should be stopped or denied to go in on foot. But when they came to the rampires they found the contrarie: for they not onelie were denied to come nere the rampire, but vterlie were refused to be talked to: withall no offers of persuasions nor motions of conference at all could be allowed. For the sun being in cancer, & the midsummer mone at full, their minds were imbued in such follies, and their heads caried with such vanities, that as the man of Athens they would heare no man speake but themselves, and thought nothing well said but what came out of their owne mouths.

The gentlemen vpon such checks, taking the matter in euill part, to be so vnuercentlie and discourteouslie intreated, with one consent doe agree to make waie ouer the rampire. But in the aduenture thereof they were so galled both by them which kept the rampires, and speciallie by such as were within the barnes, that they were faine to retire and giue place, with the losse of some, and the hurt of manie. In which distresse, a certeine seruingman named For, and referring to sir Hugh Pollard, suddenly set one of the barnes on fire: whereupon not onelie such as were therein, but all they also which were in the rampires fled and ran auaie. And then the gentlemen hauing recovered the rampire went into the towne; but there they found none except a few poore and old people, the residue trusting better to their heels than to their armes were fled to a further place: and then they returned againe to Excester without any thing done.

The noise of this fire and burning was in post hast, and as it were in a moment carried and blazed abroad throughout the whole countrie; and the common people vpon false reports, and of a gnat making an elephant, noised and spread it abroad, that the gentlemen were altogether bent to ouer-run, spoile, and destroye them. And in this rage, as it were a swarme of wasps they clusler themselves in great troops and multitudes, some in one place, and some in an other, fortifieng and intrenching themselves as though the enimie were readie to invade and assaile them. And among other places one was at a village belonging to the lord Russell named St. Marie Cliff distant from Excester about two miles, where the commons of the countrie thereabout had begun to fortifie the towne for their defense & safetie.

The cause and pretense of their doings herein, was not onelie the burning of the barnes at Crediton aforesaid, which all the commons generallie did vse for a cloke of this their rising and rebellion: but this one thing also increased their disposition. It happened that a certeine gentleman named Walter Raleigh dwelling not far from thence, as he was vpon a hie holie daie riding from his house to Excester, ouertooke an old woman going to the parish church of Saint Marie Cliff, who had a paire of beads in hir hands, and asked hir what she did with those

beads? And entring into further speeches with hir concerning religion, which was reformed, & as then by order of law to be put in execution, he did persuade with hir that she should as a good christian woman and an obedient subiect yeld the reuente; saying further, that there was a punishment by law appointed against hir, and all such as would not obeye and follow the same, and which would be put in execution vpon them.

This woman nothing liking, nor well digesting this matter, went forth to the parish church, where all the parishioners were then at the seruice: and being vnpatient, and in an agonie with the speeches before passed betwene hir and the gentleman, beginning to bpbraid in the open church verie hard and vnseemlie speeches concerning religion, saying that she was threatened by the gentleman, that except she would leane hir beads, and giue ouer holie bread and holie water, the gentlemen would burne them out of their houses and spoile them, with manie other speeches verie false and vntrue, and whereof no talke at all had passed betwene the gentleman and hir. Notwithstanding she had not so soon spoken, but that she was beleued: and in all hast like a fox of walps they sling out of the church, and get them to the towne which is not far from thence, and there began to intrench and fortifie the towne, sending abroad into the countrie round about, the news aforesaid, and of their doings in hand, flocking, and procuring as manie as they could to come and to ioinie with them.

And they fearing or mistrusting, least the gentlemen which were then at Excester, would come vpon them, they first fortified the brdge, which lieth at the end of the towne towards the citie, and laid great trees ouerthwart the same, as also planted certeine peeces of ordnance vpon the same, which they had procured and fetched from Topsham a towne not far from thence. But before they came into the towne, they ouertooke the gentleman maister Raleigh aforesaid, and were in such a choler, and so fell in rages with him, that if he had not shifted himselfe into the chappell there, and had bene rescued by certeine mariners of Ermouth which came with him, he had bene in great danger of his life, and like to haue bene murdered. And albeit he escaped for this time, yet it was not long before he fell into their hands, and by them imprisoned and kept in prison in the towne and church of Saint Sidwelles, without the east gate of the citie of Excester, during the whole time of the commotion, being manie times threatened to be executed to death. But to the matter.

These the doings of the commons being aduertised to sir Peter Carew, who then was in Excester, assembleth all the iudices & the gentlemen, & confereth with them what were best to be done; and in the end, concluded & agreed that he, sir Saluente Carew, sir Thomas Denis, sir Hugh Pollard, and sundrie others should ride to Cliff, and there to vse all the best meanes they might, for the pacieng and quietting of them. And accordingly in the next morning being sundae they all rode thither: and being come almost to the brdge, they perceiued the same to be rampired, & no waie to be open for them to passe into the towne. Whereupon sir Peter Carew alighted from his horse, and mistrusting nothing, was going on foot toward the brdge. But such was the rancoz and malice conceiued against him, partie for religion, and partie for the burning of the barnes at Crediton, which was laid altogether to his fault, that the gunner whose name was John Hamon an alien and a smith, and dwelling then at Woodburie, not far from Cliff, by the procurement and abetting of

The barns
at the towne
end at Kirtton
are set on fire.

The towne
Cliff is im-
pured, and the
brdge ramp-
pured.

Walter Ra-
leigh elus-
in danger of
the rebell.

In assemble
of the people
at Cliff Ma-
rie of bishops
Cliff.

A cause whie
they rose at
bishops Cliff.

Sir Peter
Carew and
others ride
to Cliff.

Sir Peter
Carew
be daunt

of some there, hauing charged his pace of ordinance there lieng, leuelled the same, to haue shot and discharged it at him: which he had done, if one Hugh Wyborne seruant then to sergant Wydeor had not let him and staied his hand.

The gentlemen perceiuing they could not passe into the towne, doo send in a messenger vnto the towne, aduertising them that they were come to talke friendlie with them, as also to satisfie them if they had any cause of grieffe, or were by any bodie misused. They at this message and motion staggered a while and cast manie doubts: but in the end they sent word that they were contented, that if sir Thomas Wentis, sir Hugh Pollard, and Thomas Pard esquier, would come into the towne to them and leaue their men behind them, as also would take order, and giue their faith and promise that no hurt should be done or offered to be done vnto them, whiles they were thus in conference together: that then vpon these conditions they would be contented to talke with them. Vpon which promise made and assured vnto them, the foresaid three gentlemen went into the towne about ten of the clocke in the forenoon, and there taried and spent the most part of the daie in much talke and to no purpose: as in the end it fell out.

The other knights and gentlemen, which in the meane while taried without, and waited a long time euen vntill the daie did draw toward night, began to mislike of the matter, some speaking one thing and some an other; yea and some of them in plaine speeches said they would ride ouer the water and sseue into the towne. But the friends and seruicemen of the two knights, respecting the promise made before their entrie into the towne, but especially their masters safetie, which by breach of promise might be put in perill, did vtterlie mislike and were grieved with those speeches, and whereof began a little quarrelling among themselves, but forthwith pacified and quieted. And yet some one or two of the companie rode to the waters side, & with their slaues searched the depth thereof: for at that byidge the water at euerie tide (by reason that the seas are so nere) swelleth vp and reboundeth. Which thing when they in the towne did see, forthwith cried out alarm, and made much a do; and some of them began and grew into such rages, that the gentlemen within the towne began to distrust their safetie.

Nevertheless the conference and talke herewith ended, and they came auaile: who as soone as they were come to sir Peter Carew, they were demanded what they had done, and how they had sped: who answered; Well enough: & giuing no other answer they rode all together to Excester, deferring the discourse of their doings vntill their comming thither. The same night they supped all together, & after supper ended, and all the seruicemen auoided out of that come, sir Peter Carew demanded of them what they had done, and what agreement they had made: who answered that the commons had promised, and were contented to keepe themselves in good & quiet order, and to proceed no further in their attempts: so that the king and the counsell would not alter the religion, but suffer it to remaine and stae in the same state as king Henrie the eight left it; & vntill the king himselfe came to his full age. Sir Peter Carew and all the residue nothing liking this answer, being farre from their expectation, were for the time in a great dumpe or studie; but in the end misliked and discommended both the matter and the manner of their dealings: inso much that sir Peter Carew, and sir Pierce Courtenie, then shiriffe of Devon, openlie, sharpely, and in plaine termes inueiled against them for their slunder, or rather sinister deal-

ings in so weightie a cause: wherein they all ought rather to haue vled all meanes to haue suppressed their outrages, than to haue maintained their follies: and therefore as there was a blame in them, so was there a plaine rebellion in the other.

But though the two knights would haue creased the matter, and haue purged their sinceritie herein; yet on ech side words were so multiplied, that they brake asunder without any further dealings, and euerie man shiffted for himselfe, some one waie some an other waie. The commons vnderstanding hereof stop all the high waies, casting great trenches, and lateng great trees ouerthwart the same, and do watch & ward the same: and by that meanes sundrie gentlemen suspecting no such matter, and making waie to their appointed places, were intrapped, taken, and put in prison; and manie of them kept in durance, during the whole time of the commotion, & abode great hardnesse, and were in perill of life and limme: manie were taken because they would be taken, & found fauour; & manie forsaking their houses and home, were driuen to sequester and hide themselves in woods & secret places. In the citie none or verie few remained or taried, saving sir or seuen persons then knowne of: for by conference had before with the maior, it was knowne that the citie was vnprouided of sufficient vittels, meet for such a companie as the foresaid gentlemen were.

The gentlemen which taried and remained in the citie; namelie, sir Roger Blewet knight, John Beauchamps, Bartholomew Fortescute, John Courtneie, & John Peter customer, esquiers, and others, did verie good seruice as well in their persons, as in their good aduises and counsels, saving such as secretlie kept themselves close in certeine houses then vnknowne. Sir Peter Carew verie earlie in the next morning took his horse, and the high waies being then not stopped he escaped and rode vnto George Denton, a place of sir Hugh Waullets in Summersestshire: where was the lord Russell, being then newlie come from London, and vnto him he gaue to vnderstand, how all things had passed: who forthwith dispatched and sent him auaile to the king and counsell to aduertise them of the same. The king at the first hearing of the matter, was verie much grieved, & in great perplexitie in two respects; the one because at this instant the like tumults and rebellions (though for an other cause) were now raised and begun in other places; the other was because he was enforced to leaue and giue ouer the appointed attempt for the conquest of Scotland, and to imploye now those soldiors and strangers, whome he had retained for that seruice, for the quenching of this fire kindled at home.

Nevertheless minding to follow the first, and to appeale the last, he sent verie courteous letters, gracious proclamations, and manie mercifull offers vnto all the commons of these parties, to haue pacified and satisfied them, if they had had so much grace so to haue accepted it. The commons being now entered in their follies, and hauing driuen the gentlemen to the flight, doo openlie shew themselves traitors & rebels: and therefore assembling themselves doo appoint out capitains to direct & order both themselves, and all their proceedings; and as the common piouser be is, like lips like lettice, as is their cause, so are the rulers; the one being not so bold and euill, as they wilke or worse. The capitains then are these: Underhill a tailor, Gaunier a thowmaker, Seager a labourer, and Alisheredge a fisher, with sundrie other such like, the worst men and the refuse of all others, thought most meet in this seruice. Vnto which it was not long before, that certeine gentlemen and peomen of good countenance and credit both in De-

The gentlemen depart asunder and euerie man shiffteth for himselfe.

The high waies are stopped and intrenched.

Sundrie gentlemen taken and imprisoned.

A few gentlemen taried in the citie.

Sir Peter Carew rideth to the lord Russell being at George Denton.

Sir Peter Carew rideth to the court & aduertised the king & counsell. The king grieved to heare of the commotion. The determined conquest of Scotland was hindered by the rebellion.

The king beth all gentle persuasions to reduce the commons to conformance.

The first and chiefe captains of the rebellion.

uon and Coynewall were contented, not onelie to be associats of this rebellion: but also to carrie the crosse before this pprocession, and to be captains and guiders of this wicked enterpryse, as namelie in Devon sir Thomas Pomeroy knight, John Burie and one Coffin gentlemen: & in Coynewall Humfrie Arundell and Wilmelade esquiers, & Holmes a yeoman, with sundrie others, who for the most part were in the end executed and put to death: and their facts to the memorall of their perpetuall infamie recorded in chronicles.

The principall & chiefe captains in Devon being fullie resolved by their owne power and authoritie to mainteine & continue the religion, according to the Romish church, & utterlie to impugn the reformation therof, established by act of parlement; & to support the authoritie of the idoll of Rome (whome they neuer saw) in contempt of their true and lawfull king, whome they knew and ought to obeie: these I saie sent their messengers unto the maior of this citie, whose name was John Blackaller, to moue and praie him to ioyne with them, they thinking that they hauing by these meanes the libertie to haue free access to and from the citie, and the helpe of the citizens, should not want monie or armoz, or any thing else to serue their turne: the maior forthwith aduertised vnto his brethren this motion. And albeit some and the chieftest of them did like & were well affected to the Romish religion: yet respecting their dutie to God, their obedience to the king, their fidelitie to their countrie, and safetie of themselves, gaue their full resolute and direct answer, that they would not ioyne nor deale with them at all.

This answer was nothing liked, and therefore sent they their second messenger, requiring and commanding them to mainteine the old catholike religion with them, and to do as they did; or else they would besiege them, and perforce compell them therunto. The maior and his brethren returned their former answer, adding moreover that they in their dwelings were wicked & bad men; & they did & would repute them for enemies and rebels against God, their king, and countrie: and so renounced them. The one side therefore as they prepare to besiege the citie, and to worke all the extremities they can, by force to take that which by wordes they can not obtaine: so on the other side the maior and his brethren vpon god aduise, garded and watched the citie with sufficient men, armed both by daye and by night. The rebels (according to their determination) relying themselves vpon a vaine hope, thinking that notwithstanding the answer before made; yet because the most part of the citizens were of their opinions, and of the like affections in religion, would not resist them: as also that they had manie friends within the citie, more ready to ioyne with them, than to follow the maior; if they might haue the choise what to do: they came being in number about two thousand persons, to the citie, vpon the second of Julie 1549, first making proclamation that if the citie would not yeld, and ioyne with them, they would enter with force and take the spoile of it, & so then they vpon the dentall compassed the same round about; and gained vnto them at the first all the suburbs.

And hereof they conceived such a vaine hope to haue their full desire vpon the citie, that not onelie the number in hope did dailye more & more increase, but also manie of them brought their wiues, hozles, and paniers; persuading themselves, and promising them, by such a daie and vpon such a daie to enter into the citie, and then to measure veluets and silks by the bow, and to lade their hozles home with plate, monie, and other great riches. The maior and his brethren forecasting the perils which might in such

a case insue, do provide all things necessarie and meet wherewith to defend themselves, and to annoyne the enimie. The citie therefore is viewed for armoz, men are mustered, soldiers are retained, captains in euerie ward appointed, warders for the daie and watchmen for the night assigned, great peces of ordnance laid in euerie gate, and placed in all convenient places of the walls; mounts in sundrie places created, as well for lateng of ordnance, as for sauing of the soldiers & watchmen from the enimies shot: and nothing was left undone, which in any respect that present state and necessitie required.

The rebels likewise intrench the high waies, plash downe trees, breake downe byldges, keepe watches and wards in euerie place; so that no man could passe to or from the citie without their sufferance. The markets are stopped, bittels are kept from it, and all dealings and intercourses shut and cut off: and hauing (as they bragged) penned and shut vp the townefmen in a cope or mew, they plant their ordnance against euerie gate, and in all other such places as best to serue their turne, and to hurt them within: they burnt the gates, they brake by the pipes and conduits, aswell for the taking awaie of the water comming to the citie, as also to haue the led to serue for their shot and pellets. But for the burning of the gates, there followed rather a benefit than a hurt thereof: for forthwith there were made certeine rampiers within the gate, which were farre stronger and of more defense than the gates, as also there were fiers continuallye kept euerie night betwene the rampiers and the gates: and as for water, the citie so standeth vpon a little hill, that it is full of springs in euerie quarter within the same, and by that means full and plentifull of euerie good and sweet waters. Also they in sundrie places did undermine the walls, minding thereby with gunpowder and with other matters fit for fier to haue blowne by the walls, and so to haue entered in that waie: but here in they were also preuented by this means and in this manner.

The citie it selfe (as is before said) is set vpon a little hill, and keth berie steeping towards two of the gates. And at one of these named the west gate, the said rebels had undermined on the one side, and filled the place with certeine barrells of powder, pitch, and other stufte, meet and apt to recieue fier, and had appointed the night when the same should be set on fier, and so to haue blowne the walls vp. At the same time there was a certeine tinner in the citie, whose dwelling was at Teingemonth, named John Belcombe, who depended much vpon the goodwill and friendship of maister William Hurst one of the aldermen of the citie; and he understanding of such an undermining to be in working, aduertised the same to maister Hurst, and maketh him priuie how he would preuent the same, which was done in this manner. For whereas he by a noise under the ground did suspect the undermining to be in working, he took a pan of water, & did put the same on the ground, & by shaking of the water in the pan, he by removing the pan from place to place, came at length to the berie place, whereas the miners were working, and forthwith he countermined against the same, and brought so nere vnto it, vntill that he might and did see & looke into it. What done, he caused all the walls and stirrups in the citie towards euerie street, hauing a fall that waie to be drawne at one time, and euerie man to fill therewith a great tub of water at his fozeboze, which being done, he caused them all at one instant to be cast out and emptied, which water running in great abundance towards the said west gate, was conuerted into the place countermined, & so entered and drowne the place, which before was

The rebels send to the maior of the citie to ioyne with them.

The maior & citizens refuse to ioyne or to deale with the rebels.

Preparation is made on both sides to withstand the one the other.

The citie of Exon besieged.

The vaine persuasions of the rebels to haue the spoile of the citie.

The citie is viewed for armoz, men are mustered, soldiers are retained, captains in euerie ward appointed, warders for the daie and watchmen for the night assigned, great peces of ordnance laid in euerie gate, and placed in all convenient places of the walls; mounts in sundrie places created, as well for lateng of ordnance, as for sauing of the soldiers & watchmen from the enimies shot: and nothing was left undone, which in any respect that present state and necessitie required.

The rebels likewise intrench the high waies, plash downe trees, breake downe byldges, keepe watches and wards in euerie place; so that no man could passe to or from the citie without their sufferance. The markets are stopped, bittels are kept from it, and all dealings and intercourses shut and cut off: and hauing (as they bragged) penned and shut vp the townefmen in a cope or mew, they plant their ordnance against euerie gate, and in all other such places as best to serue their turne, and to hurt them within: they burnt the gates, they brake by the pipes and conduits, aswell for the taking awaie of the water comming to the citie, as also to haue the led to serue for their shot and pellets. But for the burning of the gates, there followed rather a benefit than a hurt thereof: for forthwith there were made certeine rampiers within the gate, which were farre stronger and of more defense than the gates, as also there were fiers continuallye kept euerie night betwene the rampiers and the gates: and as for water, the citie so standeth vpon a little hill, that it is full of springs in euerie quarter within the same, and by that means full and plentifull of euerie good and sweet waters. Also they in sundrie places did undermine the walls, minding thereby with gunpowder and with other matters fit for fier to haue blowne by the walls, and so to haue entered in that waie: but here in they were also preuented by this means and in this manner.

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The gates of the citie were kept open continuallye and rampiers within the same, as also fiers kept burning all night in the same.

The citie being full of water, they want no water.

The citie was besieged at the south gate, where the rebels had undermined, but he countermined the same, and brought so nere vnto it, vntill that he might and did see & looke into it. What done, he caused all the walls and stirrups in the citie towards euerie street, hauing a fall that waie to be drawne at one time, and euerie man to fill therewith a great tub of water at his fozeboze, which being done, he caused them all at one instant to be cast out and emptied, which water running in great abundance towards the said west gate, was conuerted into the place countermined, & so entered and drowne the place, which before was

The underminings of the walls were so nere vnto it, vntill that he might and did see & looke into it. What done, he caused all the walls and stirrups in the citie towards euerie street, hauing a fall that waie to be drawne at one time, and euerie man to fill therewith a great tub of water at his fozeboze, which being done, he caused them all at one instant to be cast out and emptied, which water running in great abundance towards the said west gate, was conuerted into the place countermined, & so entered and drowne the place, which before was

mined : at which time also by the goodnesse of God, there fell a great thowze, as the like for the time had not bene seene manie years before, and which at that instant greatlie serued this turne.

The rebels perceiuing themselves disappointed of their purpose, gaue ouer to deale anie further in those attempts : howbeit otherwise they left nothing undone which might be to annoie the citizens. For sometimes they made alarmes, as though they with all might and maine would haue giuen the scale : and indeed they had prouided ladders for the same purpose. Sometimes they by policies would seke to come to the gates to burne them, and herein they used this stratagem. They prouided carts laden with old haie, & drining the wheeles before them would come to the gate without danger, and so set fier in the gate. But notwithstanding they escaped not scotfree, for both at the west gate and at the south gate, their commings being perceiued, the great port peeces were charged with great bags of flint stones and haile shot : and as they were approaching vnto the gates, the gates were secretlie opened, and the said port peeces discharged, and so they were spoiled diuerse of them, & by that means they had small pleasure to follow those deuises : as also the citizens to prevent the same, did from thenceforth keepe the gates open. Likewise they would keepe themselves close in sundrie houses, in the suburbs nere the walls, and would so watch the garrets, that if anie within the citie would looke out at the garrets, was in the danger of their shot, and some thereby were killed, and manie hurt. Upon which occasion the citizens set some part of the suburbs on fier, and some part which was next to the walls they beat and brake downe, and so drane the rebels out of those holes. Besides this, they had in sundrie places their great ordinance, so set and placed, that in certeine streets and places none could go but in perill and danger of their shot, which their deuises were choked, by making of certeine mounts to shadowe the streets from the same. Diuerse other deuises they practised to the continuall annoiance of the citie, which though they were greuous and dangerous, yet not to be compared vnto the perills which were within the walls among themselves, and whereof had ensued the confusion of the whole citie, had not the Lord God of his goodnesse kept and preferred the same. For the serpent of diuision, and the fier of malice, was entered into the citie, manie being inuicened with the one, but moze scauled with the other.

In the citie there were two sorts of people, the one and the greater number were of the old stamp, and of the Romish religion. The other being of the lesser number were of a contrarie mind and disposition, for they wholie relied themselves to the reformed religion, and to the kings proceedings, and inuicened themselves to obey and follow the same. The first were so addicted to their owne fantasies, and their bottels were so farre seasoned with the old wines, that they cannot abide to heare of anie other religion, than as they were first mixed in. Wherefore to keepe and obserue that, was their onelie endeuor, and in respect wherof they regarded not king nor Keesar, passed not for him nor friendship, regarded not countrie nor commonwealth, but were wholie of the opinion of the rebels, and would haue no reformation in religion, and how so ever all other things sared, that must needs remaine as in times past had bene used.

The magistrates and chiefe men of the citie, albeit they were not as yet fullie resolved and satisfied in religion, yet they not respecting that, but chesellie their dutifullnes to the king and commonwealth, nothing like the rebellion, nor beare with the same,

but they do all things to defend the citie and themselves against their rebellious attempts, and likewise do their best inuicement to keepe their owne citizens in peace and quietnesse. Whereupon the fauourers of the old Romish religion, being inwardlie gréued, that they could not haue their will, nor obteine to haue the gates to be opened, that those good and religious men (as they termed them) might come in, they used priuat conferences with them, sometimes by secret conferences ouer the walls, sometimes by priuat letters priuillie conueied too and fro, by messengers lurking and attending for the same, sometimes by open speeches in times of truce, and manie times by bills and letters bound fast about arbotwies, and so shot too and fro : and by these and other such like means they discovered ech one to the other their purposes and wicked deuises and practises : all which tended to this effect, to betraie the citie, and to set vp the religion.

Howbeit, these things were not so secretlie done, but the same were knowne, & manifest arguments and proofes thereof did appeare. And among sundrie some one of them being one of good credit and countenance, and of the number of the common counsell, whose name was John Wolcot a merchant, was so farre enchanted herein, that vpon a certeine daie he being (as his course came about) a capteine for the daie, and to ward one of the gates that daie, presuming that partlie by reason of his charge that daie, and partlie for that he was one of the common counsell, he might do moze than in deed did appertene to him, he vpon his first comming to the west gate in the morning met with certeine of his confederats, and after conference had with them, went suddenlie out at the wicket of the gate (which gate as then was not rampired) and carrieng the keyes with him, went vnto the rebels, and had a long conference with them. But it toke small effect, for he promised (as it after appeared) moze than he could performe, which turned to his great discredit : both for that he himselfe verie hardlie escaped their hands who were bent to haue kept and reteined him, as they did the two others, who went out with him : as also when he came in, was both checked and blamed for his doings.

At an other time the maior vpon an occasion assembled all the commoners vnto the Guildhall, & merie man being in his armor, and the papists being then the greater number, some one of them named Richard Tailor, a clothier, thinking by making of a tumult or an vprize they should be too hard for the others, and so attaine to their purposes, hauing his bow bent, did nocke his arrow, minding to haue stricken the man to whom he leuelled the shot : but gaing his hand, and missing his marke, he strooke his owne and best friend John Peter the kings castomer, a gentleman of good countenance and credit, who had died thereof, had not the arrow lighted vpon one of his rib bones : a great muttering was like to haue bzied a tumult, but the matter knowne it was appeased. Also at an other time there was a practise made with the souldiers, who had the charge and custodie of the castell, that they should receiue in at the posterne of the said castell, a certeine number of the rebels, where vnto the said souldiers through corruption had giuen their consent. The daie and time were appointed for the same : but whether the same by secret aduertisement were discovered, or whether the matter were mistrusted, or whether it pleased God to moue the hearts of certeine men to take the view of the castell, & of the maner of the souldiers bzaies there : it is most certeine that by the repaire & refozt of certeine men, vnder the colour to walke and see the trecherie, it was espied, and the practises discovered.

The secret conferences of the papists.

A fond enterprise of an expert citizen.

This Tailor died after in prison for debt.

What man purpose th God disposeth

A wicked practise to receive the rebels into the castell.

red, and their whole deuises preuented. Like wise manie times and often there were truces made, and sundrie parles and conferences had with the rebels, which were procured to the onlie end that they might compasse their deuises. And this was a common practise with them, that when soeuer the parlee was appointed, there should be hostages or pledges put in on both parties: and they as men vpon whom the greatest weight of the matter did depend, would require to haue the best and most chosen citizens, to be hostages with them, in stead and for the safetie of those which they would send to the parlee for them, who for the most part were the refuse, the scumme, and the rascals of the whole countrie, and yet such they were in this case, as who ruled the roste and bore the whole or chiefest swaie; and the worse the man, the greater his authoritie among them, which was good inough for so wicked a matter taken in hand, according as the common adage is: *Dignum patella operculum*, Like lips like letice.

The chiefest
uniers & cap-
tains among
the commons
were the
worst men.

Great practise
bused to pro-
cure the citi-
zens to ioinc
with the re-
bels,

The faithfull
and flat deter-
mination of
the citizens to
refuse the co-
ntaining with
the rebels,

The last and
perillous prac-
tise of the re-
bels,

disorder

disorder

A perillous
practise.

But during the time of these truces and parles, there being then a time and scope of libertie to talke and conferre with them euerie man at his pleasure, there wanted no deuises vnder colour of frendlie conferences, to deuise how to compasse their intents: howbeit it pleased the eternall God, so to carrie and rule the hearts of the magistrats, that albeit being nuzled in the Romish religion they were affected therewith, yet they so much respected their dutie to their prince, and the safetie to their commonwealth, that they openlie professed they would neuer yeild the citie so long as they liued, and were able to keepe and defend the same.

For the maior himselfe maister William Hurst, maister John Buller, maister John Britnall, maister William Periam, & others of the ancientest of the citie, were by sundrie means, waies, deuises, and reasons, perswaded to conioine themselves in this rebellion with the commoners. They all with one mind and one voice gaue a flat answer that in the citie they had bene brought by, where they had gotten their livings, there they had sworne their fidelitie and allegiance to their king and prince, there they had faithfully hitherto serued him, and there would so continue so long as they could to the uttermost of their powers, all which their promises & anowyses (the Lord be praised) they performed.

But to the matter. Sundrie other trecheries & deuises were practised, which particularlie to rectite were verie tedious & to no purpose. The last but the most perillous practise was this. When these malecontents saw themselves to be preuented in all their deuises, which before they had but secretlie and pyuatlie practised, now they conioining themselves together did openlie shew and declare themselves, being perswaded that because they were the greater number, and that also the most part of the poore people were wearie, and for want of vittels would not indure to be pinned in anie longer, that therefore manie would ioinc against a few, and that the game would go on their side.

And so on a sundae, being but two daies before the deliuerie of the citie, about eight of the clocke in the forenone, a compaignie of them in euerie quarter of the citie, hauing their consorts in a readines for to ioinc & serue with them (if need so required) get into the streets, walking with their weapons and in their armour, as to fight with their enemies, and cry out,

“Come out these heretikes and thoppaie bohemyn;
“Where be they? By Gods wounds & blood we will
“not be pinned in to serue their turne; We will go out
“and haue in our neighbors, they be honest, god, and
“godlie men. Their pretense and meaning being then,
that if anie of the contrarie side had come out, they

would haue quarrelled with them, and haue taken occasion to set vpon him and so raise a new tumult.

But by the providence and goodnesse of God it so fell out, that some being in their houses, and some at their parish churches, the maior and magistrats were first aduertised herof, before the others heard anie thing of the matter: and they according to their wisdoms pacified the matter, and sent John Clucent, John Sharke, and others the belovdedders of this Locke into their houses: who, in the south gate street and at the south gate, there was a little stir, which being some stopt; there ensued no hurt therof, other than a broken pate or two: for as it fell out, the warders of that gate at that time were against them and of the greater compaignie. These and manie other like practises were daile and continually vsed on the one side, which in the end came to no effect, because the Lord kept the citie.

The others on the other side being altogether bent to honor God, obeye the king, and to serue in their commonwealth, were fullie resolued to keepe and defend the citie, whose cause being iust and god, was sufficient of it selfe to keepe them in that mind: and yet their courage was the more, for that they saw the god bent of the maior and magistrats; who, howsoeuer they were affected otherwise in religion, yet they were wholie bent and determined to keepe and defend the citie: and therefore they seeing the industry, carefulnesse, seruice and painefulnesse, of these men, did faine, incourage, and countenance them, and (to saie the truth) by the industry and god seruice of them, the citie was cheeflie kept and preserved.

For there was no seruice to be done with in, nor exploit to be aduentured without vpon the enimie (as manie times there were sallies giuen) but these were the chiefest and commonlie the onlie doers: for which cause the contrarie side maruelouslie maligned at them, and sought by all means how to impeach and indanger them. Which thing being daile perceived more and more by sundrie arguments, and as wise men seeking how to preuent the same, did manie and sundrie times confer among themselves therein, and in the end made a covenant and a faithfull promise among themselves (being then about the number of one hundred persons) that they would stand firmelie and faithfullie to the defense and keeping of the citie to their uttermost powers.

And if it so fell out, that the rebell and enimie should haue access and entrie into the citie, that then they should all meet at the lord Rasseles (now the earle of Bedfordes) house, and there to issue out at the poierne of the garden, and to giue the adventure to passe and to escape a waie, as also if they were trised that then they to stand together to their defense. And for this purpose they had then named some one man to be their capitaine for this enterprise. And in the meane time, to do all things circumspectie for the preservation of the citie, & by a particular covenant among themselves, did take order, that during the whole besieging of the citie and their aboad therein, a certeine number by course and besides the ordinarie set watch, should watch, ward, and walke about continually both by daie and night, by which means no sleight nor treacherie could be practised, but that they should haue an inkeling and vnderstanding thereof, and which in deed stood and came to such effect that it was the chiefest (if not the onelie) cause of the preservation of the citie for that time. For there was no seruice, no diligence, no care, nor anie thing wanting or left vndoone, which by these men was not done.

Howbeit the such, the author of all division and strife, who cannot abide anie vnitie, concord and agreement in god causes, did here also hurle in a time among

The papists
were dis-
pointed of
their pur-
poses.

The determi-
nation of the
honest & god
citizens,

The bell r-
ings con-
fused.

The careful-
nesse of the
good citizens.

A. Reg. 3.

Distance
between John
Courtneie &
Barnard
Duffeld.

among these men, whereof had ensued a great detriment to the common state, and an overthrow to themselves, had it not in due time bene presented. There were two gentlemen within this citie, and both of this companie, the one was borne of a honorable house and parentage, named John Courtneie a younger sonne to sir William Courtneie of Doreberham knight, and a man of verie good knowledge and experience in service. The other also was a man of verie good service, practise, and experience, his name was Barnard Duffeld, & servant to the lord Russell, and keeper of his house in Excester. Both of these were verie forward and carefull in this present service against the rebels. But there fell an emulation betwixne them, which albeit it be verie commendable in good things, & he passewisth who can best excell therein: yet when the same shall tend to a division of a publike state, the dissolution of a commonwealth, the breach of common societie, or the maintenance of anie euill, it is utterlie to be shunned and lamented.

Little more
distance
between
the two.

It happened upon an occasion offered, that certaine of this companie upon a time issued out at the forsaide posterne and made a sallie vpon the enimies, and had such good successe, that some of them they slew, some they tooke prisoners, as also spoiled them of their goods, and brought a waie with them some of their ordnance, namelye basses and slings: holobest they all escaped not scotfree, for some of them were taken, some also were hurt, as namelye John Drake, who the yeare before was the receiuer of the citie was shot through the cheekes with an arrow, which he brought into the citie with him, and one John Simons a coke was so hurt that he died thereof.

But among them all one John Goldsmith being of that companie and servant to Richard Helierd of the same goldsmith, and a Fleming borne, had the best successe: for in the same skirmish he was taken prisoner by one of the rebels, who offered in taking of him with his bill to haue slaine him. With that this John Goldsmith fell downe & yielded himselfe, hauing then in his hand his peece of handgun charged, & suddenlie the other not mistrusting nor marking the same, he discharged into his verie bellie and so slew him, tooke the spoile of him, and brought the same into the citie with him.

This skirmish though it were not clere gaines to this companie, yet it so encouraged them, that from time to time they consulted, and in the end determined to make a fresh sallie and to giue a new aduantage: whereupon there fell and grew a disagreement betwixne the two foresaid John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld, the one affirming that the same was not to be permitted in anie sort or citie, which stood vpon defense or gard, without a verie speciall order of the generall or chiefe capitaine, or some vrgent necessitie, especiallie in that present distresse and extremitie, wherein the citie as then did stand. But Barnard Duffeld being verie loth to lose anie part of his credit, or to desist from that he with others had determined, could by no means be persuaded to the contrarie, but plainelie affirmeth that what he had determined should be performed.

A little
distance
between
the two.

Whereupon the foresaid John Courtneie resorteth to the maior, aduertiseth vnto him the matter, & dealeth so fullie and with such perswasions with him, that the maior assembleth his brethren, and sendeth for the foresaid Duffeld: who being come, the matter was at full debated and discoursed, and in the end concluded that it was verie hurtfull and dangerous to that present state, that anie such issuing out should be granted or permitted: and therefore praied the said Duffeld to staie his determination, and to be contented. But he being impatient, & thinking

his credit to be stained, if he should be debarred or denied to do that which he had faithfullie promised, did utterlie refuse to yield to this the maiors request, as also by continuing of talkes, fell out in foule and disordered speeches. Whereupon to auoid a further inconvenience, he was commanded to ward. The daughter of this Duffeld, whose name was Francis, hearing that hir father was in ward, and taking in grieue that so great an iniurie (as she feared it) should be done to hir father, came more hastily than aduisedlie vnto the maior, somewhat late in the evening, & required to haue hir father out of the ward. Which thing being denied vnto hir, she waxed so warne, that not onelie she used verie vnseemlie tearmes and speeches vnto the maior, but also contrarie to the modestie and shamefastnes required in a woman, speciallie yong and unmarried, ran most violentlie vpon him, and strake him in the face. This was taken in so euill a part, and fearing that it had bene a set match of some further inconveniences, the common bell was forthwith rung out: and also a rumour spread that the maior was beaten, or killed.

Francis the
daughter of
Barnard
Duffeld strake
the maior in
the face.

The whole commons immediatlie in great troops, & the most part in armes, ran to the Guildhall, where the maior was, who though he was safe, yet were they so grieued with this iniurie, that they would in all hast haue run to the lord Russells house, where he was then gone, and haue fetched hir out: but the maior forecalling what inconveniences might ensue, and respecting the necessitie of the present state, was not onlie contented patientlie to wray by these iniuries, but also earnestlie requested the commons to do the like: who being so pacified, he went home, and they conducted him into his owne doores. The channons of the cathedrall church which at that time were resident in their houses within the close there, namelye archdeacon Dollard, treasurer Southzon, chancellor Alson, and master Holwell, with others of the said church, who ioined with the maior and citizens in this service for the safegard of the citie, and did keepe both watches and wards, and their men readie at all times to serue in euerie alarm and skirmish: they at the hearing of this disordered part were verie much grieued therewith, and they likewise forthwith assembled all their men, and being well armed and appointed, they went to the maior, who was then gone home to his house, and then and there verie friendlie did comfort him, and offered to stand by him and to assist him in all the best service they were able to do for his defense, and safetie of the citie.

The said archdeacon offered, that in proper person he would herein stand in his behalfe against all persons whatsoener, that would attempt or offer to do him anie wrong. And in the end, after sundrie friendlie and good speeches, they departed to their homes. And the said archdeacon, euerie daie after, would either come or send to the maior. This maior being a merchant, and onelie exercised in that trade, had small reach in matters of policie or martiall affaires: he was maior of the citie three times, and in euerie yeare there grew some troubles in the citie, but he had such a speciall care & regard to his charge and gouernment, that he would neuer attempt nor do anie thing therein, but by the aduise and counsell of wise, graue, and expert men: and God so blessed him that he prospered and had good successe in all his doings.

Besides these and sundrie other former perils, the which the citie manie and oftentimes stood in, and by the goodness and prouidence of God still overcome, there befell and happened a third one, which exceeded all the rest, and whereof the greatest danger and perill was feared: and this was famine, or penurie,

which

Wittels was
sent within
the citie.

They made
of bran and
of puffs.

The godlie
and politike
dealings of the
magistrates
with the poze.
The poze are
welke libe-
ralite refrence.
All vittels
fetched into
the citie were
distributed a-
mong the poze.

The prisoners
in the gaole
did and were
dowen to care
housen.
The gentle
intreating of
the poze lord.

The lord
Russell after
that the citie
had bene be-
sieged was

which of all other tumults and perils is most danger-
ous, & no other plague to be compared to it. For no
force is feared, no lawes observed, no magistr ate o-
beied, nor common societie esteemed, where famine
ruleth. For as the poet saith: *Nescit plebs ieiunia ti-
mere*. The store of vittels within the citie, for want of
prouision in due time, and by reason of the restraint
of the markets, vpon a sudden was verie slender
and small, and the same in verie short time spent and
consumed. And albeit there were good store of oyle
fish, rise, prunes, raisins, and wine, at verie reasonable
prices, yet bread which as the prophet saith, *Confirmat
cor hominis*, Strengtheneth mans hart, that wanted:
neither was arie to be had. And in this extremitie
the bakers and householders were driuen to seke by
their old store of puffs and bran, wherewith they in
times past were wont to make household bread, and to
feed their swine and poultrie, and this they moulded
by in clothes, for otherwise it would not hold toge-
ther, and so did bake it by, and the people well conten-
ted therewith. For (as Plutarch writeth) *Fames reddit
omnia dulcia, nihilq. contemnit esurians*: Hunger maketh
all things sweet, and the hungrie bellic spunneth no-
thing.

But when this also was spent, and nothing now
left, and the common people being not acquainted
with so hard a diet as famine prescribeth, were ve-
rie impatient to indure the continuall barking of
their hungrie bellies, and therefore they were verie
sone & easie to be perswaded, or rather of themselves
contented to yeld vnto the enimie, to be fed for a
time with the stollen fat of his flesh pot, than to abide
for a short time a little penurie in hope of a deliuerie,
and then to be filled with saturitie and plentie. But
the magistrats and graue senators, who in all other
causes had shewed themselves wise, careful and dis-
creet; and who hauing receiued sundrie iniuries, did
yet without rigour, reuenge or malice, wrap the
same by, respecting rather the common state than
their owne priuat cause; so in this matter also being
of a great importance do verie wiselie & politikelie
deale with the said people: who the pozer they were,
the better they were considered, and the more care-
fullie prouided for. First, there was a generall collec-
tion set and rated throughout the whole citie for their
reliefe, and thereby they were liberallie euerie weeke
considered: which thing being some increase to their
stocke and store, was the better to their content. When
all such vittels as were to be had within the citie,
they either had it free, or for a verie small price.

Besides this, manie times when anie cattell came
nere vnto the walles of the citie, some thiff was
made to haue them, or by skarmishing & issuing out
for them, or by some other means. And this also what
so euer it was, was altogether diuided among them.
And as for the prisoners fast fettered in the gaols,
they had also their portions, as farre as it would
stretch: notwithstanding in the end, for want they
were fed with household, which they liked and were
well contented withall. For as the prouerbe is, *Hun-
ger findeth no faults but all things are sweet*. Besi-
des, if anie wrong were offered or iniurie done to
anie of them, it was forthwith vpon complaint re-
dressed: but if anie of them did disorder themselves,
it was borne withall, and they in all gentle and cur-
teous meanes intreated: as also from time to time
persuaded with good wordes patientlie to abide and
be contented: not misliking but that God shortly
would send a deliuerance.

And thus, and by these means, in hope almost
against hope, they continued dutifull and obedient,
from the second daie of Iulie 1549, vntill the first
daie of August then following, the same being
five whole weekes, vpon which daie they were deliue-

red by the coming and entrie into the citie of the
lord Russell: and which daie in memorie for euer to
endure is kept for a high and holie feast amongst the
citizens yeatlie vpon the first daie of August. Im-
mediatlie vpon which deliuerance of the citie, the
first care that euerie man had, was to thiff and to
make prouision for vittels, wherof some hungrie bel-
lies were so greedie, that ouercharging their emptie
stomachs too hastily, they died therewith.

Thus hauing declared something of the state of the
citie, and of the doings therein during the time of
this rebellion, though much more might be therein
said, let vs now returne to the lord priue seale, who
after the departure of sir Peter Carew to the court,
remoued from George Benneton, and came to
Honiton, minding from thence to haue passed vnto
Exeter, if waie had bene open. But being aduertis-
ed that the citie was besieged, and that all the waies
leading thitherwards were stopped, he remained still
in Honiton. Sir Peter Carew in the meane time,
according to the former order betwene them taken,
was ridden to London, and being before the king,
declareth the whole matter at large. Which the king,
not liking the dissolaltie of his people, promised to
seke a speedie remedie: and so commanded him to
the counsell for the same: and being before them, and
hauing at full discoursed the state of the matter, the
duke of Somerset being much greued with the
matter, would haue reiected the whole on sir Peter,
charging him that by reason he had caused the houses
to be burned at Crediton, it was the onelie cause of
the commotion. But therevnto he answered the ne-
cessitie of that seruice, as also declared that he had
done nothing but by a good warrant, and therewith
shewed forth the kings letters vnder his hand and
priue signet.

The lord Rich then lord chancello: replied and said,
that the kings letters were no sufficient warrant,
vnlesse he had his commission vnder the hode seale:
and therefore if he had right, he should by the lawes
be hanged for his doings. But to this sir Peter an-
swered so stoutlie, and charged the duke so daupelie,
that in the end he was willed to returne into the
countrie, being promised that sufficient helpe both
of men & monie should be with speed sent downe into
the countrie. And to this effect he had both the kings
and the counells letters vnto the lord priue seale,
and so toke his iournaie backe againe into the coun-
trie, and deliuered his letters to the said lord Russell,
who in hope of the supplie promised, staid and remai-
ned sometimes at Wobonefortre, but most common-
lie at Honiton, still looking for that supplie and furni-
ture that was promised. But hauing long looked for
the same in vaine, he was daillie more and more for-
saken of such of the common people, as who at the
first serued and offered their seruice vnto him. And
hauing but a verie small gard about him, he liued in
more feare than he was feared: for the rebels daillie
increased, and his companie decreased and shunke
awaie, and he not altogether assured of them which
remained.

Wherefore distrusting himselfe, & by a false rumo-
being aduertised that the citie was taken, & in the
possession of the rebels; as also how that there was a
new surre or rebellion begun about Sarisburie: he
toke aduise and counsell of the gentlemen and such
as were with him that were best to be done. The
gentlemen of Dorsetshire were of the mind, and
gaue him aduise, that it were best for him to returne
into Dorsetshire, and there to remaine for a time;
because it was a place of a more safetie, vntill such
time as he were better prouided. And accordingly
the next daie following he toke his iournaie, & rode
backe againe with the said Dorsetshire gentlemen.
Sir

Wittels was
sent within
the citie.

Sir Peter
Carew ad-
uertised the
king & coun-
sell of the rebell.

The duke
of Somerset
charged sir
Peter Carew
of the rebell.

The kinges
letters vnto
him promised
helpe countre
be no sufficient
warrant.
The duke
of Somerset
charged sir
Peter Carew
being promised
helpe countre
home.

The lord
Russell staid
for
almost leet
forpaken.

10 Sir Peter Carew then being at Hoozofoton, and aduertised hereof, toke his horse and came against the said lord Russell, & met him upon Blacke downe, where was a long conference betwene them both; and in the end he so perswaded the lord, and with such pitie reasons he caried him, that leauing his former determination, he doth returne againe into Honiton; & where he continued thenceforth, sauing one night spent at Orie Saint Marie, where as it fell out he was in more feare than perill. At his being in Honiton, and daile waiting and looking for the promised helpe and supplie which came not: he was in an agonie, & of a heauie chere: not onelie for the want of the men & monie which he had long in vaine looked for, but also because he had spent all that he had brought with him, and could not tell how otherwise to helpe and prouide to supplie his present need: but as it fell out all happened for the best.

20 For it chanced that there were then three merchants of the citie, following and attending vpon him; Thomas Dreffwood not long before maior of the citie, John Bodlie, and John Berlam, men of great wealth. These men vnderstanding of the heauinesse and grieve of his lordship, make their request vnto him, and promise to helpe and relieue his agonie and want: and forthwith did procure vpon their credit from the merchants of Bissow, Linne, Tatonton, and elsewhere, such a masse of monie, as which when he had receiued, his grieve was eased. For forthwith he so prouided and furnished himselfe with such necessities, and with a greater number of men; that he was now in the better safetie, as also the better able to incounter with the enimie: and it was not long after, but that he had a further supplie from the king, euen to his content. And being now somewhat reuiued, newes was brought vnto him, that the rebels vnderstanding of his distressed state, were comming, and marching toward Honiton to assaile him; and were come as far as Ffenington bridge, which is about three miles. Whereupon, he *40* toke aduise with sir Peter Carew, sir Gawen Carew & others that were best to be done. And in the end, after manie speeches, it was concluded that they should march towards them, and giue the onset vpon them, & accordingly, without further delays or much talke, it was done out of hand. For vpon the next morning being a holic daie, they set forth, and came to the bridge aforesaid, where the rebels were indeed: some at the bridge, but the greatest companie in a medow beneath the bridge: who, as soone as they perceived the lord Russell and the gentlemen with all their troope to be come, they make themselves readie to the fight. But the river & the bridge being betwene them, the lord Russell beth all the policies that he can, how to reconer the bridge; which by bold aduenturing he did in the end: but with the hurt of sundrie of his companie, amongst whom sir Gawen Carew was one, being hurt with an arrow in the arme.

60 And hauing reconerred the bridge, and the river, all the rebels (such as were escaped) were gathered together in a medow nere adioining in the lower side of the bridge, vpon whom they so fiercelie followed, and gaue the onset; that though not without good stoie of blowes and bloodshed, they in the end gaue the enimie the ouerthrow, and had the vpper hand. And thinking that the victorie was cleere with them, and that the enimie was cleane gone, the soldiers and seruicemen gaue themselves all to the spoile; and being in the middle of their game, and they nothing thinking lesse than of any more enimies to be comming towards, euen suddenly march towards a new crue of Cornishmen, to the number of two hundred, or two hundred and forty persons,

under the conduct of one Robert Smith of saint Germans in Cornewall gentleman; and who taking these spoilers napping, manie of them paid deuelie for their wares. The lord Russell forthwith setteth all his companie in good arraie, as the others did the like, and gaue the onset vpon them: betwene whom the fight for the time was verie sharpe and cruell. For the Cornishmen were verie lustie and fresh, and fullie bent to fight out the matter: neuertheless in the end they were ouerthrowne, and their capteine, whose combe was cut, shewith a faire paire of heeles and fled auaie. In these two fights, there were reported to be slaine about three hundred rebels, which were verie tall men, lustie, and of great courage; and who in a good cause might haue done better seruice.

The lord Russell's companie followed the chafe nere three miles, & he himselfe then throughlie minded and bent to haue passed through to the citie. But one Joll his sole, who was then in half come from Honiton, and where he had heard, as also by the waie as he came did heare bells ringing in sundrie parish churches, and supposing the same to be alarum, came with a foule mouth to my lord, and cried that all the countrie behind him were vp, and comming vpon him. Which his report (considering the cruell fights past) was credited, and thought that a new companie was in preparing to follow the former quarels. Whereupon they all retired and returned againe to Honiton; and from thence his lordship sent his comfortable letters secretlie by a boy appointed and accustomed for the same, vnto the maior of his successe, as also aduertising him of his determination that he would be shortly with him for the deliuerance of the citie. Which letters (the citie being then but in a doubtfull and dismayed estate) came in verie good season; and yet in the end scarcelie credited by some men, because his comming was not so speedie as was looked for.

40 Within verie short time after this ouerthrowe was giuen, the lord Greie of Wilton with a crue of horsemen, and one Spinola an Italian with three hundred shot, came to my lord; who being aduertised of the ouerthrow of the enimie, and that there were slaine about three hundred persons of them, they were in a great chafe, and much bewailed their euill lucke, that they had not come sooner to haue bene partakers of that seruice. My lord being now of a verie good comfort & courage, aswell for the good successe which he had ouer the enimie, & that his long looked supplie was come, sendeth his other letters to the maior, comforting him, as also as before promising him to be with him verie shortly; willing him that he should now take but a little patience for a little time. And accordingly about six daies after, on saturday the thirde of August, in good order he set forth out of Honiton, and marched towards Excester, his companie being aboue a thousand of good fightingmen; and leauing the direct high waie, draweth ouer the downs towards Moadburie, and there lodged and pitched his campe that night, at a windmill appertaining to one Gregorie Carle gentleman. Which when the rebels of saint Marie Cliff heard of, forthwith, with all their force and power came forth, and marched on wards, untill they came to the foresaid mill where they offer the fight: and notwithstanding they were of verie stout stomachs, & also verie valiantlie did stand to their tactics, yet in the end they were ouerthrowne, and the most part of them slaine.

Where after the victorie thus gotten, vnto Miles Couerdale then the preacher, and attending vpon my lord in this tourne made a sermon, and caused a generall thanksgiving to be made vnto God: but before

The Cornish rebels giue an onset, and are ouerthrowne at Ffenington; their capteine lieth auaie.

The lord Greie and Spinola come with a supplie to the lord Russell.

The lord Russell marcheth towards Excester for their deliuerance.

The rebels are ouerthrowne at the windmill.

before all was ended, there began a new alarm; and forthwith euerie man to horse & to harnesse againe. The rebels which remained in the towne of faint Marie Clift, hearing of the euill successe befallen to their neighbours, and they doubting that their turne would be next to receiue the like; do spread abroad the newes, and request to be aided and assisted. Whereupon, forthwith in great troopes resorted vnto them a number of their companions out of euerie quarter, to the number (as it was said) of sir thousand men: and in all hast, they make themselves and all things in a readinesse to abide the brunt. Upon the next morning being sundae, my lord minding to follow on his course, commandeth the trumpet to sound, & euerie man to make readie to march forwards. And about nine of the clocke in the same morning, they come to Clift: where the armie is diuided into thre parts, and in thre seuerall places do appoint to make entrie into the towne. For in so manie places they had fortified the towne, and made great rampires for their defence.

The kings
armie marcheth
towards
bishops Clift.

Sir William
Francis first
entrencheth the
rampire.

The kings
armie retir-
eth.

The rebels
take the
kings wa-
gons, mun-
ition and trea-
sure.

Sir William
Francis
leaves the
rampire.

Bishops
Clift towne
set on fire and
burnt.
The rebels
overthrowne
to the towne.

These rampires were after some bickering recovered, and sir William Francis of Summeretshire was named to be the first that gaue the aduerture, & made the entrie. The commons being diuen from the said rampires, ran all into the towne; and there ioine themselves togither to abide the pulse. And as the kings armie was in good order marching into the towne, one of the chiefe captains of these rebels, named sir Thomas Bomeroie knight, kept himselfe in a furze close, and perceiving the armie to be past him, and hauing then with him a trumpeter, and a drumme, commanded the trumpet to be sounded, and the drumme to be stricken vp. At which sound, the lord priue seale, and his companie were amazed, supposing verelie that there had bene an ambush behind them to haue intraped and inclosed them. Whereupon, they forthwith retire backe in all the hast they may: which when they in the towne perceiued, they follow after, and neuer staid untill they came to the wagons then being in the high waie; & which now by fleeing and retiring of the armie, are the foremost and next to the towne. And these being laden with munition, armour, and treasure, they take and bring into the towne, where they rife as much as they could, saving the peeces of the ordinance, which with the shot and poulder they bestowed in places conuenient, and employed the same against my lord and his companie.

The armie hauing recovered the hill, did there pause a while, and finding themselves to be deceiued, march backe againe towards the towne: but before they came thither, it was aduertised vnto my lord, that the towne and euerie house therein was fortified and full of men, and that it was not possible for any to passe that waie without great perill and danger, except the towne were set on fire. Whereupon order was giuen, that as they passed and entered into the towne, notwithstanding it was my lords owne, they should set the houses on fire. Sir William Francis being in the fore-ward was foremost, and leaving the waie which he took before, took now an other waie: which waie was both deepe and narrow. The rebels being upon the banks upon euerie side of the waie, with their stones to beat him, that they stroke his headpiece fast to his head and thereof he died. The armie being come into the towne, they set fire on euerie house as they passed by. But the rebelles confoining themselves in the middle of the towne, do stand at their defence, where the fight was very fierce and cruell, and bloudie was that daie: for some were slaine with the sword, some burned in the houses, some flying for themselves

were taken prisoners, and manie thinking to escape ouer the water were drowned: so that there were dead that daie one with an other about a thousand men.

The towne thus being recovered, and the order giuen, the lord Greie desired to passe ouer the riuer, and to be in the open field, which is a great heath named Clift heath: & this he could not do, but that he must passe ouer either the water or the bridge, both which were somewhat dangerous, for the water was somewhat mirie and muddie, as also at that time verie deepe, by reason of the flowing of the seas, which causeth the same at euerie tide to swell. Wherefore one John Pard a gentleman, and who had dwelled thereabouts, knowing the said water, gaue the first aduerture ouer, and found waie nere vnto a mill aboue the bridge; and after him others do folow. But this was not for all the rest of the armie, who must needs passe ouer the bridge, which as then they could not do, by reason that the same was so overlaid with great trees and timber, as also there stood the gunner with his peece readie charged. Whereupon proclamation was made, that whosoever should aduerture and make waie ouer the bridge, should haue foure hundred croones for his labo. Then one forthwith more respecting the gaine, than forecassing the perill, gaue the aduerture: but the gunner rewarded him, for he discharged his peece vpon him, and slue him. And then before he could againe charge his peece, one of the companie, who before was passed ouer the water, came and entered the bridge at the further end, and comming behind him slue him: who forthwith calleth companie vnto him, and causeth aside all the trees and timber, and maketh the bridge cleere, and so the whole armie passeth ouer the bridge into the heath.

The lord Greie as soone as he was passed ouer the water, he rode forthwith to the top of the hill, which is in the middle of the heath; and from thence did make a view of all the countrie about him: and looking backe towards Woodburie, he saw and espied vpon Woodburie hill a great companie assembled; & marching forward, & suspecting that they were a new supplie appointed to follow and come vpon them, and aduertised the lord Russell thereof. Whereupon it was concluded, that the prisoners whom they had before taken at the windmill and in the towne, who were a great number, and which if they were newlie set vpon, might be a detriment and a perill vnto them, should be all killed: which forthwith was done, euerie man making a dispatch of his prisoners; and then the night approaching, there they incamped themselves for that night.

The rebelles, which were and laie about Grexter, were aduertised out of hand of this the euill successe of their neighbours, wherefore they with as manie as they could get, in all hast came to Clift heath: and in the lower side thereof next to the high waie, do intrench and fortifie a place fast by a hedge, and so crettie there, in the night, do place their ordinance, & make themselves in readinesse to abide the brunt: and as soone as the daie light serued, discharge and shot off their peeces vnto the armie incamped about the top of the hill. The lords and captains to end the quarrell, do determine to giue the onset vpon them, and according to the nature of warres, do politike divide themselves into thre parts, and euerie one hath his place assigned and order appointed vnto him.

The lord Russell, hauing no waie open before him, causeth his pioneers to make waie ouer the hedges & inclosed grounds, and by that means doth at length recover vpon the backe of the enemies: and they were so intraped on euerie side, that they could

The lord
Greie passeth
ouer the water
into Clift
heath.

John Pard
first gaue
the aduerture
ouer the
bridge to the
armie.

A proclamation
was made, that
whosoever should
aduerture and
make waie
ouer the
bridge, should
haue foure
hundred
croones.

The bridge
recovered.

All the prisoners
before taken
are committed
to the sword.

not by any means escape, but must yield or fight. The one they would not, and in the other they prevailed not. For notwithstanding valiantly and stoutly they stood to their tackle, and would not give over as long as life and lim lasted: yet in the end they were all overthrowen, and few or none left alive. Great was the slaughter, and cruell was the fight; and such was the valor and stoutnesse of these men, that the lord Greie reported himselfe, that he neuer in all the wars that he had been in did knowe the like.

This fight being done, and all things set in good order, the whole armie marched vnto Topham, which was about a mile off, and laie in that towne all that night, and carried with them in a hoyster the bodie or corps of sir William Francis, and from thence carried it to Excester, where it was buried in martiall manner verie honorable in the bodie of the cathedrall church of saint Peters. When the rebels who laie about the citie heard how their neighbors had sped, and from time to time had the worse side, and were still overthrowen: then as men despairing to preuaile, secretlie gaue over the siege and ran awaie euerie man his waie. The gentlemen, which were kept prisoners in the churches and in other places about the citie, being now at libertie, came straight to the walles about midnight, & gaue knowledge thereof to the watch; and they forthwith did the like vnto the maior. The ioie and comfort wherof was so great, and the desire of fresh vittells so much perced, that manie not abiding till the daie: light gat and shifted themselves out of the gates, but more for vittells than for spoile, and yet they were glad of both: howbeit some did not long enioie the same, for manie being more greedie of meat than measurable in feeding, did so ouercharge themselves in surfeiting, that they died thereof.

The next morrow being tuesdaye and the first of August, the lord pryncesse scale thinking it long before he came to the citie, commanded the trumpets verie earlie to sound, and euerie man to make readie and to prepare awaie. And accordingly all things being done, he marcheth towards Excester, and about eight of the clocke being tuesdaye the first of August 1549 he came to the same, to the great ioy & comfort of the long captiuated citizens, who were no more glad of their deliuerie, than was his lordship and all good subjects full of his victorie. But at his coming he entred not into the citie: for being aduertised from the maior that the citie was altogether furnished of vittells, order was taken that no stranger, nor one nor other should enter into the citie, but lie in the campe for a time. When his lordship pitched his tents without the wals in S. Johns fields, next to Southing haie, & vpon the cities wals next to the posterne of his house was the kings standard of the red dragon set vp. As soon as he was entred into his tent, the maior & all his brethren in most seemelie & decent order went vnto him, who most louinglie embraced them, most thankefullie accepted them, and most highlie commended them for their trust, dutie, and seruice, which vpon his fidelitie and honor he did promise should be well considered by the kings maiestie, and which in the end was performed. For the king being aduertised thereof, he did not onelie thankefullie accept and highlie commend their seruices, but also rewarded and considered the same, both by confirmation of their charters, inlarging of their liberties, and augmenting of their reuenues, in giuing vnto them the maior of Crilond, which as was said was sometimes their ancient inheritance, but by power of the earles of Deuon by force taken, and by wrong and iniurie kept from them.

Immediatlie after his coming, sir William Herbert then master of the kings hostes, and after

earle of Penbroke, came with a thousand Welshmen: who though they came too late to the fraie; yet some enough to the plaie. For the whole countrie was then put to the spoile, and euerie soldier fought for his best profit: a iust plague of the Lord vpon rebels and dissolall persons. But the citie being as yet altogether destitute of vittells, and the Welshmen at their first coming seeing the same, they did by their speciall industries & travels fraught & furnish the same within two daies with coine, cattels, and vittells, verie plentifulle, to the great reliefe and comfort of the people therein, & to the benefit of themselves. The lord pryncesse scale remained and continued in this citie about twelue daies before he remoued: setting all things in good order, rewarding the good & punishing the euill. To sir Peter Carew he gaue all Wineslades land, to sir Gaben Carew Humfrie Arundels lands, to William Gibbes esquier Weres lands, and to manie others which had done good seruices he gaue prisoners, both bodie, goods, and lands.

On the other side he commanded forches and galloves to be set vp in sundrie places, as well within the citie as also in the countrie; and did command and cause manie to be executed and put to death, & speciallie such as were noted to be chiefe and busie doers & ringleaders in this rebellion. Among them all there was no one so exalted as was Welsh the vicar of saint Thomas nere the Exbridge at Excester, who was preferred and presented to that benefice by the lord Russell patrone thereof. This man had manie good things in him, he was of no great stature, but well set and mightie compact: he was a verie good wrestler, shot well both in the long bow as also in the crollebow, he handled his handgun and peece verie well, he was a verie good woodman and a hardie, and such a one as would not give his head for the polling nor his beard for the walhing, he was a companion in aerie exercises of activitie, & of a courteous and gentle behauiour, he descended of a good honest parentage, being bozne at Pennerin in Cornewall; and yet in this rebellion an archcapitaine and a principall doer. He was charged with three principall crimes. The first was, that he did not onelie persuaide the people to the contemning of the reformed religion, according to the kings proceedings, and to keepe and obserue the Romish and popish religion: but also did erect, keepe, and vse the same in his parish church. Secondarie, he was a capteine and a principall dealer in the cause of the rebellion, which was chiefe directed by him, his order, & aduise. Thirde, he caused one Kingwell a tinner of Chagford, and seruant to master John Charcls of Cauesfoke to be hanged, because secretlie he had comelied letters betwene my lord and his master, and was earnest in the reformed religion, which was then termed the kings proceedings, & an enemie to the popish state. And being a sharpe inueter against the one, and an earnest mainteiner of the other, it procured vnto him great hatred and malice: when the rebellion was begun he sought by all the means he could how to escape awaie: but he was so narrowly watched, that he could neuer haue anye opportunitye so to do.

They vsed all the deuises they could to recouer him to their opinions, sometimes with faire words, sometimes with threatenings, and sometimes with imprisonment: but still he inuied against them, calling them rebels and traitors both against God and the king, and foreprophesied vnto them that destruction and confusion would be the end & reward of their doings. Thus when they could not reclaim him to their disposition, then by the order and iudgement of this vicar Welsh, he was fetched out of the

The welshmen came too late to the fight, but some enough to the spoile.

The lord pryncesse scale remained at Excester rewarding the good and punishing the euill. Sir Peter Carew, sir Gaben Carew, William Gibbes, rewarded with traitors lands.

These things laid to the charge of the vicar of saint Thomas.

The rebels hang Kingwell.

prison, and forthwith brought forth before Calphas and Pilat, and condemned to be hanged: which was executed upon him forthwith, and he brought to an elme tree in Oxford, without the west gate of the citie, before the house of one Nicholas Cane, and there hanged. The like crueltie or rather tyrannic was done at Sampford Courtenie, where when a certaine Frankelin a gentleman, named William Heltons, who coming to Sampford to haue some communication with them for the state of their rebellion, and for the pacifying of their in their due obedience, was at the towne end taken prisoner, & carried to the churchhouse, where he so earnestly reproved them for their rebellion, & so sharplie threatened them an euill successe: that they all fell in a rage with him, and not onlie with euill words reviled him: but also as he was going out of the churchhouse & going downe the staires, one of them named Githbridge with a bill strake him in the necke, and immediatlie notwithstanding his pittifull requestes and lamentations, a number of the rest fell vpon him, slue him, and cut him into small peeces: and though they counted him for an heretike, yet they buried him in the church-yard there, but contrarie to the common manner, laicng his bodie north and south.

These things being called to remembrance and objected against this vicar, although some men in respect of his vertues and good gifts did pittie and lament his case, and would haue gladlie bene tutors for his pardon: yet the greatnesse of his lewdnesse and follies considered, they left him vnto his deserts: & so was by order of the marshall law condemned to death. And yet this one thing by the waie I must speake in his commendation. There was among the rebels a stranger and an alien, who was a verie skilfull gunner, & could handle his peece verie well, and did much harme vnto the citie, & among others slue one Smith standing at a doore in northgatestreet with a great shot from saint Davids hill. This fellow toke vpon him, that he would set the whole citie on fire, and it should be cleane burned within foure houres, do they what they could. This his offer was so well liked, that the daie and time was appointed when this should be done.

The vicar hearing thereof, assembleth vnto him as manie men as he could make and haue, & came to this companie when this fire should be kindled, and was so hot and earnest against their attempts, that he would in no wise suffer so lewd an act and wicked a thing to be done. For (saith he) do you what you can by policie, force, or dint of sword to take the citie, I will toine with you, and do my best: but to burne a citie which shall be hurtfull to all men and good to no man, I will neuer consent thereunto, but will here stand with all my power against you. And so stout he was in this matter, that he stopped them from their further enterprising of so wicked a fact. But to the matter. The execution of this man was committed to Barnard Duffeld, who being nothing slacke to follow his commission, caused a paire of gallowes to be made, and to be set vp vpon the top of the tower of the said vicars parish church of S. Thomas: and all things being ready and the stage perfected for this tragedie, the vicar was brought to the place, and by a rope about his middie was borne vp to the top of the tower: and there in chains hanged in his popish apparell, and had a holie water bucket and sprinckle, a sacring bell, a paire of beads, & such other like popish trash hanged about him, and there he with the same about him remained a long time. He made a verie small or no confession, but verie patientlie toke his death, he had bene a good member in his common-wealth, had not the wards overcome the god rogne, and his soule vices overcome

med his vertues.

The lord priuie scale remaining still in Excester was continually occupied in setting things in order, he was verie seuerer and sharpe against such offenders as were chiefe and principall ringleaders of this rebellion: but to the common sort who were led and carried, and who did humble themselves, he was pittifull and mercifull, and did daile pardon infinite numbers. And his lordship thinking verie that all things were now quieted, & the rebels pacified, suddenly newes were brought vnto him that there assembled at Sampford Courtenie, both Devonshire men and Cornishmen, and who were fullie bent to mainteine their quarrell and abide the battell. These newes so troubled and tickled my lord, that all businesse set apart, he commandeth forthwith the trumpet to be sounded, and the drumme to be stricken vp, and all his armie to be forthwith mustered: which was then the greater, by reason of the Welshmen and gentlemen of the countie and of the commoners, who vpon submission had obtained pardon, and increased to the number of eight or ten thousand men, and forthwith he marcheth towards Sampford Courtenie, where sir William Herbert requested to haue the foze-ward for that daie, which was granted him.

And being come thither, albeit the great companie of so manie good soldiers and well appointed might haue dissinated them, being nothing no: in order, no: in companie, no: in experience, to be compared vnto the others: yet they were at a point they would not yeeld to no persuasions, no: did, but most manfullie did abide the fight: and neuer gaue ouer, untill that both in the towne and in the field they were all for the most taken or slaine. At which time one ap Owen a Welch gentleman, more boldlie than aduiseable giuing the aduenture to enter the rampier at the towne end, was there slaine by the rebels, and after carried backe to Cron, where after the manner of wars he was honorable buried in the bodie of saint Peters church, few of the kings side besides him then slaine: and so of a traitorous beginning they made a shamefull ending. Fewer thelesse manie escaped and they fled towards Summerstshire: after whom was sent sir Peter Carew, and sir Hugh Paulet then knight marshall: with a great companie attending vpon them, and followed them as far as to King Weston in the countie of Summerst: where they overtoke them and overthrow them, and also toke one Coffin a gentleman their captaine prisoner and brought him vnto Excester.

The lord Russell himselfe minding to make all things sure, taketh his iorney, and marcheth into Cornewall: and following his former course, causeth execution to be done vpon a great manie, and especially vpon the chiefe belwedders and ringleaders: but the chiefe and principall captaine he kept as prisoner, and brought them with him to Excester. And when this lord had set all things in good order, he returned to Excester, & remained there for a time; but after departed towards London, where he was received with great ioy and thanks: and being come before the king, he forgot not to commend vnto his maiestie the good service of this citie in this rebellion, which (as is before said) was liberallie rewarded and considered. After his departure, and according to his order and appointment, the chiefe captaine and principall heads of this rebellion, whom he left in prison in the kings goale at Excester, were carried to London and commanded to the tower, and in their one time were afterwards executed to death, namelye Humfreie Arundell esquier, Willielme esquier, John Berrie and Coffin gentlemen, and Holmes yeoman; which Coffin and Holmes were seruaunts to

The rebels appoint to set fire on the citie and to burne it.

The vicar of saint Thomas letteth and will not consent to the burning of the citie.

The vicar is hanged in chains vpon the top of the tower with his popish trash and ornaments about him.

The rebels assemble at Sampford Courtenie.

The rebels overthrow at Sampford Courtenie.

Sir Peter Carew pursueth the rebels which fled to King Weston.

The lord Russell himselfe minding to make all things sure.

The lord Russell himselfe minding to make all things sure.

The chiefe captaine and principall heads of this rebellion.

to Sir John Arundell knight. Of the number of them who were slain, there is no certaintie knowne, but manie more be founde lacke then numbred: howbeit it was accounted by such as continued in the whole service of this commotion to be about foure thousand men. But what number was of the contrarie side dispatched, nothing is reported, albeit it be well knowne that they escaped not scotfree, and especiallie the Burgonians, who were abhorred of the one partie, and nothing favoured of the other. Thus much concerning the description of the citie, and of the sundrie inuasions and assaults against the same, and especiallie of the last rebellion or commotion in the yeare of our Lord 1549, wherein much more might be spoken, but this may suffice for this matter. And for as much as the cathedrall church of this citie, called by the name of S. Peters, is a parcell of the citie, and compassed within the walls of the same, though in respect of certaine priuileges distinct from the iurisdiction thereof; I thought it good to subiect hereunto the description of the said church; and of the antiquitie of the same.

The antiquitie, foundation, and building of the cathedrall church of saint Peters in Excester.



After that corrupt religion and superstition was crept and receiued into the church, and the people become deuout therein, then began the erecting of religious houses and monasteries in euerie countie. And as this was vniuersall throughout all christendome under the gouernement of the Romane bishop: so also was it generalitie done throughout all England, in which generalitie this citie was of a particularitie; for in this citie from time to time as opportunitie serued sundrie religious houses and monasteries were erected and builded, of which there were thre within the cite, circuit, and place now called the close of S. Peters, and which in time accrued and were vnited into one. The first was a house for women called moniales or nuns, which is now the deanes house or balendar haie. The other was a house of monks, supposed to be builded by king Ethelred, the third sonne to king Ethelwolp, and these two were vnited by bishop Leofricus vnto the cathedrall church. The third was a house for monks of the order of S. Benet, which was builded and founded by king Athelstane, about the yeare of our Lord 932: and this is that part of the cathedrall church now called the ladie chappell. For the said king, hauing driuen out of this citie the Britons then dwelling therein, and minding to make a full conquest both of them and of this their countie which they then inhabited, did so fiercelie follow and pursue them euen into Cornuwall, that in the end he conquered them, and had the victorie. After which he returned to this citie, and here staing and sojourning for a time, did reedifie the citie, incompassed it with a stone wall, and founded the cathedrall church, which he then appointed for a monasterie for monks of S. Benets order. For so is it written: *Hanc urbem rex Adelstanus primus in potestatem Anglorum, effugatis Britonibus redactam turribus munivit, & muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit, ac antiquitus vocatam Munketon nunc Excester vocari voluit: ac ibi sedens mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis Deo & sancto Petro famulantibus.* Besides the charges which he was at the building of the said church, he gaue also lands and revenues vnto them sufficient for maintenance and liuelihoods, whereof Hokehill and Treasuro: were are parcell, and which now are appendant and appertaining to the tresaror of the cathedrall

church.

After the time of king Athelstane, the Danes with great hostilitie and crueltie hauing ouerrun this whole land, they also came to this citie, and in spoiling the same, did also ransacke and spoile the said church, whose continuall inuasions the monks being not able to indure, fled and forsoke their house and home, and sought places of better safetie. By which means this monasterie for sundrie yeares was left desituted, vntill the time of king Edgar; who on a time made a progresse into these west parts, to visit his father in law Odogarus then earle of Deuon, and founder of the abbate of Taunthorpe, whose daughter he had married. And being come to this citie, did here rest and staie himselfe, where when he saw the distressed state of the said church, & pitying the same, caused search and inquirie to be made of the monks which were scattered and yet left; and when he had gotten them togither, he restored them vnto their house and liuelihoods, and appointed Sidemannus who was afterwards bishop of this diocesse to be abbat of the same. And from thensforth they continued togither (though sometimes in troubles) vntill that king Swanus or Sweno the Dane, with a mightie and a huge armie came to this citie, besieged, toke, spoiled, and destroyed it with sword and fier. Howbeit not long after it was restored againe by king Canutus or Canutus, who being aduertised of the great cruelties which his father Sweno had done to the said monasterie, did at the request of Athelredus one of his dukes, make restitution vnto Athelwoldus then abbat of all their lands, liuings and priuileges: as doth appeare by his charter dated in the yeare of our Lord 1019.

After this, about thirtie yeares, king Edward the Confessor came to this citie, and he by the aduise and at the motion of Leofricus bishop of Crediton, and who sometimes was lord chancellor of England vnder the said king, and one of his priue counsell, partlie for the better safetie of the bishop and his successors, who lieng and hauing their houses in the countie, were subiect to manie and sundrie perils, and partlie to prouide a more conuenient place for the monks, did remove the bishops see from Crediton, and removed the monks vnto Westminster: and he the king in his owne person, togither with quene Edith his wife, did insall the said Leofricus in possession of this his new church and see. The bishop thus removed from the old, and placed in the new see and church, doth endow the same with all those lands and liuelihoods which he had of the gift of the said king, and which before did apperteine to his former church, and to reduce and make his sanctuarie to his mind, pulleth downe the two monasteries nere adioining, the one being of monks and the other of nuns, and addeth and vnitheth them vnto his owne church, and hauing brought all things to effect according to his mind, deuileth and maketh lawes, orders, and ordinaunces for the good gouernment of his church and cleargie.

After the death of Leofricus, all his successors for the most part procure the augmentation and increase of this their new created see and church, some in liuelihoods, some in liberties and priuileges, some in buildings, and some in one thing, and some in another. William Warewell the third bishop of this church, who had sometimes bene chapleine to the Conqueror, and to his two sonnes William and Henrie, was in such fauor and god liking with the Conqueror, that at his request he gaue vnto him and to this his church, Plimpton, Brampton, and S. Stephens in Excester, which gift his said sonnes being kings of England did ratifie and confirme. And then the said bishop, hauing the ordering and distributing thereof,

The Danes spoile the church of S. Peters.

The monks forsake their monasterie.

Edward the Confessor.

King Edgar restoreth the abbat and monks to their house.

Sidemannus abbat of this church, and after bishop of this diocesse.

K. Canutus restoreth both lands & priuileges to the church.

The bishops see removed from Crediton to Excester.

Leofricus the first bishop of Excester.

Several monasteries within the citie of S. Peters.

King Ethelred builded the walls of the citie of Excester.

Exemplum quoddam de rebus S. Leofrici Episcopi Excestrensis.

Exemplum de rebus S. Leofrici Episcopi Excestrensis.

The king at the request of William Warewell bishop of Excester, gave to the church of Excester.

The founda-
tion of the
quier of S.
Peters
church.

Bishop wil-
liam Bzower
instituted the
deane & foure
and twentie
prebendaries.

The bodie of
saide Peters
church first
founded.

The chanter
and subdeane
first consti-
tuted in this
church.

Bishop Stan-
dison a great
benefactor to
the church.

The church
of S. Peters
was in build-
ing 437
yeares.

The cloister
builded.

The building
of the chapter
house.

John Fox.

Common
rebellion.

thereof, giueth Blimpton to the regular monkes
there, for whom he had founded and builded a mona-
strie, and wherein he himselfe shortly after leauing
and yeelding by his bishoplike, became and was a
monke. Blimpton was referred to the church, and
which afterwards was annexed to the deanerie. And
S. Stephens with the fee to the same appertaining,
he referred to himselfe and to his successors, & where-
by they are barons and lords of the parlement. This
bishop in the yeare of our Lord 1112, first began to
inlarge his cathedrall, and laid the foundation of that
part, which is now the choire or quier: for before that
time it was no bigger than that, which since and
now is called the ladie chapell. After him William
Bzower the bishop made and established in the
yeare of our Lord 1235, a deane and a chapter of
foure and twentie prebendaries; and for the deane
(whome he appointed, and whose name was Serlo)
and for his successors, he gaue and impropriated
Blimpton and Coliton Kewleigh, and for the pre-
bendaries he purchased lands, allotting and assign-
ing to euery of them *Pro pane & sale* the like portion
of foure pounds.

Peter Quuell the bishop finding the chancell of
his church to be fullie builded and ended, beginneth
to found and build the lower part of the bodie of his
church, in the yeare of our Lord 1284, from the chan-
cell of his church vnto the west end of the said church.
This man first appointed a chanter and a subdeane to
be in his church. To the one of them he impropriated
Paineton and Chudleie, and to the other the perso-
nage of Egloschaile in Cornewall. After him John
Grandison, in the yeare of our Lord 1340, did in-
crease the length of the bodie of the church from the
sant westwards, as also vaulted the rofe of the whole
church, and did fullie end and finish the same. And al-
beit from the time of king Athelstane the first found-
er in the yeare of our Lord 932, vntill the daie of
the death of this bishop Grandison, which was in
the yeare 1369, there were about 437 yeares dis-
tant, and in the meane time this church was conti-
nued in building by sundrie persons: yet it is so de-
centlie and vniformelie compacted, as though it had
bene builded at one verie time and instant.

The successor of this Grandison, who was na-
med Thomas Brentingham, finished and ended the
north tower of the church. After this, about the yeare
of our Lord 1400, and in the time of bishop Skot-
fold, the cloister was added to the church, and builded
at the most part of the charges of the deane and cha-
piter. And not long after Edmund Lacte bishop
began to build the chapter house, which being not en-
ded in his time, his next successor George Jenell,
in the yeare of our Lord 1456, did fullie end and ab-
solue the same: and which is a verie faire, beautifull,
and a sumptuous worke. And thus much concerning
the antiquitie, foundation, and building of this ca-
thedrall church. Thus far John Hooker.

About the same time that this rebellion (whereof
all the foresaid discourse tendeth) began in the west,
the like disordered hurles were attempted in Dr-
fordshire, and Buckinghamshire: but they were spee-
dilie appeased by the lord Greie of Wilton, who com-
mitting downe that waite to ioine with the lord pinnie
seale, chased the rebels to their houses, of whome two
hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders
to him deliuered, wherof certeine afterwards were
executed. Moreover, in diuerse other parts of the
realme, namelie in the south and east parts, did the
people (as before ye haue heard) assemble themselves
in rebellious maner, committing manie soule disor-
ders: but yet by god policie and holefome perswas-
ans they were appeased, except in Dorsetshire, where

after there was a rumour spread, that at the commons
in Kent had throwne downe the ditches and hedges,
wherewith certeine pasture grounds were inclosed,
and had laid the same open. Diuerse seditious per-
sons and busie fellows began to complaine that the
like had not bene done in Dorsetshire, and ceased not
to praicise how to raise the people to an open rebelli-
on; meaning not onelie to laie open parkes and in-
closures, but to attempt other reformations, as they
termed them; to the great danger of ouerthrowing
the whole state of the common-wealth.

They chiefly declared a spitefull rancke and hate-
red conceiued against gentlemen, whome they mali-
ciously accused of inordinat couetousnesse, pride, rap-
ine, extortion, and oppression, praicised against their
tenants and other, for the which they accounted them
worthy of all punishment. Hereupon diuerse of
them, namelie the inhabitants of Atilborough, and
other of their neighbors, conceiuing no small dis-
pleasure, for that one Greene of Allbie had taken
in a parcell of the common pasture, as was supposed,
belonging to the towne of Atilborough, and adioi-
ning to the common pasture of Wartham, riotously
assembled together, and threw downe certeine new
ditches made by the said Greene, to inclose in the said
parcell of commons.

This was done before Midsummer, and so it re-
sted till the first of Iulie, at which time there should be
a publike plate kept at Wilmondham, a towne di-
stant from Dorchester miles, which plate had bene
accustomed yearelie to be kept in that towne, conti-
nuing for the space of one night and one daie at the
least. Whereupon the wicked contriuers of this tri-
bupie rebellion, took occasion by the assembling of
such numbers of people as resorted thither to see that
plate, to enter further into their wicked enterprise;
and vpon conference had, they immediatlie assem-
bled at Dorchester a mile from Wilmondham, & there
they cast downe certeine ditches of maister Hab-
bords on the tuesdaie, and that night they repaired to
Wilmondham againe, where they praicised the like
feats. But as yet they took no mans goods by vio-
lence.

Hereupon one John Flowerdew of Hetherset John flower
gentleman, finding himselfe grieved with the cast-
ing downe of some ditches, came vnto some of the
rebels, and gaue to them fortie pence to cast downe
the fences of an inclosure belonging to Robert Ket, Robert Ket
alias Knight, a tanner of Wilmondham; which pasture
lieth nere to the faire Mounge at Wilmondham
also; which they did. And that night consulting to-
gether, the next morning they took their iourneie to
Hetherset, by the procurement of the said Robert
Ket, in reuenge of the displeasure which he had con-
ceiued against the said Flowerdew, and set them in
hand to plucke vp and cast downe hedges and ditches,
wherewith certeine pasture grounds belonging to
the said Flowerdew were inclosed.

Here was somewhat adoe. For maister Flowerdew
did what he could to haue caused them to desist from
that attempt, in somuch that manie sharpe words
passed betwixt Ket and the said maister Flowerdew.
But Ket being a man hardie and forward to anie
desperat attempt that should be taken in hand, was
streight entred into such estimation with the com-
mons thus assembled together in rebellious wise,
that his will was accomplished: and so those hedges
and ditches belonging to the pasture grounds of mas-
ter Flowerdew were throwne downe and made
plaine. Hereupon was Ket chosen to be their cap-
taine and ringleader, who being resolved to set all on
fir and seuen, willed them to be of god comfort, and
to follow him in defense of their common libertie,
being readie in the common-wealths cause to hazard
both

Robert Ket.

The begin-
ning of the
rebellion in
Dorsetshire.

A conference
to further the
rebellion in a
meeting at a
publike place.

John flower
gentleman.

Robert Ket.

Ket chosen to
be captain of
the rebels.

both life and goods.

Herewith they passed the water betwixt Crin-
gelford and Eton, and coming to Wolthorpe, cast
downe certeine hedges and ditches in that place, and
their number being now greatly increased, they in-
camped there that night. Here sir Edmund Wil-
dani knight, being high shiriffe of Norfolk and
Suffolke, came and proclaimed them rebels, com-
manding them to depart in the kings maiesties
name. With which proclamation they were greatly
offended, and attempted to haue got him into their
hands: but he being well horsed, valiantlie brake
through them that had compassed him in: wherewith
he escaped from them and got into Norwich, being
not past a mile off. The same night there came a
great number of lewd people vnto them, as well out
of the citie of Norwich as out of the countie, with
weapon, armour, and artillery.

The citizens
of Norwich.

The daie before that Ket came to this place, a
great number of the meaner sort of the citizens of
Norwich had thowne downe a quickset hedge, and
filled up the ditches, wherewith the foresaid commons
were on the one side inclosed, to keepe in the cattell
of the citizens that had the same going before their
common neatherd: and so that fence which by god
and prouident aduise of their forefathers, had bene
raised and made for the common profit of the whole
citie, was thus by a sort of lewd persons defaced and
cast downe at that present. And scarce had they
thowne downe the ditch in the upper end of this pa-
sture, but that a companie of euill disposed persons
stale out of the citie, and got them to Kets campe.
The maior of the citie named Thomas Cod aduer-
sed hereof, doubting what might follow of this mi-
chievous begun rebellion, thought god to trie if he
might perswade the rebels to giue ouer their traito-
rous enterprises: and therfore taking certeine of the
aldermen with him, he went to Kets campe, vising
what perswasions he could to reduce them vnto their
dutifull obedience, & to depart home to their houses.
But his trauell was in vaine, and therfore retur-
ned backe to the citie without hope to doe anie good
with that vnrulie rout.

Thomas
Cod.

After whose departure, they considering in what
danger they stood to be surprisid, if they should scat-
ter abroad in such sort as till then they had done,
seeking to wast and spoile the countie about them,
without keeping together in anie warlike order,
thought it stood most with their suertie to draw into
one place, and to fortifie the same for their further
strength. Upon this resolution they determined to
go with all speed vnto Houshold, a place as they
tooke it meet for their purpose, and therfore sent to
the maior of Norwich, requesting him of licence to
passe through the citie, because it was their nearest
waie, promising not to offer anie iniurie or violence
to anie person, but quietly to march through the citie
vnto their place appointed. But the maior did not on-
lie denie them passage, but also with sharpe and bitter
speech reproving their rebellious doings, told them
what should follow thereof, if they came not ouer in
time from further proceeding in such wicked at-
tempts.

The rebels
insolence
to passe thro-
ugh Nor-
wich.

Mr Roger
Woodhouse.

The next daie being thursdaie, sir Roger Wood-
house with seven or eight of his household seruants,
came to them, bringing with him two carts laden
with beere, and one cart laden with other vittells: for
a recompense whereof he was stripped out of his ap-
parell, had his horses taken from him, and whatso-
euer else he had, the rebels accounting the same a
good price, he himselfe was cruellie tugged and cast
into a ditch of one Acres of nother Arleham by Wei-
kehambridge: where the same daie the rebels, being
disappointed of their purpose to passe through Nor-

wich, found meanes to passe, and coming to mat-
ger Corbets house of Sprowston, intended to haue
burnt the same house. But yet being perswaded to
spare it from fire, they spoiled his goods, defaced a
bouchouse of his, which had bene a chappell, and after-
wards got them to Houshold, and coming to St.
Leonards hill, on which the erle of Surrie had built
a stately house called mount Surrie, they inken-
nelled themselves there on the same hill; and in the
woods adioining that lie on the west and the southerly
side of the same hill, as the commons or pasture cal-
led Houshold heath lieth on the east side, which con-
taineth foure or five miles in length, & thre or foure
in breadth.

Mount Sur-
rie.

Houshold.

They put sir Roger Woodhouse, and other priso-
ners whom they had caught, in strict ward within
the foresaid house of mount Surrie, on the which
they seized, and spoiled whatsoeuer they found within
it. In the meane time, the maior of Norwich taking
aduise with his brethren the aldermen, what was best
to doe in this case, whether presentlie to issue forth,
and distresse the rebels now in the beginning, lest
time might giue them meane to increase their pow-
er: or rather to staie till they had aduertised the
councell of the whole matter. In the end they agreed
that this last aduise was most surest, and so they dis-
patched a post with all speed to the court. Beside this
great campe (as they termed it) at Houshold, there
was a lesser at Killing chafe neare to Lin: but the
rebels there, by the good diligence and circumspect po-
licie of the iustices and gentlemen of those parts,
were speedilie repressed, and driven from thence.
Notwithstanding afterwards they assembled toge-
ther at Watton, & there remained about a fortnight,
stopping also the passage at Thetford and Brandon
ferrie, within nine miles of the said Watton: and
at length came and joined themselves with these
other at Houshold, by appointment of their ge-
nerall capteine (as they toke him) the foresaid Ro-
bert Ket.

Killing chafe.

Watton.

Moreouer, there came flocking from Suffolke
and other parts, a great multitude of lewd disposed
persons, raised by firing of beacons, and ringing of
bells. Also a number of rascals & naughtie lewd per-
sons stale out of the citie of Norwich, and went to
campe. And thus being got together in great multi-
tudes, they added one wickednesse to another, as ha-
uing no staie of themselves after their downefall,
nor holding them content with the committing of
one villanous trespass and horrible transgression,
according vnto the poets words to the like purpose:

*Quisnam hominum est quem in contentum videris uno
Flagitio?*

Now to cloke their malicious purpose with a coun-
terfeit shew of holinesse, they caused one Coniers
vicar of saint Martins in Norwich to saie sermons
morning and euening, to praise to God for prosperous
speed in that their vngodlie enterprisse. Moreouer
they went about to ioine to their cause diuerse honest
men, and right commendable for religion, doctrine,
vertue, and innocencie of life; amongst whom were
Robert Watton a preacher, Thomas Cod maior of
Norwich, and Thomas Alderich of Spangrène hall.
These thre, although sore against their willes, were
constrained to be present with them in all matters
of counsell, and to take vpon them (as associates with
capteine Ket) the administration and order of euerie
thing: which happened well for manie. For when ei-
ther Ket himselfe, or anie other of the capteins,
through setting on of the outrageous multitude, pur-
posed anie mischance (as often it came to passe) in one
place or other, through their graue aduise, and appro-
ued industrie, their furie was sundrie times staied
and calmed. Although Ket bent to all vngodlinesse,
would

Counterfeit
religion.

would diuerse times grant forth commissions, abusing now and then the names of honest men thereby appointing his vnchristie mates to fetch in bittels to furnish their campe withall. The tenor of one of the which commissions here insueth.

The forme of a warrant granted out
by the rebels to take vp bittels.

Whe kings friends & deputies, doo grant licence to all men, to prouide and bring into the campe at Houshold, all manner of cat-tell, and prouision of bittels, in what place soeuer they may find the same: so that no violence or iniurie be done to any honest or poore man. Commanding all persons as they tender the kings honor and roiall maiestie, and the reliefe of the common welth, to be obedient to vs the gouernors, and to those whose names insue.

Signed

Robert Ket.

Then followed in order a long list of names, for the number of the gouernors was great, as they that beside the chiefe captiues had chosen out of euerie hundred two, and there were six and twentie hundred. By vertue of such commissions, manie that were of good worship and credit in the countrie, whom the rebels in their rage had condemned, were fetched from their houses, and other places where they might be found, and being brought to the campe, were committed to prison. Also the ditches and hedges, wherewith the commons abode in the countrie, were inclosed, were throwne downe, & manie were warned and called forth from sundrie parts, to come and take part with them in these tumultuous vy-rores. And all these things were done, the maior, maister Aldrich not onlie holding their peace and twinkling thereat, but also sometime after a manner giuing their consent to the same. For to haue resisted them had bene but follie, and the waie to haue put themselves in danger of destruction, and their countrie too.

The honest citizens of Norwich in this meane while remained in great perplexitie, hearing nothing from the king nor his counsell. They therefore being vncertaine what to do, abode in the citie, till they might vnderstand what order it should please the king to take for the quieting of these troubles. The cause why the counsell was thus slacke in prouiding remedie against the Norfolke rebels, was: for that they were busie in quieting the troubles in the inner part of the realme about London, and other places (as before ye haue heard) by meanes whereof the powder of these Norfolke rebels still increased, so that there were assembled togither into Kets campe, to the number of sixtene thousand vnchristie vnchristis, who by the aduise of their captiues fortified themselves, and made prouision of artillerie, powder and other abilliments, which they fetched out of ships, gentlemens houses, and other places where any was to be found, and withall spoiled the countrie of all the cattell, riches and coine, on which they might laie hands.

But because manie (as in such case is ever seene) did prouide for themselves, and hid that which they got, laing it by for their owne store, and brought it not forth to further the common cause, Ket and the other gouernors (for so would they be called) thought to prouide a remedie, and by common consent it was decreed, that a place should be appointed, where indignements might be exercised, as in a iudiciall hall.

Whereupon they found out a great old oke, where the said Ket, and the other gouernors or deputies might sit and place themselves, to heare and determine such quareling matters as came in question. Afore whom sometime would assemble a great number of the rebels, and exhibit complaints of such disorders, as now and then were practised among them; and there they would take order for the redressing of such wrongs and iniuries as were appointed, so that such greedy bagabounds as were ready to spoile more than seemed to stand with the pleasure of the said gouernors, and further than these commissions would beare, were committed to prison. This oke they named the tree of reformation.

The maior, maister Aldrich and others, whom they had receiued into the number of their gouernors, would oftentimes go vp into this tree, and make diuerse pithie orations to perswade the outrageous multitude to giue over their riotous rapines and spoilings. There were also certeine diuines which did vse all waies possible to withhold them from their wicked attempts, and to reduce them to peace and quietnesse, although this was not done without danger of their liues. Neuertheless, these in the daie time used to preach in the churches, and in the night to watch with armour vpon their backs, leauing nothing vndone that might seeme to appertene vnto the dutie of godlie and vertuous diuines, or faithfull and obedient subjects. Among these was doctor Parker, afterward archbishop of Cantuarie, whose wisdom, faithfulness, and integritie was most apparant.

He coming on a daie into the campe with his brother Thomas Parker, that was after maior of Norwich, found them before the tree at common prayer, the foreremembred Coniers bicar of saint Martin in Norwich saing the Letanie. Whereupon doctor Parker thinking the time to serue for his purpose, went vp into the tree, where he made a sermon, diuiding it into thre seuerall parts. In the first he exhorted them to vse with moderation those bittels which they had prouided & brought into their campe, and not riotouslie nor lawleslie to wast and consume them. In the second he aduised them in no wise to seeke reuenge of priuat displeasures, and not to chaine or keepe in irons those persons whom they held in ward, nor to take anie mans life from him. Lastly, he wished that they should haue regard to themselves, & leaue off their rash begun enterprisse, giuing eare to such heralds or other messengers as came from the king, and to shew such honour vnto his maiestie now in his yong and tender yeares, as they might inioy him hereafter being growne vp in vertue, to their great ioy, comfort, and gladnesse. As he was handling this matter, with manie good and effectuall reasons, hauing the auditozie attentive to his words, one lewd fellow among the rest cried out and said: How long shall we suffer this hireling doctor, who being waged by gentlemen, is come hither with his tong, which is sold and tied to serue their appetite? But for all his prating words, let vs bide them, and bring them vnder the orders of our law.

Then began the multitude to stir and make a noise, threatening the preacher, some of them saing: It were well, that for his faire told tale we should bring him downe with a mischief, with arrowes and lanclings. This speech brought doctor Parker in no small feare, and the more, for that he heard a noise and clattering of weapons vnder him, so that he looked for present death among them. But herein he was deceiued: for there was not a man that stood next him within the compasse of the tree, would him anie harme. And immediatlie the foresaid bicar of

Gentlemen
imprisoned.

The number
of the rebels.

Rebels and
theues can
not keepe to-
gether with-
out manifesta-
tion of iniustice.

The tree of
reformation.

Doctor Parker.

The preacher
to the rebels.

The rebels
thenceforth
for Parker.

Reg.

Dr. Martins that executed the office of the minister, began with helpe of some singeingmen that were present, the canticle *Te Deum*, wherewith the vnruele multitude seemed partie to quiet themselves. Which occasion doctor Parker perceiuing to serue his turne, thought not longer to tarie amongst them, but quietly got him downe from the tree, and with his brother made haile towards the citie. But before he came to Boockthorp gate, there were of the rebels that came to him, and began to question with him about his licence, whereby he was authorisid to preach: but he perceiuing that there was no reason to be conceiued of them, slipt his waies, and left his brother to argue the matter with them.

Yet the next daie he entering into saint Clements church, took occasion to epound somewhat out of one of the lessons that was read that daie, concerning these wicked hnellburles; manie of the rebels coming about him, but not interrupting him a whit, hearing the end of his exhortation, although they seemed greatlie therewith offended. But as he came out of the church, they followed him, and told him that (as they vnderstood) he had three or foure able geldings to serue the king: and therefore charged him that after dinner they might be readie for them to occupie. But doctor Parker made them no great answer, but calling to him his horsekeeper, commanded him to plucke off the shoes from some of his geldings, and to pare their houses vnto the quicke; and that he should annoint the other with neruall, as if they had bene lamed with trauell. The rebels perceiuing this, when they saw the same geldings had forth as it had bene to pasture, made no further businesse. Whereupon doctor Parker shortly after, feining as if he went abroad to walke two miles off from the citie, at Crinkleford bridge found his horses readie as he had appointed, with his seruants, and mounting vp, took his iournete towards Cambridge, with as much speed as was possible, escaping thither out of all danger, although by the waie they met with and saw diuerse of the rebels plaieng their parts in their wanted outrageous manner. Thus did doctor Parker escape the hands of the wicked rebels, who despising his wholesome admonitions, did afterwards by Gods iust iudgement proue his words to be most true.

But in the meane time proceeding from one mischief to another, after they had practised to spoile the gentlemen of the countrie of their goods, they began to attach their bodies, and by force to bring them into their campe: so that such as escaped their hands, were glad to flee, and hide themselves in woods and canes, where they might best keepe themselves out of their aduersaries reach and intended dangers. But to speake of all the horrible praactises by these vngenerous people exercised, it would be too long a procelle. That which they found to cloake their doings, and that euen vnder the kings authoritie, it is wonderfull. For whereas there were certaine commissions directed vnto diuerse gentlemen in the countrie, to take order for the appeasing of these tumults; they getting the same into their hands, took vpon them the authoritie committed to the gentlemen, vnto whome the same commissions were sent; and taking off the scales from the other, altered the same vnto their counterfeited writings. To conclude, they grew to such vnrueasable disorder, that they would not in manie things obeye neither their general capteine, nor anie of their gouernors, but ran headlong into all kind of mischief, & made such spoile of vittels which they brought out of the countrie adioining vnto their campe, that within few daies they consumed (beside a great number of beies, twenty thousand muttons, also swans, geese,

hens, capons, ducks, & other foules so manie as they might laie hands vpon. And furthermore, they spared not to breake into parks, and kill what deere they could. Such haucke they made of all that came in their waie, and such number of sharpe spectackie they brought into their campe, that a good fat weather was sold for a groat. The woods, groues, and trees that were destroied I passe ouer, and make no mention thereof. Herewith, what crueltie was shewed by them in fettering and manacing such gentlemen as they caught, and committed to prison for some unliking they had conceiued of them, it was a miserable case to behold. Some there were whom they brought forth, as it had bene to iudgement before the tree of reformation, there to be tried afore the gouernors, as if they had bene guiltie of some heinous and greuous crime. And when it was asked of the commons, what should be done with those prisoners, they would crie with one voice; Hang them, hang them. And when they were asked why they gave so sharpe iudgement of those whom they neuer knew, they would vniuersally answer, that other cried the same crie; and therefore they ment to giue their assent with other, although they could pae no reason, but that they were gentlemen, & therefore not worthy to lue.

While the rebels thus raged abroad in the countrie at Bingham eleuen miles from Norwich, sir Edmund Kneuet knight, with a small companie of his owne menall seruants, set vpon the night-watch of the rebels that were placed there, & brake through, overthrowing diuerse of them: and hauing some of his owne men also vnderled by the rebels, and in danger to be betwen in peeces among them, yet he recovered them, & escaped their hands through great manhood. After which good nights seruice, as they would haue it esteemed, they repaired to their great capteine Bet, to shew their hurts receiued, & to complaine of their griefes. It was talked among them, that they would go to sir Edmund Kneuet's house called Bickenham cassell, to assault it, and to fetch him out of it by force. But it was doubted of some, least it were too strong for them; and other feared sharpe stripes, if they should attempt that exploit, being at the least twelue miles from their maine campe: and so that enterpryse went not forward, the most part thinking it best to sleepe in whole skins.

There was at London the same time a citizen of Norwich, one Leonard Southerton fled from thence for feare of his life, whome the counsell sent for, to come to speake with them: and being asked what he knew touching the state of the rebels, he declared to them from point to point the manner of all their outrageous proceedings: but yet that as he vnderstood, there were manie among them that would laie aside their armour, if they might be assured of the kings pardon: and therefore if it would please the king to set forth a proclamation, that all such as would depart from the campe and be quiet, should haue their pardon for all that was past, he doubted not but that those routs should be dispersed. His advice was allowed, and thereupon was an herald sent with all speed in companie with the said Southerton vnto Norwich; & coming into the campe the last of Julie, and standing before the tree of reformation, apparellled in his cote of armes, pronounced there before all the multitude, with loud voice, a free pardon to all that would depart to their homes, and laieing aside their armour, giue ouer their treasonous begun enterpryse.

After he had made an end of his proclamation, in manner all the multitude cried, God saue the king. And manie of them falling downe vpon their knees,

The outrageous dealing against gentlemen.

Sir Edmund Kneuet's seruice.

Leonard Southerton.

Pardon proclaimed by an herald at armes.

could not forbeare with feares gushing from their eyes, but commend the kings great and vnspokeable mercie thus freely offered vnto them, which vndoubtedlie they had at that time all of them receiued, if the wicked spech of some of the rascall sort, and namelie the traitorous persuasions of that wicked carter Bet himselfe, had not staied them from their dutifull inclinations. But after that Bet had with lowd voice before declared, that kings & princes were accustomed to grant pardons to such as are offenders, and not to others; he trusted that he needed not anie pardon, sith he had done nothing but that belonged to the dutie of a true subject: and herewith he besought them not to forsake him, but to remember his promise, sith he was readie to spend his life in the quarell. The herald hereupon called him traitor, and commanded John Petibone the swordbearer of the king to attach him for treason. Then began a great hurle burle among the multitudes, so that the herald, perceiuing they began to shrinke from their former purpose of receiuing the kings pardon, departed from them with these words; All ye that be the kings friends, come awaie with me. The maior & maister Alderich, with a great number of other gentlemen & honest peomen that were readie to obey the kings commandement, followed him.

The citizens
fauouring the
rebels.

The maior being thus returned to the citie, caused the gates to be shut, and such gentlemen as had been committed to prison within the castell, or other places in the citie, he caused to be set at libertie, & with their aduise took order how the rebelles might be kept out. But as he was busie about such matters, certaine of the citizens that fauored the rebelles had receiued a great multitude of them into the citie, which did put the citizens in such feare, that it was thought the most suretie for the gentlemen that had bene now released out of prison, to be shut vp againe, leaue the rebelles finding them abroad, should haue murdered them. Yet after this, when the rebels were departed out of the citie againe, the maior & aldermen fell in hand to rampire vp the gates, to plant ordinance, and to make all necessarie provision that for them was possible.

At length they fell to shooting off their artillerie as well from the citie as from the campe, doing their best to annoie ech other. But when the rebelles saw that they did little hurt to the citie with their great ordinance lieng vpon the hill, they remoued the same downe to the foot of the same hill, and from thence began to beat the walles. Notwithstanding, shortly after they made sute for a truce to indure for a time, that they might passe to and fro through the citie, to fetch in vittells, whereof some want began to pinch them in the campe. The maior and aldermen flatlie denied their request, protesting that they would not permit anie traitors to haue passage through their citie.

The rebels soze kindled in wrath with this answer, and deniall of their sute, came running downe from the hill, and assaulting the gates, were beaten off with shot of arrowes and other weapons. And yet such rage appeared among the rebels, that the boies and young lads shewed themselves so desperat in gathering vp the arrowes, that when they saw and felt the same striking in some part of their bodies, they would plucke them forth, and deliuered them to their belov-men, that they might be slow the same againe at the citizens. In all this boile (a thing noteworthy) the seditious sort minding nothing more than the compassing of their purpose, had as little faie of themselves in this their outrage, as a bull at the sight of a colow, or a stoned horse at the view of a mare; according vnto the old saying of the poet:

*Non facile est taurum visâ retinere iuuenta,
Fortis equum visâ semper adhiuit equa.*

In the meane time, whilst they were thus busie vpon one side of the citie, an alarm rose at the defendants backs, crying that the rebels were entred the citie on the contrarie side: and so euerie man shrinking awaie, and running thither to repell the enimie there, that part was left void of defendants where the first assault began. Whereof the rebels being aduised, rushed into the river that runneth before bishops gate, got to the gates, and breaking them open, entred without anie great resistance. For all the citizens were withdrawne to their houses and other places, where they hoped best to hide themselves from the furie of their enemies.

The rebels having thus entred the citie by force, conueied all the guns and artillerie, with other furniture of warre out of the citie into their campe. The herald that was yet abiding in the citie, to see if the rebels would before the date prefixed for their pardons, being not yet expired, giue ouer their enterprisse, came with the maior into the market place, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people that were come forth and stood about him, he citions gaue commandement in the kings name, that they should laie armes aside, and get them home to their houses: which to so manie as did, he pronounced a generall pardon, and to the rest extreme punishment by death.

The rebels that stood by and heard him, when he had once made an end of his proclamation, bade him get him thence with a mischief: for it was not his faire offers, nor his sweet flattering words that should beguile them, sith they made no account of such manner of mercie, that vnder a colour of pardon, should cut off all their safetie and hope of preservation. The herald perceiuing how obstinate they were bent, and set on all mischief, and that it was impossible to bring them from their outrageous treason, either through feare of punishment or hope of pardon, departed without hauing brought that to passe for which he was sent. Immediatlie after his departure, the rebels sought for Leonard Southerton, purposing to haue apprehended him, and committed him to prison, for accompanying the herald thitherwards. But he hauing knowledge of their meaning, hid himselfe from them.

After this, there were by the kings commandement apprehended diuerse persons, as the maior, Robert Watson, William Rogers, John Homerston, William Hampton, and manie others, which were brought out of the citie, and committed to prison in mount Surrie. Bet perceiuing well that he must either now obtaine a bloodie victorie by force against his countrie, or else to tast such an end as his vngracious attempts did well deserue, got together so manie wicked persons as he might procure to come vnto him from ech side, with great rewards and faire promises: so that it was a strange matter to consider what a multitude of bouthiffs and rascalles came to him vpon the sudden.

The citizens of the towne were soze displeased, that their maior (being an honest man, and one greatly beloued among them) should be imprisoned, and so remaine in danger of life among the rebels: for they threatned him soze, & telling at his name, would saie one to another; Let vs all come together to morrow, for we shall see a "coos hed sold in the campe for a penny. Whereupon the citizens fearing least through the malice and rage of the rebels, their maior might chance to be made awaie among them, procured maister Thomas Alderich (whose authoritie was great among them) to be a meane for his deliuerance: who comming to Bet with sharpe and bitter

The rebelles
conueied the
guns and
munitioun out
of the citie to
their campe.

The heralds
proclamation
to the rebels.

The traitors
were soze
of the rebels
to accept the
kings pardon.

Persons
committed to
ward in
Surrie.

He soze
incensed.

* The maior
the rebels
whole name
was C. Co.

words reprimed him for his cruell dealing, by imprisoning so honest a man as the maior was, and withall commanded him to release him: which either for shame, or rather through feare of a guiltie conscience that pricked him, he caused incontinentlie to be done: who thereupon might now and then go and come at his pleasure to and fro the citie. But because he could not still remaine in the citie, but was constrained to continue for the most part in the campe, he appointed Augustine Steward to be his deputie, who with the assistance of Henrie Bacon, and John Atkinson thiriffes, governed the citie right orderlie, and kept the most part of the citizens in due obedience.

The counsell advertised now upon the heralds returne, that there was no waie to reduce these Dorsethe rebels unto quiet otherwise than by force, appointed the marquisse of Northampton with fiftene hundred horsemen to go downe unto Dorseth to subdue those stubborne traitors that so vndertulie refused the kings mercifull pardon, freely offered by his officer at armes, and others. Here went with the lord marquisse diuerse honorable and worshipfull personages, as the lord Sheffeld, the lord Wentworth, sir Anthoine Denmire, sir Henrie Parker, sir Richard Southwell, sir Rafe Sadler, sir John Clere, sir Rafe Kowlet, sir Richard Lee, sir John Carles, sir Thomas Daffon, sir Henrie Bedingfield, sir John Sullard, sir William Malgraue, sir John Cuts, sir Thomas Cornwallis knights, together with a great manie of other knights, esquires and gentlemen, and a small band of Italians, vnder the leading of a capteine named Palatessa.

The lord marquisse being approached within a mile of Dorseth, sent sir Gilbert Dethicke knight, now Carter, then Dorrie, king at armes, vnto the citie, to summon them within to yeld it into his hands, or vpon refusal to proclame warre against them. Hereupon Augustine Steward the maiors deputie sent to the maior that was in the campe with let, advertising him what message he had receiued from the marquisse. The maior sent word againe, that nothing was more greivous vnto him, than to see into what miserie the citie and countrie about were brought by the rage of these commotions; and declaring in what case he stood, being kept by force among the rebels, whereas otherwise he would according to his dutie haue come to his honor. But as for the citie, he had committed the gouernance vnto Augustine Steward, who should be readie to surrender it into his lordships hands: and that if let would giue him leaue, he would come himselfe to his honor, submitting all things wholie to his lordships order and disposition.

This message being brought backe by the said Dorrie, Augustine Steward the maiors deputie with the thiriffes, and a great number of the citizens, came to the lord marquisse campe, and deliuered by the sword to his lordship, declaring how the maior himselfe would gladlie haue come, if he could haue got from the rebels: and that although a great rout of the lewd citizens were partakers with the rebelles, yet a number of the substantiall & honest citizens would neuer consent to their wicked doings, but were readie to receiue his lordship into their citie. The lord marquisse giuing good words to the citizens, and willing them to be of good comfort, sith he trusted to appease these troubles verie shortly, deliuered the sword vnto sir Richard Southwell, who bare it before the lord marquisse as he passed forth towards the citie, entring the same by saint Stephens gate. And incontinentlie was proclamation made that they should all resort into the market place, where they consulted together how they might

best defend the citie against the enimies, and to repress their furie. Hereupon was order giuen for the placing of watch and ward about the gates and the walls, as might seeme expedient. The lord marquisse supped that night and lodged in the maiors deputies house; but his lordship as well as other kept their armour on their backs all that night, for doubt of some sudden assault to be made against the citie by the rebels. Here it chanced that the strangers, either by appointment or otherwise, went forth, and offered skirrishly to the rebels vpon Pagdalen hill.

The rebels came forth with their horsemen: but it seemed that they were better praised to fetch in bowties, than to make their manage or careere, and therefore not able to match the strangers, which being perceiued of their fellows that were footmen, they put forth their archers before their horsemen, and such numbers herewith came swarming forth of their campe, meaning to compasse in those strangers, that they perceiuing the maner and purpose of the enimies, cast themselves in a ring, and retired backe into the citie againe. But they left one of their companie behind them, a gentleman that was an Italian, who more valiantlie than warlike ventured to farre among the enimies, and through euill hap being ouerthrowne beside his horse, he was introned about with a great multitude of those rebels, that took him prisoner, and like vile wretches spoiling him of his armor and apparell, hanged him over the walls of mount Surrie. Which as well shewed what courtesie might be looked for at such cruell traitors hands, that would thus vnnmercifullie put such a gentleman and worshipfull souldior to death: for whose ransom, if they would haue demanded it, they might haue had no small portion of monie to haue satisfied their greedy minds. But it seemed that their beastlie crueltie had bereft them the remembrance of all honest consideration and dutifull humanitie.

The marquisse of Northampton causing (as before ye haue heard) diligent watch to be kept vpon the walles, and at the gates, appointed the same to be visited right often, that through negligence no mishap should follow. Moreover, besides the watch at the gates and walles, the residue of the souldiors making a mightie huge fire in the market place, so as all the streets were full of light, they remained there all that night in their armour, readie vpon any occasion to resist the enimies if they should make any attempt. Sir Edward Warner marshall of the field gaue the watch-word, sir Thomas Daffon, sir John Clere, sir William Malgraue, sir Thomas Cornwallis, and sir Henrie Bedingfield were appointed to the defense of other parts of the citie. And now when euerie thing was thought to be safelie provided for, and that the lord marquisse and other were laid to take their rest, the rebels about the middle of the night began to shot off their great artillerie towards the citie, so thicke as was possible: but the bullets passed ouer their heads that were lodged in the citie, without doing any great hurt at all.

The lord marquisse, by reason of the often alarms that were giuen, whilst the enimies thus ceased not to rage with continuall shot of ordinance, was called vp by the marshall sir Edward Warner; and coming into the market place, accompanied with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, fell in counsell with them, how to foreshew that the citie in such danger might be safelie defended against the enimies with such small power as he had there with him. It was therefore determined, that all the gates which were on the contrarie part of the towne from the rebels campe, and likewise the ruinous places of the walles should be rampired vp, that if the enimies should chance to giue an assault to the citie,

The strangers offer skirrishly to the rebels.

An Italian hanged by the rebels.

Sir Edward Warner.

citie, they might more easilie be repelled.

But as these things were in doing, and almost brought to end, in a manner all the whole multitude of the rebelles came out of their cabins, running downe in most furious maner to the citie, and with great shouts and yelling cries went about to set fire on the gates, to climb ouer the walles, to passe the river, and to enter the citie at such places where the walles were through age decayed and ruinous. The soldiers that were there with the lord marquisse, did shew their bittermost indenor to beat backe the enemies. This fight in most cruell wise continued for the space of three houres without ceasing, the rebels forcing themselves to the bittermost of their powers to enter perforce vpon them, and they within the citie shewed no lesse courage to repell them backe. The hardie manhood of diuerse knights, and other men of worship was here right apparant. It was strange to see the desperat boldnesse of the rebelles, that when they were thrust through the bodies of thights, and some of them hough-sinewed, would yet seeke reuenge in striking at their aduersaries, when their hands were scarce able to hold by their weapon; thinking themselves somewhat satisfied if the humor of their enuie and deadlie spite might be fed but with a drop of their aduersaries blood; with such a malignant spirit (tending wholie to vengeance) these desperat rebels were possessed, according to the poets speech in the like sense and meaning:

Inimici sui. 13.

Inimici sui dabit minimus solatia sanguis.

The rebels beaten backe.

But such was the balliance of the gentlemen and soldiers, which were there with the lord marquisse, that in the end the enemies which were already entered the citie, were beaten out againe, and driven backe to their accustomed kennell holes with losse of three hundred of their numbers. They within the towne hauing thus repelled the enemies, & accounting themselves in more safetie than before, for the rest of the night that yet remained, which was not much, they gaue themselves to refresh their wearied bodies with some sleepe. The next daie, the lord marquisse was informed by some of the citizens, that there were no small number in Lets campe that would gladlie come from him, if they might be sure of their pardon; and that at Dochethorpe gate there were foure or five thousand, that wished for nothing more than for pardon: and that if the same were offered them, there were no doubt (as they belened) but that they would submit themselves to the kings mercie.

Flotman.

Pardon offered to the rebels.

The marquisse was glad to vnderstand so much, & incontinentlie dispatched Porreie king at armes, with a trumpet, to assure them on the kings behalfe, that they should be pardoned for all offenses past, and that had bene committed in time of this rebellion, if they would laie armes aside. Porreie and the trumpet comming to the gate, found not a man there: but the trumpet sounding his trumpet, there came running downe from the hill a great multitude of their people, & amongst other as chiefe, one Flotman, whom Porreie commanded to staie. Whereupon the said Flotman asked him what was the matter, and wherefore he had called them together by sound of trumpet: So thy waies (said he) tell thy companie from my lord marquisse of Northampton, the kings maiesties lieutenant, that he commandeth them to cease from committing anie further outrage: and if they will (saith he) obey his commandement, all that is past, shall be forgiven and pardoned.

Flotman hauing heard Porreies declaration, as he was an outrageous and busie fellow, presumptuoulie made answer, that he cared not a pins point for my lord marquisse, and withall, like a rebellious

traitor, railed vpon his lordship, and maintained, that he and the rest of the rebels were earnest defenders of the kings roiall maiestie, and that they had taken weapon in hand not against the king, but in his defense, as in time it should appere, as they that sought nothing but to mainteine his maiesties roiall estate, the libertie of their countrie, and the safetie of their commonwealth, &c. To conclude, he utterly refused the kings pardon, and told Porreie certeinlie, that they would either restore the commonwealth from decaye, into the which it was fallen, being oppressed thorough the couetousnesse and tyrannie of the gentlemen; either else would they like men die in the quarrell.

Scarcelie had he made an end of his tale, when suddenlie a fearefull alarm was raised thorough out the citie: for whilest Flotman was thus in talke with the king of armes at Dochethorpe gate, the rebels in great rage entering the citie by the hospitall, went about to bying all things to destruction: but being incountered nere to the bishops palace, by the lord marquisse his men, there ensued a bloudie conflict betwixt them, which continued long with great fiercenesse and eger reuenge on both parts. There died about seven score of the rebels, and of the soldiers that serued against them some number, beside a great multitude that were hurt and wounded on both parts. But the pitifull slaughter of the lord Sheffield, who hauing more regard to his honor than safetie of life, desirous to shew some proofe of his noble balliance, entering amongst the enemies, as he sought right hardilie, though not so warlike as had bene expedient, fell into a ditch as he was about to turne his horse: & here with being compassed about with a number of those horrible traitors, was slaine amongst them: although he both declared what he was, and offered largelie to the villains, if they would haue saued his life. But the more noble he shewed himselfe to be, the more were they kindled in outrageous furie against him. And as he pulled off his head peece, that it might appere what he was, a butcherlie knaue named Fulks, who by occupation was both a carpenter & a butcher, slat him in the head with a club, and so most wretchedlie killed him. A lamentable case, that so noble a young gentleman, indued with so manie commendable qualities, as were to be wished in a man of his calling, should thus miserablie end his daies by the hands of so vile a villan.

Diuerse other gentlemen and worshipfull soldiers came to the like end among those outrageous rebels, and amongst other, Robert Wolnaston, that was appointed to keepe the doore of Christs church, was killed by the same Fulks, who took him for sir Edmund Kneuet, against whome the rebels bare great malice, for that he sought to annoie them so farre as by anie meanes he might, as partly ye haue heard. But the slaughter of that noble man the lord Sheffield, so discouraged the residue of the soldiers that were come with the lord marquisse. And on the other part, the rebels were aduanced thereby, in greater hope to preuaile against them, and thereupon pressed forward with such hardinesse, that they caused the lord marquisse and his people to giue place, and to forsake the citie, euerie man making the best shift he could to saue himselfe. But yet diuerse gentlemen of good account and worship remaining behind, and abiding the bzunt, were taken prisoners, as sir Thomas Cornewallis, and others, whome the rebels afterwards kept in strict durance, untill the daie came of their overthrow by the kings power, vnder the conduction of the earle of Warwick.

The lord marquisse and the residue that escaped, made the best shift they could to get out of danger: and at length, he and the most part of them that went

The rebels enter the citie

The lord Sheffield wretchedly slaine.

Alexander Neuell

The marquisse and the residue that escaped.

Reg.

went forth with him, came to London. The rebels having thus repelled the lord marquisse & his power, set fire on the citie, whereby manie faire buildings were consumed and burnt. It happened yet well the same time, that there fell great abundance of raine, the which holpe in part to quench the rage of the fire. Peter the les, all the houses on either side of Helmes street, and the hospitall of the poore; also Bishops gate, Dockthorpe gate, Magdalene gate, and Bearestreet gate, with manie other houses in other parts of the citie, were burned, and sowle defaced with fire. The citizens were brought into such extreme miserie, that they knew not which waie to turne them. Some there were that fled out of the citie, taking with them their gold and silver, and such short ware as they might conueie awaie with them, abandoning wife and children, to rest at the mercie of the rebels. Other hid their goods in wells, priuies, and other such secret places out of the waie.

The rebels entering into the houses of such as were knowne to be wealthie men, spoiled and bare awaie all that might be found of anie value. But to speake of all the cruell parts which they played, it would be tedious to expresse the same, their doings were so wicked and outragious. There was shooting, holding, and wringing among them, weeping, and crying out of women and children. To be short, the state of the citie at that present was most miserable. The maiors deputie kept himselfe close in his house, and might behold all this mischiefe and destruction of the citie, but durst not come abroad, nor go about to stae them: at length, a great multitude of the rebels that were come downe fro their campe, entering by saint Augustines gate, came straight to his house, and stroue to breake open the doores: but when they could not easilie bying their purpose to passe that waie forth, they began to fire the house. Whereupon for feare to be burned within his owne lodging, he set open the doores, and in came those vnmannerlic ghests, toke him, plucked his gowne before his backe, called him traitor, and threatened to kill him, if he would not tell them where the lord marquisse of Northampton had hidden himselfe.

And when he had told them that vndoubtedlie he and all his companie were gone, they were in a great rage, and with terrible noise and rambling they sought euerie corner of the house for him, and taking what they found, they departed. But yet manie of them afterwards partly pacified for a peece of monie, and other things which they receiued of the maior, and partly reproued for the wrongfull robberies by some that were in credit among them, they brought againe such packs and fardels as they had trusted by together, and threw them into the shops of those houses, out of the which they had taken the same before: but yet there were diuers of the citizens that were spoiled of all that they had by those rebels, that entered their houses under a colour to seeke for the marquisse of Northampton's men. Namelie, the houses of those citizens that were fled, were spoiled and ransacked most miserable, for they reputed and called them traitors and enemies to their king and countrie, that thus had forsaken their houses and dwellings in time of such necessitie: yet manie of the citizens bringing forth bread, beere, and other victuals into the rebels to refresh them with, somewhat calmed their furious rage, and so escaped their violent hands, although no small number were so slayed (as before ye haue heard) that they haue lined the waie for it all the daies of their life since that time.

But now the rebels having thus got possession of the citie, & chased awaie the kings people, they toke order to haue the gates kept homelie with watch and ward of the citizens themselves, thyrting them

with most shamefull death, if they omitted the same. These vnrulie persons were so farre slept into all kind of beastlie outrage, that when it rained, they would kenell by themselves in the churches, abusing the place appointed for the seruice and worshipping of the almighty God, in most prophane and wicked manner, and neither prayer nor yet threats of men or women that aduised them to modestie could take place. The kings maiestie advertised therefore, that there was no waie to tame their diuelish and traitorous outrage, but by force: with the aduise of his counsell caused a power to be put in a readinesse, as well of his owne subiects as of strangers, namelie lancequenets, which were come to serue his maiestie against the Scots.

But now it was thought expedient to vse these seruice against these rebels, whose power and desperate boldnesse was so farre increased, that without a maine armie, guided by some generall of great experience, and noble conduct, it would be hard and right dangerous to subdue them: wherein violence and force was to be used, sith they had thewed themselves in an extremitie of stubbornesse, like buls that by baiting are to be tamed, or like distreched stallions which with bit & bydle must be managed, as one saith:

Asper equus duris contunditur ora leuatis.

Whereupon that noble cheeke and valiant erle of Mariswike, lately before appointed to haue gone against the Scots and Frenchmen into Scotland, was called backe, and commanded to take upon him the conduction of this armie against the Scottish rebels: for such was the opinion then conceived of that honorable erle, for the high manhood, valiant prowesse, and great experience in all warlike enterprises, sufficientlie tried, and knowne to rest in him, that either they might be vanquished and ouercome by him, or by none other.

Captaine Ket and his rebellious armie, having some aduertisement by rumors spred, of this preparation and coming of an armie against them, they were not slacke to make themselves strong and ready to abide all the hazard that fortune of warre might bying. The erle of Mariswike then, after that his men and provisions were ready, did set forth ward, and came vnto Cambridge, where the lord marquisse of Northampton and other met his lordship. Here also diuerse citizens of Northwich came to him, and falling downe vpon their knees before him, besought him to be good lord vnto them; and withall declared their miserable state, great griefe and sorrow, which they had conceiued for the wretched destruction of their countrie: beseeching him to haue pittie vpon them. And if in such extremitie of things as had happened vnto their citie, they had through feare or ignorance committed anie thing contrarie to their dutifull allegiance, that it might please his honor to pardon them their offenses in such behalfe, sith if anie thing were amisse on their parts, the same came to passe fore against their wills, and to their extreme griefe and sorrow.

The erle of Mariswike told them, that he knew indeed in what danger they had bene among those vnrulie ribalds; and as for anie offense which they had committed, he knew not: for in leaving their citie sith matters were growne to such extremitie, they were to be borne with, but in one thing they had ouerthot themselves: for that in the beginning they had not sought to repress those tumults, sith if they had put themselves in defense of their countrie, to resist the rebels at the first, such mischiefs as were now growne, might easilie haue bene avoided. But neuertheless, vpon this their humble submission, he granted them all the kings mercifull pardon, and commanding them to prouide themselves

The erle of Mariswike appointed to go against the Scottish rebels.

The erle of Mariswike cometh to Cambridge.

The kings pardon granted.

who served
under the earle
of warwicke.

of armour and weapon, appointed them to march forth with the armie, wearing certeine laces or ribbons about their necks for a difference, that they might be knowne from others. There were in this armie vnder the earle of Warwicke diuerse men of honor and great worship, as lords, knights, esquires, and gentlemen in great numbers. First the lord marquisse of Northampton, and sonnie of them that had bene with him before, desirous to be reuenged of his late repulse, the lords Willoughbie, Powes and Baie, Ambrose Dudley, sonne to the said earle, and at this present worthilie adorned with the title (which his father then bare) of earle of Warwicke, and his brother lord Robert Dudley now earle of Leicester; also Henrie Willoughbie esquier, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Martin duke constable, William Deuereux sonne to the lord Ferrers of Chartley, sir Edmund Knevet, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Andrew Flammoche, and diuerse other knights, esquires, and gentlemen: all which plaied their parts as time and occasion was ministered vnto them to giue triall of their manhood.

The earle of Warwicke, and such as were come with him to Cambridge, marched directlie from thence towards Norwich, and came vnto Elmham the two and twentieth of August, where and by the waie the most part of all the gentlemen of Norfolk folke that were at libertie, came vnto him. The next daie betimes he shewed himselfe vpon the plaine, betwixt the citie of Norwich and Coton wood, and lodged that night at Intwoud, an house belonging to sir Thomas Tresham knight, a two miles distant from Norwich. Here they rested that daie and night following, not once putting off their armour, but remaining still in a readinesse, if the enimies should haue made any sudden inuasion against them. The earle of Warwicke in the meane time sent the afore remembred king of armes Rozere, to summon the citie, either to open the gates that he might quietlie enter; or else to take for warre at his huires that would then assaie to win it by force, and such reward as rebels (that wilfullie withstand their soueraigne) ought to receiue.

Norwich
summoned.

what answer
was made to
the herald by
the citizens of
Norwich,
whom Ket
assigned there-
vnto.

When Ket understood that the herald was come to the gates, he appointed the maiors deputie Augustine Steward, and Robert Rug, two of the chiefe citizens, to go to him and to know his errand. They passing forth at a posterne, and hearing his message, made answer, that they were the miserablest men that were then liuing, as they themselves beleued, sith that hauing suffered such calamities as they could not but tremble at in calling to remembrance, they could not now haue libertie to declare the loiall dutie which they bare & ought to beare to the kings highnesse: so that they accompted themselves most vnforgotten, sith their hap was to liue in that season, in which they must either leoparde losse of life, or the estimation of their good name, although they trusted the kings maiestie would be gracious lord vnto them. sith they had giuen no consent vnto such wicked rebellion as was thus raised against his highnesse, but with losse of goods and perill of life so farre as in them laie, had done what they could to keepe the citizens in good order and dutifull obedience.

One thing more they would humble desire of my lord of Warwicke, that whereas there was no small number of Kets armie in the citie without armour or weapon, and as it should seme irksome and wearie of that which had bene already done, it might please him once againe to vouchsafe to offer them the kings pardon, and if he should thus do, they had great hope that the rebels would gladlie accept it, and so the matter might be pacified without more

bloudshed. Rozere returned to the earle of Warwicke, and declared what answer he had receiued. The earle desirous of nothing more than to haue the matter thus taken vp, as well for other considerations, as for feare least the gentlemen remaining prisoners with the rebels, should be vnnecessarily murdered by their keepers, if they came to the vttermost triall of battell, he resolved to pzone if it would thus come to passe. And herebyon was Rozere with a trumpet sent to offer them a generall pardon, who being entered the citie, met about fortie of the rebels on horsebacke, riding two and two together verie pleasant and merrie, and so passing from S. Stephens gate vnto Bishops gate, the trumpetter sounded his trumpet, and with that, a great multitude of the rebels came thronging downe together from the hill: to whom the boyssent speedilie riding, commanded that they should diuide themselves, and stand in order vpon either side the waie. And as Rozere and the trumpetter, with two of the chiefe citizens entred betwixt them, they were receiued with great noise and clamour, for euerie of them putting off their hats or caps, cried; God saue king Edward, God saue king Edward.

Rozere and the two citizens, highlie commending them herein, requested them to keepe their place and order wherein they stood for a while: and then Rozere passing forth about two hundred and fiftie paces, came to the top of the hill, and putting on his coate armour, staid a while (for Ket was not yet come) and at length began to declare vnto them in what maner diuers times since first they had taken armes in hand, the kings maiestie by sundrie persons, as well heralds as other, had sought to reduce them from their unlawfull and rebellious tumults, vnto their former dutie and obedience; and yet neuerthelesse, they had shewed themselves wilfull and stubborne, in refusing his mercifull pardon freely offered vnto them, and despised the ministers which his grace had sent vnto them to pronounce the same. He willed them therefore to call themselves now at length to remembrance, and to behold the state of the common-wealth, which they so often to no purpose had still in their mouths, and neuerthelesse by them miserable defaced, & brought in danger of bitter ruine and decay.

And herewith discourting at large of the horrible, wicked, and heinous murders, riots, burnings, and other crimes by them committed, he willed them to consider into what sea of mischeces they had throtone themselves, and what punishment they ought to take for as due to them for the same; sith as well the wrath of God as the kings armie was hanging ouer their heads, and ready at hand, which they were not able to resist. For his grace had resolved no longer to suffer so great and presumptuous a mischief as this, to be suffered in the middle of his realme: and therefore had appointed the right honourable earle of Warwicke, a man of noble fame and approved valiantie, to be his generall lieutenant of that his roiall armie, to persecute them with fire and sword; and not to leaue off, till he had utterly disperfed and scattered that wicked and abominable assemblie. And yet such was the creaking greatnesse of the kings bountifull mercie and clemencie, that he that was by him appointed to be a reuenger of their heinous treasons committed against his maiestie, if they continued in their obstinate wilfulnesse, should be also the interpreter and minister of his gracious and free pardon, to so manie as would accept it. Which vntill they now imbraced, the said earle had made a solemn vow, that they should neuer haue it offered to them againe; but that he would persecute them till he had purged

Rozere the
herald being
with him
lower to the
earle of war-
wicke.

Rozere here
of arms sent
to offer the
pardon.

Rozere the
herald making
along if
courte to the
rebels, forth
reducing of
them to good
order.

The kings
purpose in
sending the
earle of war-
wicke against
them.

the whole multitude according unto their last
deserts.

Whan he that heard him, hauing due conside-
ration of their miserable estate, were touched with
some remorse of conscience, fearing at length to tast
the reuenge of such horrible crimes as they had been
partakers of with others in committing the same.
But the more part finding themselves highly offend-
ed with his words, began to iangle (as they had
done before unto other that had bene sent to offer
them pardon) that he was not the kings herald, but
some one made out by the gentlemen in such a gate
coate, patched together of bediments and church-
stufte, being sent onelie to deceiue them, in offering
them pardon, which would proue nought else but
halters; and therefore it were well done, to thrust
an arrow into him, or to hang him by. Although o-
ther seemed dutifullie to reuerence him, and diuerse
that had serued in Scotland and at Bullongne, re-
membering that they had seene him there and knew
him, told and perswaded their fellowes, that he
was the kings herald indeed. Whereupon they be-
came more mild, and offered him no further iniurie:
but yet they could not be perswaded that this par-
don tended to anie other end, but to bring them to
destruction; and that in stead of pardon, there was
prepared for them nought else but a barrell full of
halters.

Such lewd speech was amongst them, fauou-
ring altogether of malicious mistrust, and most
wilfull treason. Forreie neuerthelesse departing
from thence, accompanied with Iket, came to ano-
ther place, where he made the like proclamation:
for the multitude was such that he could not be heard
of them all in one place. Here, before he had made
an end of his tale, there was a vile boie (as some
write) that turned by his bare taile to him, with
words as vncomelie as his gesture was filthie: with
which spitefull reproch thus shewed towards the
kings maiesties officer at armes, one (which in com-
panie of some other that were come ouer the water
to view things) being greatly offended, with an
harquebuse shot stroke that vngracious lad through
the bodie a little aboue the reins.

Which when some of the rebels had seene, a doz-
zen of their horsemen came galloping out of the
wood, crieng; We are betrayed friends, we are be-
trayed, if you looke not about you: do you not see
how our fellows are slaine with guns before our
faces: What may we hope if we disarme our selues,
that are thus vsed being armed? This herald goeth
about nothing else, but to bring vs within danger
of some ambush, that the gentlemen may kill and
beate vs all downe at their pleasure. Whereupon
they all shanke awaie, and fled, as they had bene
out of their wits: yet did their great capteine Ro-
bert Iket accompanie Forreie, meaning (as hath
bene said) to haue gone to the earle of Warwicke
himselfe, to haue talked with him: but as he was al-
most at the foot of the hill, there came running after
him a great multitude of the rebels, crieng to him,
and asking him whether he went: We are readie (said
they) to take such part as you doe, be it neuer so bad:
and if he would go anie further, they would (as they
said) surelie follow him.

Forreie then perceiving such numbers of peo-
ple following them, desired Iket to staie them: who
returning backe to them, they were incontinentlie
appeared, and so they all returned with him backe
to their campe. When the earle of Warwicke vn-
derstood that they were thus altogether set on mis-
chance, and neither with praier, proffer of pardon,
threatening of punishment, nor other meanes they
could be reduced to quietnesse, he determined to

proceed against them by force. And hereupon bring-
ing his armie vnto saint Stephens gate, which the
rebels stopped vp, with the letting downe of the port-
culice, he commanded those that had charge of the ar-
tillerie, to plant the same against the gate, and with
batterie to breake it open.

As these things were in hand, he vnderstood by
Augustine Steward the maiors deputie, that there
was an other gate on the contrarie side of the citie,
called the Walsen gate, which the rebels had rammied
vp, but yet not so, but that it might be easilie broken
open. Whereunto were the pioners called, and com-
manded to breake open that gate also: which being
done, the soldiers entered by the same into the citie,
and slue diuerse of those rebels that stood readie to
defend and resist their entrie. In the meane time had
the gunners also broken in sunder with their shot
the portculice, and nere hand the one halfe of the o-
ther gate, by the which the marques of Northamp-
ton, and capteine Durrrie, alias Poignard (that being
sent from London met my lord of Warwicke by the
waie) entered with their bands, and drove backe the
rebels with slaughter, that were readie there to re-
sist them.

Forreie, the maiors deputie caused Welf-
wicke gate to be set open: at the which the earle
of Warwicke himselfe entring with all his armie,
and finding in manner no resistance, came to the
market place. Here were taken a threescore of the re-
bels, the which according to the order of martiall law
were incontinentlie executed, according to the qua-
lities of their offense, confessing (no doubt) in confes-
sion, that their punishment was proportioned to
their trespassse, and that in dieng the death (were the
same neuer so extreame & dreadfull) they had but their
desert; and therefore might well saie with the poet:

Supplicia & scelerum penas expendimus omnes.

Virgil.

Shorlie after, the carriages belonging to the ar-
mie were brought into the citie by the same gate,
and passing through the citie, by negligence & want
of order given to them that attended on the same ca-
riage, they kept on forward till they were got out at
Willsops gate towards Household. Where of the re-
bels being aduised, they came downe, & setting vpon
the carters, and other that attended on the carriages,
put them to flight, and drove awaie the carts laden
with artillerie, powder, and other munition, bring-
ing the same into their campe, & greatlie reioissing
thereof, because they had no great store of such things
among them: but yet capteine Durrrie with his
band comming in good time to the rescue, recovered
some of the carts from the enemies, not without
some slaughter on either side. Forreie, the ene-
mies as yet being not fullie driven out of the citie,
placed themselves in crosse strats, & were readie to
assail the soldiers as they saw their aduantage, part
of them standing at S. Michaels, part at S. Ste-
phans, and part at S. Peters, and some of them also
stood in Wilmers street.

Here they assailing such as bradsheddie were en-
tered within their danger, they slue diuerse, and a-
mong other three or foure gentlemen, before they
could be succoured from anie part. The earle of War-
wicke aduertised hereof, passed forth with all his for-
ces to remove the enemies, and comming to S. An-
drew in Johns street, was receiued with a sharpe
sorme of arrowes: but capteine Durrrie his harque-
busers galled them so with their shot, that they were
glad to giue place, and so fled awaie. There were
slaine a hundred and thirtie, and diuerse of them
shynking aside into churchyards and other places
vnder the walles, were taken and executed. All the
rest got them vp to their campe at Household, and
so the citie was rid of them for that time. When dis-
cussing the

the rebels re-
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Order taken
for the safe
keeping of
the citie.

the erle of Warwike take order for the safe keeping of the citie, appointing watch and ward to be kept on the walles, and in euerie street. Also that all the gates should be rammed vp, except one: two that stood towards the enemies, at the which were planted certaine peeces of the great artillerie.

Alexander
Neuill.

But the rebels understanding that the erle of Warwike wanted powder and other things appertaining to the vse of the great ordinance, and withall perceiving that the Welshmen which were appointed to the gard of the said great peeces of artillerie were no great number, and therefore not able to resist anie great force that should come against them, they came downe the hill vpon the sudden as it were wholie together in most outrageous maner. And withall one Spiles that was a verie perfect gunner, and maruellous skilfull in the feat of shooting of great artillerie, and at that time remaining among the rebels, shot off a peece; and Rue one of the kings principall gunners, that was attending vpon those peeces of artillerie, which stood thus before the gate. Whom then the rebels perceived thus to be slaine, they made forward with more courage, and gaue such a desperate onset vpon them that garded the said artillerie, that their small number, being not able to withstand their aduersaries great and huge multitude pressing in such furious rage vpon them, that they were constrained to flee backe, and to leaue the artillerie for a preie vnto the enemies, who seizing vpon the same, conueied them awaie with certaine carts laden with all manner of munition for wars vnto their campe: a matter (as was thought) of no small importance, sith the enemies thereby were furnished now with such things, whereof before they stood most in need, and now hauing store thereof, they spared not liberallie to bestow it against the citie, beating downe not onlie the highest top of Bishops gate, but also a great part of the wals on that side.

The rebels
take certaine
peeces of ar-
tillerie from
the erle of
Warwike.

Captaine
Dunne.

And here trulie the good seruice of captaine Dunne is not to be forgotten, who now as earst being readie to reuenge this iniurie, following vpon the enemies, put them to flight, and recovered much of that which they had taken from the earls souldiers. The erle of Warwike after this cut off the entries at the gates, and rampired them vp, placed at the bridges and turnings of the waies and streets diuers bands of souldiers to keepe the passages, brake downe the White friers bidge, and at Bishops gate he appointed the lord Willoughbie with a great number of souldiers to defend that part, & in this sort he made provision to defend the citie from the rebels, if they should attempt to make anie surpriſe vpon the sudden.

Conneill gi-
uen to the erle
of Warwike
to abandon
the citie.

The next daie yet they passing ouer the river, set fire on certaine houses at Conneilsworth, burning the more part of all the houses of two parishes: and so great was the rage of the fire, that catching hold vpon an house wherein the merchants of Dorwich vse to laie vp such wares and merchandize as they conueie to their citie from Vermouth, the same house with great store of wheat and other riches was miserably consumed and defaced. Thus whilest euerie thing seemed to chance and fall out in fauour of the rebels, there were some in the erle of Warwikes armie, that despairing of the whole successe of their iourneie, came to the erle of Warwike, and began to perswade with him, that sith the citie was large, and their companies small (for indeed the whole appointed numbers as yet were not come, neither of strangers nor Englishmen) it was impossible to defend it against such an huge multitude as were assembled together in Rets campe, and therefore besought him to regard his owne safetie, to leaue the citie, and not to hazard all vpon such an vncertaine

maine chance.

The erle of Warwike as he was of a noble and intincible courage, valiant, hardie, and not able to abide anie spot of reproch, whereby to lose the least peece of honour that might be, made this answer: *White* (saith he) and doe your harts faile you so some? *Are you so mad withall, to thinke that so long as anie life resteth in me, that I will consent to such dishonour? Should I leaue the citie, heaping vp to my selfe and likewise to you such shame and reproch as woorthilie might be reputed an infamie to vs for euer? I will rather suffer whatsoever either fire or sword can worke against me. These words being uttered with such a courage as was marvellous to consider, he drew out his sword. Which other of the honorable and woorthipfull that were then present likewise did, whome he commanded that each one should kisse others sword, according to an ancient custome vsed amongst men of war in time of great danger: and herewith they made a solemne vow, binding it with a solemne oth, that they should not depart from thence, till they had either vanquished the enemies, or lost their liues in manfull fight for defence of the kings honour.*

Whilest these things were in doing, the rebels brake into the citie on that side, where was no suspicion of their entring at all; but being come almost to the bridges, they were encountered by the souldiers, beaten backe, and chased out by the same waie they came. The next daie being the six and twentieth of August, there came to the erle 1400 lancequenets. The rebels notwithstanding that such reinforcement of the earles power might haue somewhat discouraged them, yet trusting altogether to certaine vaine propheties, which they had among them, and set out in verses by such wifards as were there with them in the campe, they had conceived such a vaine hope of prosperous successe in their businesse, that they little esteemed anie power that might come against them. Among other of those same verses, these were two: The countrie gnuſſes, Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs and clowted shone, Shall fill vp Duffin dale with blood of slaughtered bodies sone.

Vpon hope therefore of this and other vaine propheties, the rebels through the diuels procurement, that had nourished and picked them forward all this while in their wicked proceedings, determined to remoue thither, to the end that they might with more speed make an end of the matter, before they should be driuen to disperse themselves by famine. For the erle of Warwike had taken order to haue the passages stopped, in such wise as no vittels could easilie be conueied to their campe, the want whereof began already to pinch them. Here vpon setting fire on their cabins, which they had raised and built here and there of timber and bushes (the smoke whereof couered all the grounds about them) they came downe with their ensignes into the ballie called Duffin dale, where with all speed that might be they intrenched themselves about, and raising a rampire of a good height, set stakes also round about them, to keepe off the horsemen.

The erle of Warwike perceiving their doings, the next daie being the seuen and twentieth of August with all his horsemen, and the Almans with captaine Duries band, issued forth of the citie, marching straight towards the enemies. Yet before he approached in sight of them, he sent sir Edmund Baneuet & sir Thomas Palmer knights, with others, to understand of them, whether now at length they would submit themselves, & receiue the kings pardon: which if they would doe, he offered to grant it free lie to all the whole multitude, one or two of them onlie excepted

The erle
of Warwike

Lancequenets
came to
the erle of
Warwike.

The rebels
trust in vaine
propheties.

The rebels
remoue.

The erle of
Warwike go-
eth forth to
give the ene-
mies battell.

sent on
12th

red: but they with generall voices refusing it, the earle fell in hand to encourage his people unto the battell, and hauing appointed as well the horsemen as footmen in what order they should giue the charge, they passed forward in appoehing the enimies. The rebels beholding them thus to come forward, put themselves in order of battell, in such manner, that all the gentlemen which had bene taken prisoners, and were kept in irons for starting awaie, were placed in the fore ranke of their battell, coupled two and two together, to the end they might be killed by their owne friends that came to seeke their deliuerance: but yet as God would haue it, the most part of them were saued. After the maister gunner among the rebels, lending a peece of ordinance, shot it off, and stroke him that carried the kings standard in the thigh, and the horse through the shoulder.

The earle of Warwicke and others fore grieved therewith, caused a whole bolie of artillerie to be shot off at the rebels: and herewith capteine Duriel with his owne hand, & the Almans or lanceknights, whether ye list to call them, on foot, getting nere to the enimies, hailed them with their harquebut shot so sharpe, and thrust forward upon them with their pikes so stronglie, that they brake them in sunder. The gentlemen, who (as we haue said) were placed in the fore ranke, found meanes (as god hap was) to shrinke aside, and escaped the danger for the more part, although some indeed were slaine by the Almans, and other that knew not what they were. The light horsemen of the kings part herewith gaue in amongst them so roundlie, that the rebels not able to abide their valiant charge, were easilie put to flight, and with the foremost their grand capteine Robert Ket galloped awaie so fast as his horse would beare him. The horsemen following in chase, slue them downe on heapes, euer still as they overtake them; so that the chase continuing for the space of thre or foure miles, there were slaine to the number of thre thousand five hundred at the least: besides a great multitude that were wounded as they fled here and there ech waie forth, as seemed best to serue their turne for their most speedie escape out of danger. Yet one part of them that had not bene assailed at the first onset, seeing such slaughter made of their fellows, kept their ground by their ordinance, and shanke not: determining as men desperatlie bent, not to die vntreuerged, but to fight it out to the last man.

They were so inclosed with their carts, carriages, trenches (which they had cast) and stakes pitched in the ground to keepe off the force of horsemen, that it would haue bene somewhat dangerous to haue assailed them within their strength. But sure they were that now they could not escape, seeing no small part of their whole numbers were cut off and distressed, and they inuironed on ech side, without hope of succour or relæse of vittels, which in the end must needs haue forced them to come forth of their inclosure to their vndoubted overthrow and destruction. The earle of Warwicke yet pittens their case, and loth that the king should lose so manie stout mens bodies as were there amongst them, which might do his maiestie and their countrie good seruice, if they could be reclaimed from this their desperat follie vnto due obedience, sent Porreie vnto them, offering them pardon of life if they would throw downe their weapons and yeld: if not, he threatened that there should not a man of them escape the deserued punishment. Their answer was, that if they might be assured to haue their liues saued, they could be contented to yeld: but they could haue no trust that promise should be kept with them. For notwithstanding all such faire offers of pardon, they took it that

there was nothing meant but a subtill practise, to bring them into the hands of their aduersaries the gentlemen, that had prepared a barrell of ropes and halters, with which they purposed to trusse them by: and therefore they would rather die like men, than to be strangled at the wils and pleasures of their mortal enimies.

The earle of Warwicke right sozie to see such desperat minds among them, sent to the citie, and caused the most part of the footmen which he had left there to defend the same, to come forth now in battell arrate, that they might helpe to distresse those wilfull rebels that thus obstinatlie refused the kings pardon. And hauing brought as well them as the Almans and the horsemen in order of battell againe, and readie now to set vpon the rebels, he euenes sent vnto them to know that if he should come himselfe and giue his word, that they should haue their pardon, whether they would receiue it or not. Wherevnto they answered, that they had such confidence in his honor, that if he would so do, they would giue credit thereto, and submit themselves to the kings mercie. Incontinentlie herevpon he went vnto them, and commanded Porreie to read the kings pardon freely granted to all that would yeld. Which being read, euerie man threw downe his weapon, and with one whole and entier voice cried; God saue king Edward, God saue king Edward. And thus thorough the prudent policie, and fauorable mercie of the erle of Warwicke, a great number of those offenders were preferred from the gates of death, into the which they were readie to enter.

Thus were the Norfolk rebels subdued by the high prouesse, wisdom, and policie of the valiant earle of Warwicke, and other the nobles, gentlemen, & faithfull subiects there in the kings armie: but not without losse of diuers personages of great worth, beside other of the meaner sort, namely master Henrie Willoughbie esquier, a man so well beloued in his countrie for his liberalitie in housekeeping, great courtesie, bright dealing, assured steadfastnes in friendship, & modest staiednes in behauiour, that the countries where his liuinge laie lament the losse of so worthie a gentleman euen to this date. There died also master Lucie esquier, master Foster esquier, and master Throckmorton of Northamptonshire, gentlemen of no small credit and worth in their countries. The battell being thus ended, all the spoile gotten in the field was giuen to the soldiers, who sold the most part thereof openlie in the market place of Norwich. The next daie the earle of Warwicke was advertised that Ket, being crept into a barne, was taken by two seruants of one master Riches of Swantonington, and brought to the house of the same Riches. Wherevpon were twentie horsemen sent thither to fetch him, who brought him to Norwich. The same daie examinations were taken of them that were the principall beginners and setters forth of this unhappie rebellion, and diuerse being found guiltie were hanged, and nine of the chiefest procurers of all the mischief (Robert Ket and his brother William onelie excepted) were hanged vpon the oke of reformation, After the gunner & two of their prophets being thre of that number.

Some others of them were halowe, hanged, and quartered, & their heads and quarters set vp in publicke places for a terror to others. But yet the earle of Warwicke spared manie, where some would gladlie haue persuaded him, that there might haue bene a great number more executed. But his lordship perceiving them importunate in that vnharitable sute, told them (as it were in fauour of life of those sille wretches, whose miserable case he seemed to pittie) that measure must be vsed in all things, & in punish-

Pardon once againe offered.

They yeld to the earle of Warwicke.

Gentlemen slaine in this rebellion.

Ket taken.

Execution.

The earle of Warwicke spared manie.

Examine
the rebels.

Parton offered.

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ing of men by death (saith he) we ought alwaies to beware that we passe not the same. I know well that such wicked doings deserue no small reuenge, and that the offenders are worthy to be most sharplie chastised. But how farre yet shall we go? Shall we not at length shew some mercie? Is there no place for pardon? What shall we then do? Shall we hold the plough our selues; plaie the carters and labour the ground with our owne hands. These and such like words tassing altogether of mercie and compassion in that noble earle, did quench the cruell desire of reuenge in them that were altogether kindled in wrath and wished nothing moze than to see the whole multitude executed: but now moued with the earles wise and mercifull answer to their rigorous sute, they became moze mild and mercifull towards the miserable creatures.

The slaine
carcases bur-
ied.

This also is not to be forgotten, that when information was giuen against some of the rebels, for that they had bene busie fellows, & great doers in time of those vppores, so as it was thought of some, that it stood with good reason to haue them punished by death, when the earle of Warwike vnderstood by credible report of Poreie king at armes, that vpon the offer of the kings pardon, they were the first that threw downe their weapons, and submitted themselves to the kings mercie, the earle would not in any wise consent that they should die, but protested frankeleie that he would keepe promise with them, and that he would be as good to them as his word: and so they had their liues saued. The same daie was order giuen by the earle that the bodies of them that were slaine in the field should be buried. On the morrow being the nine and twentieth of August, the earle of Warwike, with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, and others in great numbers, both men and women, went to saint Peters church, and there gaue praises and thanks to God for the victorie obtained. And this done, he with all the armie departed out of the citie, and returned homewards with high commendation of citizens & others, that acknowledged the said earle to be the defender of their liues, and rescuer of their wiues, children, houses, and liuings.

The two
kings exco-
municated.

It was afterwarde ordeined, that vpon the same daie in the which the rebels were thus subdued, the citizens yearelie should repaire to their churches, and there to heare seruice, and to haue a sermon aboue, to the which they should come together, to giue thanks to God for their deliuerance as that daie, and this is obserued till these our times. Robert Ket and his brother William Ket were brought vp to London, where they were committed to the tower, and shortly after arraigned of their treason and found guiltie, were brought to the tower againe, where they continued till the nine and twentieth of Nouember, on which daie they were deliuered to sir Edmund Windham high shiriffe of Suffolke and Suffolke, to be conueied downe into Suffolke, where Robert Ket was hanged in chains vpon the top of Norwich castle: and William Ket his brother on the top of Windmondham steeple, in which towne they had both dwelled, and conspired with others to go forth with their wicked rebellion.

William Ket
dissembling
traitor.

This William Ket (as was thought) had bene sure of his pardon, if he had not plaied the traitorous hypocrite: for vpon his submission at the first to my lord marquisse of Northampton, at his comming downe to suppress this rebellion, he was sent to his brother to persuaade him and the rest to yeeld, and receiue the kings pardon: but he (like a dissembling wretch, although he promised to my lord to do what he could in that behalfe) vpon his comming to his brother into the rebels campe, & beholding the great multitude that were there about him, he did not one-

lie not dissuade him and them from their traitorous rebellion, but encouraged them to persist and continue in their doings, declaring what a small number of souldiers the marquisse brought with him, nothing able to resist such a puissance as was there assembled. So that if it had not bene thorough the wicked persuation of him, and some others at that time, not onelie Robert Ket himselfe, but also all the multitude beside, would haue submitted themselves, and receiued the kings pardon, to the preservation of manie a good mans life that after died in the quarrell.

But now to retorne somewhat backe to the doings in Scotland. In the meane while that such hurles were in hand here in England, ye shall vnderstand that in the beginning of this summer, the king by aduise of his counsell sent forth a nauie by sea towards Scotland, the which arriving in the forth, and comming before Leith, saluted the towne with cannon shot, & remaining there ten or twelue daies, toke in the meane time the Isle of Inchkeith, leaving therein foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one of Italians, with certeine pioneers to fortifie the place. But the Frenchmen (as in the Scottish historie ye shall find moze at large) after the departure of the English nauie, recovered that Ile againe out of the Englishmens possession (after they had kept it sixtē daies) with the slaughter of capteine Cotton their generall, capteine Applebie, & one Jasper that was capteine of the Italians, beside others. After the recovering of this Ile, monsieur de Delle returned into France, leauing his charge to monsieur de Thermes latelic before there arrived: who after the departure of the said Delle, with a campe volant did what he could to stop the Englishmen within Waddington from bittels. But notwithstanding the earle of Rutland being lieutenant of the north, did not onelie bittell it, but put the French armie in danger of an ouerthrow, as it was thought must needs haue folowed, if they had not with moze speed than is vsed in a common march slipt awaie, after they perceiued the English armie so neare at their elbowed.

Inchkeith
taken.

Monsieur de
Delle returneth
into France.

The earle of
Rutland.

Moreouer, beside these inordinate vppores and insurrections aboue mentioned, about the latter end of the said moneth of Iulie, in the same yeare, which was 1549, another like sturre or commotion began at Semer in the north riding of Yorkshire, and continued in the east riding of the same, and there ended. The principall doers and raisers by whereof, was one William Dmbler of Calkeberton peoman, and Thomas Dale parish cleark of Semer, with one Stæuenson of Semer, neighbour to Dale and nephew to Dmbler, which Stæuenson was a meane or messenger betwene the said Dmbler and Dale, being before not acquainted together, and dwelling seven miles one from the other: who at last by the trauell of the said Stæuenson, and their owne will dispositions, inclined to bingrationnesse and mischief, knowing before one the others mind by secret conference, were brought to talke together on saint James daie, Anno 1549.

M. Fox.
In other
bellion or
mult begun
in Yorkshire.

The cause
of the
bellion.

The causes mouing them to raise this rebellion, were these. First & principally their traitorous hartie grudging at the kings most goodlie proceedings, in aduancing and reforming the true honour of God and his religion. Another cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a fantasticall prophesie, where with they were seduced, thinking the same prophesie should shortly come to passe, by hearing the rebellions of Suffolke, of Deuonshire, and other places. The reason of which prophesie and purpose together of the traitors was, that there should no king reigne in England, the noblemen and gentlemen to be destroyed, and the realme to be ruled by foure gouernours,

The causes
mouing the
Yorkshiremen
to rebellion.

A blind
prophesie
which
seduced
the traitors.

hours, to be elected and appointed by the commons, holding a parlement in commotion, to begin at the south and north seas of England, supposing that this rebellion in the north, and the other of the Denov-
 10 three men in the west, making (as they intended) at one place, to be the meane how to compass this their traitorous diuulish deuise. And therefore laing their studies together, how to find out more companie to ioin with them in that detestable purpose, and to set forward the furre, this deuise they framed: to sturre in two places, the one distant seven miles from the other, and at the first rush to kill and destroye such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were fauourers of the kings proceedings, or which would resist them.

But first of all for the more speedie raising of men, they deuised to burne beacons, & thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the sea-coasts: and hauing the ignorant people assembled, then to put out their poison, first beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were packed with pouertie, and were unwillling to labor, and therefore the more readie to follow the spoile of rich mens goods, blowing into their heads that Gods seruice was laid aside, and new inuentions neither god nor godlie put in place, and so feeding them with false promises, to reduce into the church againe their old ignorance and idolatrie, thought by that means to allure them to rage and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they would give the more terror to the gentlemen at the first rising, least they should be resisted, they deuised that some should be murdered in churches, some in their houses, some in seruing the king in committion, and other as they might be caught, and to picke quarrels at them by alteration of seruice on the holie daies: and thus was the platfome cast of their deuise, according as afterwarde by their confession at their examinations was testified, and remaineth in true record.

Thus they being together agræd, Dmbler and Dale, with others, by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the parly of Seiner, Wint-
 15 tringham, and the towne about, that they were infected with the poison of this confederacie, in such sort that it was easie to vnderstand wherunto they would incline, if a commotion were begun, the accomplish-
 20 ment wherof did shortly follow. For although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracie named Caluero, at the alchouse in Winttingham, some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smel-
 25 led before by the lord president and gentlemen of those parties, and so prevented in that place where the rebels thought to begin: yet they gaue not ouer so, but drew to another place at Seiner by the sea-coast, and there by night toke to the beacon at Straxton, and set it on fire, and so gathering together a rude rout of rascals out of the towne neare about, bring on a
 30 furre, Dmbler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, halled forthwith with the rebels to maister Whites house to take him: who notwithstanding be-
 35 ing on horsebacke, minding to haue escaped these bands, Dale, Dmbler, and the rest of the rebels toke him, and Clopton his twines brother, one Sauage a merchant of Porke, and one Berrie seruant to sir Walter Mildmaie. Which foure without cause or
 40 quarrell, laing to fulfill their seditious prophesie in some part, and to giue a terror to other gentlemen, they cruelly murdered, after they had caried them one mile from Seiner towards the Wold, and
 45 there after they had stripped them of their clothes & purples, left them naked behind them in the plaine fields for crows to feed on: untill Whites wife and Sauages wife, then at Seiner, caused them to be
 50 buried.

buried.

Long it were and tedious to recite what remell these rebels kept in their raging madnesse, who ran-
 55 ging about the countrie from towne to towne, to im- large their vngarrisonous and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, & lea-
 60 uing in no towne where they came any man above the age of fiftene yeares, so increased this number, that in short time they had gathered three thousand to fauour their wicked attempts, and had like to haue gathered more, had not the Lords goodnesse through
 65 prudent circumspection of some interrupted the course of their furions beginning. For first came the kings grations and free pardon, discharging & par-
 70 doning all them and the rest of the rebels, of all trea- sons, murders, felonies, & other offenses done to his maiestie before the one & twentieth of August, 1549. Which pardon although Dmbler contemptuoullie
 75 reading, persisted still in his wilfull obstinacie, dis- suaded also the rest from the humble accepting of the kings so louing & liberall pardon: yet notwithstanding
 80 with some it did good, who of likelihood submitted themselves, assurcelie belicuing if they persevered in their enterpryse, there was no way with them but one, namelie deserved death, wherewith there was
 85 no dispensing after the contempt of the princes par- don and refusall of his mercie: so that in this hea- uie case they might verie well complaine and saie:

Funditus occidimus, nec habet fortuna regressum.

To make short, it was not long after this, but
 90 Dmbler as he was riding from towne to towne, twelue miles from Hummanbie, to charge all the conestables and inhabitants where he came, in the kings name to resort to Hummanbie: by the waie he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of
 95 John Wozd the younger, James Allabrie, Rafe Twinge, and Thomas Conestable gentlemen, he was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custodie vnto the
 100 citie of Porke, to answer vnto his demerits. After whome within short time, Thomas Dale, Henrie Barton, the first chiefeins and ringleaders of the
 105 former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wlright, William Pecocke, Weatherell, and Edmund Battie, busie stirrers in this sedition, as they trauelled from place to place, to draw people to
 110 their faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfullie conuicted, and lastlie execu-
 115 ted at Porke the one and twentieth of September, in the yere of our Lord 1549. *Ex actis iudicij publici a regi- sho exceptis & notatis.*

Whilist these wicked commotions and tumults
 120 through the rage of the vnderiect commons were thus raised in sundrie parts of the realme, to the great hinderance of the common-wealth, losse and
 125 danger of enerie god and true subiect, sundrie whol- some and godlie exhortations were published, to ad- uertise them of their dutie, and to laie before them
 130 their heinous offenses, with the sequels of the mi- chiefe that necessarilie followed thereof, the which if they should consider together, with the punishment
 135 that hanged ouer their heads, they might easilie be brought to repent their lewd begun enterprises, and submit themselves to the kings mercie. Among o-
 140 ther of those admonitions, one was penned and set forth by sir John Cheke, which I haue thought good
 145 here to insert, as a necessarie discourse for enerie god English subiect. Wherein, to a reader of iudge-
 150 ment and capacite, such learning and wisdom, with a true lofall subiects heart becometh it selfe to haue bene settled in that gentleman; as the verie
 155 reading of this treatise is able to turne a rebellious mind to mekenesse: if reason be not altogether led a-
 160 waie captiue by lust.

The rebels increase their number & rebellious band.

The kings pardon offered, received, refused.

Virgil.

Dmbler captiue of the rebels taken.

The names of the rebels taken and executed at Porke.

¶ The hurt of sedition how greuous
it is to a common-wealth, set out by sir Iohn
Cheeke knight, in the yeare 1549.

The true subiect to the rebell.



Among so manie and notable benefits,
wherein God hath already and plen-
tifully indued vs, there is nothing more
beneficiall, than that we haue by his
grace kept vs quiet from rebellion at this time. For
we see such miseries hang ouer the whole state of the
common-wealth, through the great misorder of your
sedition, that it maketh vs much to reioyce, that we
haue bene neither partners of your doings, nor con-
spirers of your counsels. For euen as the Lacede-
monians for the auoiding of drunkennesse did cause
their sons to behold their seruants when they were
drunke, that by beholding their beastlinesse, they
might auoid the like vice: euen so hath God like a
mercifull father staied vs from your wickednesse,
that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might
lustie for offense abhorre you like rebels, whome
by nature we loue like Englishmen. And so for
our selues, we haue great cause to thanke God, by
whose religion and holie word daile taught vs, we
learne not onely to feare him truely, but also to o-
beie our king faithfullie, and to serue in our owne
vocation like subiects honestlie. And as for you, we
haue surelie tuff cause to lament you as brethren,
and yet suffer cause to rise against you as enemies,
and most tuff cause to overthrow you as rebels.

What the La-
cedemonians
did to make
their sons de-
test drunken-
nesse.

For what hurt could be done either to vs priuat-
lie, or to the whole common-wealth generallie, that
is now with mischief so brought in by you, that euen
as we see now the flame of your rage, so shall we
necessarilie be consumed hereafter with the miserie
of the same. Wherefore consider your selues with
some light of vnderstanding, and marke this grie-
uous and horrible fault, which ye haue thus vilelie
committed, how heinous it must needs appeare to
you, if ye will reasonable consider that which for my
duties sake, and my whole countries cause, I will
at this present declare vnto you. We which be bound
by Gods word not to obeie for feare like men-plea-
sers, but for conscience sake like christians, haue con-
trarie to Gods holie will, whose offense is enerla-
sting death, and contrarie to the godlie order of qui-
etnesse, set out to vs in the kings maiesties labors,
the breach whereof is not vnknewen to you, taken
in hand vncalled of God, vnsent by men, vnst by
reason, to cast alsoe your bounden duties of obedi-
ence, and to put on you against the magistrats,
Gods office committed to the magistrats, for the re-
formation of your pretended iniuries. In the which
doing ye haue first faulted grieuously against God,
next offended vnnaturallie our soueraigne lord,
thirde troubled miserablie the whole common-
wealth, vndone cruelle manie an honest man, and
brought in an bitter miserie both to vs the kings sub-
iects, and to your selues being false rebels. And yet
ye pretend that partlie for Gods cause, and partlie
for the common-wealths sake, ye do arise, when
as your selues cannot denie; but ye that seeke in
Gods cause, do breake in daed Gods command-
ments; and ye that seeke the common-wealth,
haue destroyed the common-wealth: and so ye marre
that ye would make, & breake that ye would amend,
because ye neither seeke anie thing rightlie, nor
would amend anie thing orderlie.

Rebellion a
verie grie-
uous and hor-
rible offense a-
gainst God,
the prince,
and the state.

We that faulteth, faulteth against Gods ordi-
nance, who hath forbidden all faults, and therefore
ought againe to be punished by Gods ordinance, who
is the reformer of faults. For he saith, I caue the pri-

uishment to me, and I will reuenge them. But the
magistrate is the ordinance of God, appointed by
him with the sword of punishment to looke strenght-
lie to all euill doers. And therefore that that is done
by the magistrate, is done by the ordinance of God,
whome the scripture oftentimes doth call God, be-
cause he hath the execution of Gods office. How
then do you take in hand to reforme? We ye kings:
By what authoritie? By what occasion? We ye the
kings officers: By what commission? We ye called
of God? By what tokens declare ye that? Gods
word teacheth vs, that no man should take in hand
anie office, but he that is called of God like Aaron.
What Moses I praie you called you? What Gods
minister had you rise?

We rise for religion. What religion taught you
that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye
ought to flie: so Christ teacheth you, and yet you in-
tend to fight. If ye would stand in the truth, ye ought
to suffer like martyrs, and you would flie like ty-
rants. Thus for religion you keepe no religion, and
neither will follow the counsell of Christ, nor the con-
science of martyrs. Why rise ye for religion? Haue
ye anie thing contrarie to Gods booke? Poa, haue
ye not all things agreeable to Gods word? But the
new is different from the old, and therefore ye will
haue the old. If ye measure the old by truth, ye haue
the oldest; if ye measure the old by fanisie, then it is
hard: because mens fanisies change, to giue that is
old. We will haue the old still. Will ye haue anie ol-
der than that as Christ left, & his apostles taught, &
the first church after Christ did vse? We will haue that
the channons do establish. Why that is a great deale
yonger than that ye haue, of later time, and neuer
invented. Yet that is it that ye desire. Why then ye
desire not the oldest. And do you preferre the bi-
shops of Rome afore Christ, mens inuentions afore
Gods law, the newer sort of worship before the ol-
der? We seeke no religion, ye be deceived, ye seeke
traditions. They that teach you, blind you, that so
instruct you, deceiue you. If ye seeke what the old
doctors saie, yet loke what Christ the oldest of all
saith. For he saith, Before Abraham was made I
am. If ye seeke the truest waie, he is the verie truth;
if ye seeke the readiest waie, he is the verie waie; if
ye seeke euermore life, he is the verie life. What
religion would ye haue other now, than his religion?

You would haue the bibles in againe. It is no
maruell, your blind guides would leade you blind
still. Why, be ye howlets and backs, that ye can
not looke on the light? Christ saith to euerie one
Search ye the scriptures, for they beare witness of
Christ. You saie, Pull in the scriptures, for we will
haue no knowledge of Christ. The apostles of Christ
will vs to be so readie, that we maie be able to giue
euerie man an account of our faith. We will vs not
once to read the scriptures, for feare of knowing of
our faith. Saint Iohn praieeth that euerie man may
increase in knowledge: ye desire that our know-
ledge might decaie againe. A true religion ye seeke
belike, and woorthie to be sought for. For without
the sword indeed nothing can helpe it, neither Christ,
nor truth, nor age can mainteine it. But why should
ye not like that which Gods word establisheth, the
primitive church hath authorised, the greatest lear-
ned men of this realme haue drunken, the whole con-
sent of the parlement hath confirmed, the kings
maiestie hath set forth: Is it not truely set out? Can
ye deuise anie truer than Christs apostles vided? We
thinke it is not learnedlie done. Were ye commons
take vpon you more learning, than the chosen bi-
shops and clerks of this realme haue? Thinke ye
folle in it? We were wont to iudge your parlement
wisest, & now will ye suddenlye erre the m in wif-
come?

Rebellion do
lawfull in
science of true
religion. For
much more
vnto the
maintenace
of false reli-
gion, &c.

The neede
of the bibles
in the
reformation
of the
religion.

The principal
cause of re-
bellion is
the same.

The rebelles
of Northfolke
understand the
common-
wealth in the
right of their
king.

It is not lawfull
to rebelle
against the
king.

It is not lawfull
to be hono-
red both in
church and
state.

It is not lawfull
to be hono-
red both in
church and
state.

done: & can ye thinke it lacketh authoritie, which the king, the parlement, the learned, the wise haue iustlie approued: & learne, learne, to know this one point of religion, that God will be worshipped as he hath prescribed, and not as we haue deuised; and that his will is wholie in his scriptures, which be full of Gods spirit, and profitable to teach the truth, to re-
10 pource lies, to amend faults, to bring one by in righteousnesse, that he that is a Gods man may be per-
fect & ready to all good works. What can be more re-
quired to serue God withall: And thus much for re-
ligion, rebells.

The other rable of Northfolke rebelles, ye pre-
tend a common-wealth. How amend ye it: By kill-
ing of gentlemen, by spoiling of gentlemen, by im-
prisoning of gentlemen: A marvellous tanned
common-wealth. Whie should ye thus hate them:
For their riches or for their rule? Kule they neuer
toke so much in hand as ye do now. They neuer re-
sisted the king, neuer withstood his counsell, be faith-
full at this daie when ye be faithlesse, not onelie, to
the king, whose subiects ye be, but also to your lords
whose tenants ye be. Is this your true ductie, in
some of homage, in most of fealtie, in all of allegi-
ance; to leaue your duties, go backe from your pro-
mises, fall from your faith, and contrarie to law and
truth to make vnlawfull assemblies, vngodlie com-
panies, wicked and detestable camps, to disobeie
your betters, and to obeie your tanners, to change
your obedience from a king to a ket, to submit your
selues to traitors, and bycake your faith to your true
king and lords: They rule but by law, if other wise,
the law, the counsell, the king taketh awaie their
rule. Ye haue orderlie fought no redresse, but ye
haue in time found it. In countries some must rule,
some must obeie, euerie man maie not beare like
stroke: for euerie man is not like wise. And they
that haue seene most, and be best able to beare it, and
of iust dealing beside, be most fit to rule. It is an o-
ther matter to vnderstand a mans owne greife, and
to know the common-wealths soze; and therefore not
they that know their owne case, as euerie man doth,
but they that vnderstand the common-wealths state,
ought to haue in countries the preferment of ruling.
If ye felt the paine that is ioined with gouernance,
as ye see and like the hono-, ye would not hurt o-
thers to rule them, but rather take great paine to be
ruled of them. If ye had rule of the kings maiestie
committed vnto you, it were well done ye had ruled
the gentlemen: but now ye haue it not, and cannot
beare their rule, it is to thinke the kings maiestie for-
lith and vniust, that hath giuen certaine rule to them.
And seeing by the scripture, ye ought not to speake
euill of anie magistrate of the people, why do ye not
onelie speake euill of them whome the kings mai-
estie hath put in office, but also iudge euill of the king
himselke, and thus seditionlie in field stand with
your swordes drawen against him:

If riches offend you, because ye wish the like,
then thinke that to be no common-wealth, but enuie
to the common-wealth. Enuie it is to apaire an o-
ther mans estate, without the amendment of your
owne. And to haue no gentlemen, because ye be
none your selues, is to bring downe an estate, and
to mend none. Would ye haue all alike rich: What
is the overthrow of labour, and bitter decay of worke
in this realme. For who will labour more, if when he
hath gotten more, the idle shall by lust without right
take what him lust from him, vnder pretense of e-
qualitye with him. This is the bringing in of idle-
nesse, which destroyeth the common-wealth; and not
the amendment of labour, that mainteineth the
common-wealth. If there should be such equalitye,
then ye take awaie all hope from yours to come to

anie better estate than you now leaue them. And
as manie meane mens children do come honestlie
by, and are great succour to all their stocke: so shon'd
none be hereafter holpen by you, but because ye seke
equalitye, whereby all can not be rich. Ye would that
(belike) whereby euerie man should be poze; and
thinke beside that riches and inheritance be Gods
prouidence, and giuen to whome of his wisdom he
thinketh good: to the honest for the increase of their
godlinesse, to the wicked for the heaping by of their
damnation, to the simple for a recompense of other
lacks, to the wise for the greater setting out of
Gods godnesse. Whie will your wisdom now stop
Gods wisdom, and prouide by your lawes, that God
shall not enrich them, whome he hath by prouidence
appointed as him liketh: God hath made the poze, &
hath made them to be poze that he might shew his
might, and set them aloft when he listeth for such
cause as to him seemeth, & plucke downe the rich to
this state of pouertie by his power, as he disposeth to
order them. Whie do not we then being poze beare it
wiselie, rather than by lust seke riches vniustlie, and
shew our selues content with Gods ordinance, which
we must either willinglie obeie, and then we be wise,
or else we must vnprofitable strue withall, and then
we be mad:

But what meane ye by this equalitye in the
common-wealth: If one be wiser than an other,
will ye banish him, because ye intend an equalitye of
all things: If one be stronger than another, will ye
slay him, because ye seke an equalitye of all things:
If one be well fauourder than an other, will ye pu-
nish him, because ye loke for an equalitye of all
things: If one haue better vtterance than another,
will ye pull out his tong to saue your equalitye: And
if one be richer than an other, will ye spoile him to
mainteine an equalitye: If one be elder than an o-
ther, will ye kill him for this equalities sake: How
inurious are ye to God himselke, who intendeth to
bestow his gifts as he himselke listeth: and ye seke
by wicked insurrections to make him glue them
commonlie alike to all men as your vaine fantasie li-
keth: Whie would ye haue an equalitye in riches
& in other gifts of God: There is no meane sought.
Either by ambition ye seke lordlinesse much vnfit
for you; or by conetousnesse ye be vnstable, a thing
likelie inough in ye; or else by folie ye be not con-
tent with your estate, a fantasie to be plucked out of
you.

But if we being wearie of pouertie would seke
to enrich our selues, we should go a farre other waie
to worke than this, and so should we rightlie come to
our desire. Doth not S. Peter teach vs afoze God
a right waie to honour, to riches, to all necessarie
and profitable things for vs: He saith, Humble your
selues that God might exalt you, and cast all your
care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth the
waie to all good things at Gods hand, is to be hum-
ble, and you exalt your selues. Ye seke things after
such a sort, as if the seruant should anger his master,
when he seeketh to haue a good turne of him. Ye
would haue riches (I thinke) at Gods hand who gi-
ueth all riches, and yet ye take the waie cleane con-
trarie to riches. Know ye not that he that exalteth
himselke, God will throw him downe: How can ye
get it then by thus setting out your selues: Ye shuld
submit ye by humilitie one to another, and ye set by
your selues by arrogancie aboue the magistrates.
See herein how much ye offend God. Remember
ye not that if ye come nigh to God, he will come
nigh vnto you: If then ye go from God, he will go
from you. Doth not the psalme saie, He is holie
with the holie, and with the wicked man he is fro-
ward: Euen as he is ordered of men, he will order
them

Riches and
inheritance
from whom,
to whom, and
to what end
giuen.

The brecon-
fessionable so-
thing of equa-
litye how
harmfull.

The precept
of S. Peter
teaching the
right waie to
riches and
honour.

them: gaine. If ye would follow his will, and obeye his commandements, ye should eat the fruits of the earth, saith the prophet; if not, the sword shall denoue you. Ye might haue eaten the fruits of this reasonable pære, if ye had not by disobedience rebelled against God. Now not onelie ye can not eat that which your selues did first sowe by labour, and now despoile by sedition; but also if the kings maiesties sword came not against you, as iust policie requireth, yet the iust vengeance of God would light among you, as his word promisseth, and your cruell wickednesse deserueth.

The act of rebellion aggravated, & pronounced most wicked and horrible.

For whatsoeuer the causes be that haue moued your wild affections herin, as they be brutish causes, & increase your faults much, the doing it selfe, the rising I meane, must needs be wicked and horrible before God, and the vsurping of authoritie, and taking in hand of rule, which is the sitting in Gods seat of iustice, and a proud climbing vp into Gods high throne, must needs be not onelie cursed netolie by him, but also hath bene often punished afore of him. And that which is done to Gods officer, God accounteth it done to him. For they despise not the minister, as he saith himselfe, but they despise him: and that presumption of challenging Gods seat, doth shew you to haue bin Lucifers, and sheweth vs that God will punish you like Lucifers. Wherefore rightlie looke, as ye durie haue deserued, either for great vengeance for your abhominable transgression, or else earnestlie repent, with vnfeined minds, your wicked doings; and either with example of death be content to dehort other, or else by faithfullnesse of obedience declare how great a seruice it is to God, to obeye your magistrats faithfullie, and to serue in subjection trulie.

An exhortation to rebels.

Disobedience to the prince is a most abominable sinne, and that we are bound by dutie to obey.

Well, if ye had not thus grieuousslie offended God, whome ye ought to worship, what can ye reasonable thinke it, to be no fault against the king, whom ye ought to reuerence? Ye be bound by Gods word to obeye your king, and is it no breach of dutie to withstand your king? If the seruant be bound to obeye his maister in the familie, is not the subiect bound to serue the king in his realme? The child is bound to the priuat father, and be we not all bound to the common-wealths father? If we ought to be subiect to the king for Gods cause, ought we not then I praye you to be faithfullie subiect to the king? If we ought dutifullie to shew all obedience to heathen kings, shall we not willinglie and trulie be subiect to christian kings? If one ought to submit himselfe by humilitie to another, ought we not all by dutie to be subiect to our king? If the members of our naturall bodie all follow the head, shall not the members of the politicall bodie all obeye the king? If good manners be content to giue place the lower to the higher, shall not religion teach vs alwaie to giue place to the highest? If true subiects will die gladlie in the kings seruice, should not all subiects thinke it dutie to obeye the king with iust seruice. But you haue not onelie disobeyed like ill subiects, but also taken scoutlie rule upon you like wicked magistrats.

A notable and rhetoricall clause, and to the purpose.

We haue bene called to obedience by counsell of priuat men, by the aduise of the kings maiesties counsell, by the kings maiesties free pardon. But what counsell taketh place, where sturdinesse is law and churlish answers be counted wisdom? Who can perswade where treason is aboue reason, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawfull whatsoeuer is lustfull, and commotioners are better than commissioners, and common law is named common-wealth? Haue ye not broken his lawes, disobeyed his counsell, rebelled against him? And what is the common-wealth worth, when the law which is indifferent for all men, shall be wilfullie and spitefullie

broken of head-strong men, that seeke against lawes to order lawes; that those may take place, not what consent of wise men hath appointed, but what the lust of rebels hath determined? What unthriftinesse is in ill seruants, wickednes in unnatural children, sturdinesse in unruly subiects, crueltie in fierce enemies, wilbnes in beaustie minds, pride in disdainfull hearts; that sheweth now in you, which haue fled from house conspiracies, to incamped robberies, and are better contented to suffer famine, cold, trauell, to glut your lusts, than to liue in quietnesse to saue the common-wealth, and thinke more libertie in wilfulness, than wisdome in dutifullnesse, and so run headlong not to the mischief of other, but to the destruction of your selues, and vndo by follie that ye intend by mischief, neither seeing how to remedie that ye sudge faultie, nor willing to saue your selues from miserie: which stiffness cannot do, but honestie of obedience must frame.

If authoritie would serue vnder a king, the council haue greatest authoritie; if wisdome and grauitie might take place, they be of most experience; if knowledge of the common-wealth could helpe, they must by daillie conference of matters vnderstand it best: yet neither the authoritie that the kings maiestie hath giuen them, nor the grauitie which you know to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great trauell they haue gotten, can moue you either to keepe you in the dutie ye ought to do, or to auoid the great disorder wherein ye be. For where disobedience is thought stoutnesse, and fullennes is counted manhood, and stomaching is courage, and prating is iudged wisdome, and the clauiest is most meet to rule; how can other iust authoritie be obeyed, or sad counsell be followed, or good knowledge of matters be heard, or commandements of counsellors be considered? And how is the king obeyed, whose wisest be withstanding, the disobedientest obeyed, the high in authoritie not weied, the unskillfullest made chiefe captains, to the noblest most hurt intended, the baggingest braller to be most safe? And euen as the viler parts of the bodie would contend in knowledge & gouernement with the fine wits: so do the lower parts of the common-wealth enterprise as high a matter, to strue against their dutie of obedience to the counsell.

But what talke I of disobedience so quietlie: haue not such mad rages run in your heads, that forsaking and burding the quietnesse of the common peace, ye haue heinousslie and traitorouslie incamped your selues in field, and there like a bile in a bodie, naie like a sinke in a towne, haue gathered together all the nastie vagabonds and idle loiterers to beare armour against him, whome all goodlie and good subiects will liue and die withall. If it be a fault when two fight together, and the kings peace broken, and punishment to be sought therefore; can it be but an outrageous and a detestable mischief, when so manie rebels in number, malicious in mind, mischievous in enterprise, fight not among themselves, but against all the kings true and obedient subiects; and seeke to proue whether rebellion may beat downe honestie, and wickednesse may ouercome truth or no? If it be treason to speake heinousslie of the kings maiestie, who is not hurt thereby, and the infamie turneth to the speaker againe; what kind of outrageous & horrible treason is it, to assemble in campe an armie against him, and so not onelie intend an ouerthrow to him, and also to his common-wealth; but also to cast him into an infamie, through all outward and strange nations, and perswade them that he is hated of his people, whome he can not rule; and that they be no better than vilans, which will not with god orders be ruled:

The rebels fullie fraught with most villainous qualities.

The kings counsell of greatest authority, and they yet are they without.

The action of rebellion proued by reason to be most heinous, mischievous, and vncivil.

That

That death can be deuised cruell enough for those rebels, who with trouble seeke death, and can not quench the thirst of their rebellion, but with the blond of true subiects; and hate the kings mercifull pardon, when they miserable haue transgressed, and in such an outrage of mischief will not by stubbornesse acknowledge themselves to haue faulted, but intend to broule the common-wealth with the flame of their treason, and as much as lieth in them not one to annoie themselves, but to destroe all others: He that is discontented with things that happen, and because he cannot beare the miserie of them, renteth his heare, and teareth his skin, & mangleth his face, which causeth not his sorrow, but increaseth his miserie; maie he not be iustlie called mad and fantastical, and worthe whose wisdom should be suspected? And what shall we saie of them, who being in the common-wealth, feeling a soze greivous vnto them, and easie to haue bene amended, sought not the remedie, but haue increased the greife, and like franke beasts raging against their head, doe feare and deface as much as lieth in them his whole authoritie in gouernement, and violentlie take to themselves that rule vpon them, which he by policie hath granted vnto other?

And who weieing well the beautiesse of the fault, maie not iustlie saie and hold them to be worse here in than any kind of brute beasts? For we see that the shepe will obrie the shepheard, and the neat be ruled by the neatheard, and the horse will know his keeper, and the dog will be in awe of his maister, and euerie one of them feed there, and of that, as his keeper and ruler doth appoint him, & goeth from thence, and that, as he is forbidden by his ruler. And yet we haue not heard of, that anie heard or companie of these haue risen against their heardman or gouernour, but be alwaies contented not onelie to obeie them, but also to suffer them to take profit of them. And we see furthermore, that all heards, & all sorts, be more egre in fiercenesse against all kind of strangers, than they be against their owne rulers, & will easilier offend him who hath not hurt them, than touch their ruler who seeketh profit on them.

But ye that ought to be gouerned by your magistrates, as the heards by the heardman, and ought to be like shepe to your king, who ought to be like a shepheard vnto you, euen in the time when your profit was sought, and better redresse was intended, than your vspites and vniquietnesse could obtaine, haue beyond the crueltie of all beasts foliue risen against your ruler, and shewed your selues worthe to be ordered like beasts, who in kind of obedience will fall from the state of men. A dog stopeth when he is beaten of his maister, not for lacke of stomach, but for naturall obedience: you being not stricken of your head but fauoured, not kept dolone but succoured and remedied by law, haue violentlie against law not onelie barked like beasts, but also bitten like helhounds. What? Is the mischief of sedition either not knowne vnto you, or not feared? Haue not examples aforesaid both told the end of rebels, and the wickednesse of rebellion it selfe? But as for old examples, let them passe for a while, as things well to be considered. But at this present one thing more to be weied.

Like vpon your selues, after ye haue wickedlie stept into this horrible kind of treason, doe ye not see how manie bottomlesse whirlpools of mischief ye be gulst withall, and what lossefull kinds of rebellion ye be faine to waide through? Ye haue sent out in the kings name, against the kings will, precepts of all kinds, & without commandement commanded his subiects, and vniustlie haue ruled where ye listed to command, thinking your owne fancies the

kings commandements, and rebels lusts in things to be right gouernement of things, not looking what should follow by reason, but what your selues follow by affection. And is it not a dangerous and a cruell kind of treason, to giue out precepts to the kings people? There can be no iust execution of lawes, reformation of faults, giuing out of commandements, but from the king. For in the king onelie is the right herof, & the authoritie of him deriued by his appointment to his ministers. Ye haue no authoritie of the king, but taking it of your selues, what thinke ye your selues to be? Ministers ye be none, except ye be the diuels ministers, for he is the author of sedition.

The kings maiestie intendeth to mainteine peace, and to oppresse warre, ye stirre vp byprozes of people, huriburles of vagabonds, routs of robbers. Is this anie part of the kings ministerie? If a vagabond would doe what he lust, and call himselfe your seruant, and execute such offices of trust, whether ye would or no, as ye haue committed vnto another mans credit, what would euerie one of you saie or do herein? Would ye suffer it? Ye wander out of houses, ye make euerie daie new matters as it pleaseth you, ye take in hand the execution of those things, God by his word forbidding the same, which God hath put the magistrates in trust withall. What can ye saie to this? Is it sufferable thinke ye? If ye told a priuat message in another mans name, can it be but a false lie? If ye told a priuat message to the common-wealth, and that from the king, can it be honest thinke ye? To command is more than to speake: what is it then to command so traitorous a lie? This then which is in word a deceitfull lie, and in deed a traitorous fact, noisome to the common-wealth, vnhonourable to the king, mischiefous in you, how can ye otherwise iudge of it, but to be an vheard of and notable disobedience to the king: and therefore by notable example to be punished, and not with gentlenesse of pardon to be forgiven: Ye haue robbed euerie honest house, and spoiled them vniustlie, and pitioullie wronged poore men being no offenders, to their utter vndoing; and yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings lawes. The kings maiesties law and his commandement is, that euerie man should safelie kepe his owne, and vse it reasonable to an honest gaine of his liuing: ye violentlie take and carie awaie from men without cause, all things whereby they should mainteine, not onelie themselves, but also their familie, & leaue them so naked, that they shall feele the smart of your cursed enterprisse, longer than your owne vnnaturall & vngodlie stomachs would well boughde. By iustice ye should neither hurt nor wrong man, and your pretended cause of this monstrous sturre is to increase mens wealth. And yet how manie, and saie truely, haue ye decayed and vndone, by spoiling and taking awaie their goods? How should honest men liue quietlie in the common-wealth at anie time, if their goods, either gotten by their owne labor, or left to them by their friends, shall vnlawfully and vniustly, to the seding of a sort of rebels, be spoiled and wasted, and utterlie scattered abroad? The thing that ye take is not your right, it is an other mans owne. The manner of taking against his will is vnlawfull, & against the order of euerie godd common-wealth. The cause why ye take it is mischiefous and horrible, to fat your sedition. Ye that take it be wicked traitors, and common enemies of all godd order.

If he that desireth an other mans goods or catell, doe fault: what doth he (thinke you) whose desire taking followeth, and is led to and fro by lust, as his wicked fancies void of reason doth guide him? He that vseth not his owne well and charitablie, hath much to answer for: and shall they be thought not

The rebels outrageous and intolerable demerits deserued.

Their disobedience notorious.

The rebels offend against the law of iustice & equitie.

The former matter behemendly bigged.

The rebels
are still char-
ged with their
rapines, and
violentie
inferred
wounds.

Libertie desi-
red above all
things.

* If epithets
and terms for
head and tail
of this rebel-
lion.

The offense
of excluding
the kings sub-
jects from the
benefit of li-
bertie aggra-
uated.

unlike, who not onelie take a waie other mens, but also misse and waite the same vngodlie: They that take things pzinlie a waie, and steale secretlie and couertlie other mens goods, be by law iudged woth this death: and shall they that without shame spoile things openlie, and be not affraid by impudencie to pposse their spoile, be thought either honest creaturs to God, or faithfull subiects to their king, or naturall men to their countrie: If nothing had moued you but the example of mischæse, and the soule pzinse of other moued by the same, ye should yet haue abstained from so licentious and vilanous a shew of roberie, considering how manie honeste there be, that being loth their wickednesse should be blazed abroad, yet be found out by prouidence, and hanged for desert. What shall we then thinke of saie of you: Shall we call you pickers, or hid theues; naie more than theues, daie theues, heard stealers, thire spoli-ers, and viter destroyers of all kinds of families, both among the poore and also among the rich. Let vs yet further see. Be there no mo things wherein ye haue broken the kings laws, and so vilelie disobeyed him, flat contrarie to your bounden dutie and alle-
giance?

Ye haue not onelie spoiled the kings true subiects of their goods, but also ye haue imprisoned their bodies, which should be at libertie vnder the king, and restrained them of their seruice, which by dutie the y owe the king, and appaired both strength and health, wherewith they liue and serue the king. Is there a-
nie honest thing more desired than libertie? Ye haue shamefullie spoiled them thereof. Is there a-
nie thing more dutifull than to serue their lord and mas-
ter? But as that was desired of the one part, so was it hindered and stopped on your part. For nei-
ther can the king be serued, nor families kept, nor the common-wealth looked vnto, where freedom of libertie is stopped, and diligence of seruice is hin-
dered, and the helpe of strength and health abated. Mens bodies ought to be free from all mens bon-
dage and crueltie, and onelie in this realme be sub-
iect in publike punishment to our publike gover-
nour, and neither be touchd of headlesse capteins, nor holden of brainlesse rebels. For the gouerne-
ment of so pretious a thing ought to belong vnto the most noble ruler, and not iustlie to be in euerie mans power, which is iustlie euerie lining mans treasure. For what goods be so deare to euerie man, as his owne bodie is, which is the true vessell of the mind, to be measurablie kept of euerie man for all exercises & seruices of the mind: If ye may not of your owne authoritie meddle with mens goods, much lesse you may of your owne authoritie take order with mens bodies.

For what be gods in comparison of health, liber-
tie, and strength, which be all settled and fastened in the bodie: They that strike other, do greatlie offend, and be iustlie punishabie: and shall they that cruel-
lie and wrongfullie torment mens bodies with irons and imprisonments, be thought not of others but of themselves honest, and plaine, and true deal-
ing men? What shall we say by them, who in a pri-
uat businesse will let a man to go his iourneie in the kings high waie: Do they not thinke ye plaine-
ly wrong: When in a common cause not onelie to hin-
der them, but also to deale cruelle with them, and shut them from doing their seruice to the king, and their dutie to the common-wealth, is it not both dis-
obedience, crueltie, and mischæse thinke ye? What
an hinderance is it, to haue a good garment hurt, anie setwell appaired, or anie esteemed thing to be de-
caied: And seeing no earthlie thing a man hath is more pretious than his body, to cause it to be cruelle
tormented with irons, sebled with cold, weakened

with ordering: can it be thought anie other thing but wrong to the sufferer, crueltie in the doer, & great disobedience and transgression to the king: How then be ye able to defend it: But seeing ye so vnpri-
tullie bere men, cast the m in prison, lade them with
irons, pine them with famine, contrarie to the rule
of nature, contrarie to the kings maiesties lawes,
contrarie to God holie ordinaunces, hauing no mat-
ter but pretended and fained gloses, ye be not onelie
disobedient to the king like rebels, but withstanding
the law of nature like beastes, and so wothie to die
like dogs, except the kings maiestie, without res-
pect of your deseruing, do mercifullie grant you
of his godnesse that which you cannot escape by in-
stice.

Yet ye being not content with this, as small
things enterprize great matters, and as though ye
could not satisfie your selues, if ye should leaue anie
mischæse vndone, haue sought blood with cruelle
and haue laine of the kings true subiects manie,
thinking their murder to be your defense, when as
ye haue increased the fault of your vile rebellion,
with the horroz of bloodshed, and so haue burdened
mischæse with mischæse, whilste it come to an im-
portable weight of mischæse. What could we do
more, in the horriblest kind of faults, vnto the grea-
test transgressours and offenders of God and men,
than to looke strictlie on them by death, and so to
rid them out of the common-wealth by seuerer pu-
nishment, whome ye thought vntowshie to liue a-
mong men for their doings: And those who haue not
offended the king, but defended his realme, and by
obedience of seruice sought to punish the disobedi-
ent, and for safegard of euerie man put themselves
vnder dutie of law, those haue ye miserable and crue-
llie laine, and bathed you in their blood, whose do-
ings ye should haue followed, & not to haue appaired
the common-wealth, both by destruction of good
men, and also by increase of rebels. And how can
that common-wealth by anie meanes indure, wher-
in euerie man without authoritie, may vnpun-
ished slea whome he list, and that in such case as those
who be laine shew themselves most noble of cou-
rage, and most readie to serue the king and the com-
mon-wealth, and those as do slea be most vilanous
and traitorous rebels that anie common-wealth did
euer susteine:

For a citie and a prouince be not the faire how-
ses, and the strong walles, nor the defense of anie
engine, but the lining bodies of men, being able in
number and strength to mainteine themselves by
god order of iustice, & to serue for all necessarie &
brhouable uses in the common-wealth. And when
as mans bodie being a part of the whole common-
wealth, is wrongfullie touchd anie way, and spreci-
allie by death, then suffereth the common-wealth
great iniurie, and that alwaies so much the more,
how honeste and nobler he is, who is iniuriously
murdered. How was the lord Sheffield handled a-
mong you, a noble gentleman, and of good seruice,
both fit for counsell in peace, and for conduct in war,
considering either the granitie of his wisdom, or
the authoritie of his person, or his seruice to the com-
mon-wealth, or the hope that all men had in him, or
the need that England had of such, or among manie
notable good, his singular excellencie, or the fauor
that all men bare toward him, being loued of euerie
man, and hated of no man?

Considered ye who should by dutie be the kings
subiects, either how ye should not haue offended the
k. or after offense haue required the kings pardon, or
not to haue refused his godnesse offered, or at length,
to haue peeld to his mercie, or not to haue laine
those who came for his seruice, or to haue spared those
who

A picture con-
clusion inter-
red by the
pennance, in
some of these
ence of the
time.

The rebels
charged with
the murder
and bloodshed
of the kings
these people.

Is licentious
common:
wealth cannot
indure.

wherewith
Scheffeld con-
sidereth a citie,
prouince, or
politic bodie.

Lord Sheffield
killed a noble
gentleman, and
of good seruice,
both fit for counsell
in peace, and for
conduct in war.

Reg. 3.

who in danger offered ranfome. But all these things forgotten by rage of rebellion, because one madnesse cannot be without infinit vices, y^e slew him cruelly, who offered himselfe manfullie, no; would not so much as spare him for ranfome, who was worthie for noblesse to haue had honour, & helmed him bare whome y^e could not hurt armed, and by flauerie slue nobilitie, in deed miserable, in fashion cruelle, in cause diabollicke. Wh^o with what cruell spite was violentlie sundred so noble a bodie from so goodlie a mind? Whose death must rather be reuenged than lamented, whose death was no lacke to himselfe, but to his countrie, whose death might euerie way bene better bozine, than at a rebels hand. Violence is in all things hurtfull, but in life horrible. What should I speake of others in the same case, diuerse and notable, whose death for manhood and seruice can want no worthie praise, so long as these vglie stirrers of rebellion can be had in mind. God hath himselfe ioined mans bodie and his soule together, not to be departed asunder, afoze he euer disseuer them himselfe, or cause them to be disseuered by his minister.

And shall rebels and heedlesse camps, being armed against God, and in field against their king, thinke it no fault to shed blood of true subiects, hauing neiether office of God, nor appointment of ministers, nor cause of rebellion? He that scaleth anie part of a mans substance, is worthie to lose his life. What shall we thinke then of them, who spoile men of their liues, for the maintenance thereof, not onelie substance & riches be sought for, but also all common welth be deuised? Now then, your owne consciences should be made your iudges, & none other set to giue sentence against y^e. Seeing y^e haue bene such bloodshedders, so heinous manquellers, so horrible murderers, could y^e do anie other than plainlie confesse your soule and wicked rebellion to be grauous against God, and traitorous to the king, and hurtfull to the common-wealth? So manie grauous faults meeting together in one sinke, might not onelie haue discouraged, but also driuen to desperation, anie other honest or indifferent mind.

But what kele they, whose hearts so deepe mischæfe had hardened, and by vehemencie of affection be made vnshamefast, and stop all discourse of reason, to let at large the full scope of their vnmeasurable madnesse? P^{ri}uat mens goods seme little to your vnstatiable desires, y^e haue waied gradie now upon cities, and haue attempted mightie spoiles, to glat by (and y^e could) your waisting hunger. Oh how much haue they need of, that will neuer be contented, and what riches can suffice anie that will attempt high enterprises aboue their estate? Y^e could not mainteine your camps with your p^{ri}uat goods, with your neighbours portion, but y^e must also attempt cities, because y^e sought great spoiles with other mens losses, and had forgotten how y^e liued at home honestlie with your owne, and thought them worthie death that would disquiet y^e in your house, and plucke a waie that which y^e by right of law thought to be your owne. Wherein see what y^e would haue done, spoiled the kings maiesties subiects, weakened the kings strength, ouerthrowne his towncs, taken aboue his munition, drayne his subiects to like rebellion, y^eea and as it is among forren enemies in sacking of cities, no doubt thereof, y^e would haue fallen to slaughter of men, ransoming of wiues, deslouring of maidens, chopping of children, fiering of houses, beating downe of streets, ouerthrowing of altogither.

For what measure haue men in the increase of madnesse, when they can not at the beginning staie themselves from falling into it. And if the besetting

but of one house to rob it, be insullie damned worthie death: what shall we thinke of them that besiege whole cities for desire of spoile? We liue under a king to serue him at all times when he shall need our strength: and shall y^e then not onlie withdraw your selues, which ought as much to be obedient as we be, but also violentlie plucke other abwaie to, fro the dutie vnto the which by Gods commandement all subiects be straitlie bound, and by all lawes eueris nation is naturallie led? The towncs be not onelie the ornament of the realme, but also the seat of merchants, the place of handicrafts, that men scattered in villages, and needing diuerse things, made in little rowne know where to find the lacke. So ouerthrow them then, is nothing else but to waile your owne commodities, so that when y^e would buie a necessarie thing for monie, y^e could not tell where to find the same.

Ap^{er}untion serueth the king not onelie for the defence of his owne, but also for the inuasion of his enemy. And if y^e will then so straitlie deale with him, that y^e will not let him so much as defend his owne, y^e offer him double iniurie; both that y^e let him from doing anie notable fact abroad, and also that y^e suffer not him quietlie to inioie his owne at home. But herein hath notable appeared what cities haue faithfully serued and suffered extreme danger, not onelie of goods, but also of famine & death, rather than to suffer the kings enemies to enter: and what white liured cities haue not onlie not withstood them, but also with shame fauored them, and with mischief aided them. And I would I might praise herein all cities alike! which I would do, if all were like worthie. For then I might shew more faith in subiects than strength in rebelles; and testifie to men to come, what a generall faith euerie citie bare to the kings maiestie, whose age although it were not fit to rule, yet his subiects hearts were willing to obeye, thinking not onelie of the hope, which all men con-

celue hereafter to be in him, but also of the full kind of gouernment, which in his minority his counsell doth vse among them. And here, how much and how worthie maie Greester be commended, which being in the midst of rebels, vnattelled, vnfortified, vnprepared for so long a siege, did noble hold out the continuall and dangerous assault of the rebell: for they succined the violence of the rebell, not onlie they had plentie enough of vittels, but also eleuen or twelue daies after the extreme famine came on them, and liuing without bread, were in courage so manfull, & in dutie so constant, that they thought it yet much better to die the extreme death of hunger, shewing truth to their king, and loue to their countrie, than to giue anie place to the rebell, and fauor him with aid, although they might haue done it with their lesse danger.

Whole example if Norwich had followed, & had not rather giuen place to traitors: yet, than to keepe their dutie; and had not sought more safegard than honestie, and p^{ri}uat hope more than common quietnesse: they had ended their rebellion sooner, and escaped themselves better, and saved the losse of the worthie lord Shersfield, in whome was more true seruice for his life, than in them for their goods. And although this can not be spoken against a certeine honest sort that were amongst them, whose praise was the greater, because they were so few: yet the greater number was such, that they not onelie obeyed the rebell for feare, but also followed him for loue, and did so traitorously order the kings band under my lord marquesse, that they suffered more damage out of their houses by the towne men, than they did abroad by the rebelles. Whole fault as the kings maiestie maie pardon, so I would either the example might be forgotten, that no citie

might

might

might

A n argument
from the lesse
to the greater.

The vse and
necessarie ser-
uice of towne,
a what it is to
ouerthrow
them.

The vse and
seruice of
munition.

wherein ap-
peareth the
faithfull ser-
uice of cities.

A good sub-
iects with, and
the reason
thereof.

Greester com-
mended for
loue & loial
seruice to the
king & state.

Notwich by-
braited with
the example of
Greester.

Some citi-
zens of Nor-
wich excusa-
ble of this re-
bellion, but
most charge-
able therewith
in a high de-
gree of disor-
der.

Exceſſer no-
ble and true.

might hereafter ſollow the like, or the ded be ſo ab-
horred, that others hereafter would avoid the like
ſhame, & learne to be noble by Exceſſer, whoſe truth
doth not onlie deſerve great praiſes, but alſo great
reward.

A collection of
beadroll of
certaine out-
rages done
by the rebels.

Who then that would willinglie defend ye, can ſay
anie thing for ye, which haue ſo diuerſie faulted, ſo
traitorouſlie offended, not onlie againſt priuat men
ſeueralie, but alſo generalie againſt whole toiwnes,
and that after ſuch a ſort, as outward enemies full of
deadlie feud could not more cruelle invade them?
And thus the kings maiestie diſhonored, his counceill
diſobeyed, the gods of the poze ſpoiled, the houſes of
the wealthie ſacked, honeſt mens bodies impriſoned,
woorthie mens perſonages ſlaine, cities beſieged and
threathned, and all kind of things diſordered, can ye
without teares and repentance heare ſpoken of,
which without honeſtie and godlineſſe ye practiſed,
and not find in your hearts now to returne to dutie,
which by witheraſt of ſedition were drowned in diſ-
order? Haue ye not in diſorder fiſt greuouſlie of-
fended God, next traitorouſlie riſen againſt your
king, and ſo neither woorthie euerlaſting life, as long
as ye ſo remaine, nor yet ciuill life being in ſuch a
breach of common quietneſſe? If euerie one of theſe
cannot by themſelues plucke you backe from this
your lewd and outragious enterpriſes, yet let them
altogether ſtir ye; or at leaſt be a fearefull example to
others, to beware by your unmeaſurable follie, how
they do ſo far prouoke God, or offend man: and ſind
by your miſtemper to be themſelues better ordered,
and learne ſtil to obeie, becauſe they would not re-
pent, and ſo to liue with honeſtie, that they would
neither willinglie offend Gods law, nor diſobeye
mans.

Persuaſions
to obedience
and iuſtice.

But and ye were ſo much bleared, that you did
thinke impoſſible things, and your reaſon gaue ye
againſt all reaſon, that ye neither diſpleaſed God
herein, nor offended the king, yet be ye ſo blind, that
ye vnderſtand not your owne caſe, nor your neigh-
bors miſerie, nor the ruine of the whole common-
wealth, which doth euidentlie ſollow your ſo foule
and deteſtable ſedition? Do ye not ſee how for the
maintenance of theſe vngodlie rablements, not on-
lie cities and villages, but alſo ſhires and countries
be vtterlie deſtroyed? Is not their corne waſted,
their caſtell ſetcht awaie, their houſes riſed, their
goods ſpoiled, and all to feed your bypiſſing without
reaſon, and to mainteine this tumult of rebellion
invented of the diuell, continued by you, and to be o-
uerthrowen by the power of Gods mightie hand? And
what ſhould not ſo hurtfull waſting and harri-
eng of countries be iuſtly puniſhed with great ſeue-
ritie, ſeeing robbing of houſes, and taking of purſes,
do by law deſerue the extremitie of death? How
manie ſuffer iniurie when one hundred of a ſhire is
ſpoiled: And what iniurie thinke ye is done; when
not onlie whole ſhires be deſtroyed, but alſo euerie
quarter of the realme touched? Haue ye not brought
vpon vs all pouertie, weakneſſe, and hatred within
the realme, & diſcouraige, ſhame, and damage with-
out the realme? If ye miſerable intended not on-
lie to bryd other, but alſo to deſtroy your ſelues, and
to ouerthrow the whole realme, could ye haue taken
a readier waie to your owne ruine than this is?

The hurts &
miſchiefes
that befall ci-
ties, &c. by
maintaining
rebellion.

Rebellion is
woorthie to
be puniſhed,

A further
view of the in-
conuenien-
ces byed by
rebellion.

The loſſe of
harueſt.
Warns be
poze mens
ſtoze houſes.

And fiſt if ye be anie thing reaſonable, liſt vp
your reaſon, and weigh by wiſdome, if not all things,
yet your owne caſes, and learne in the beginning of
matters to foreſee the end, and iudge aduiſedlie per
ye enter into anie thing haſtillie. See ye not this
yeare the loſſe of harueſt? And thinke ye can growe
to wealth that yere when ye loſe your thiſt and pro-
fit? Warns be poze mens ſtoze houſes, wherein lieth
a great part of euerie mans owne liuing, his toiwnes

and childzens liuing, wherewith men mainteine their
families, paie their rents: and therefore be alwaies
thought moſt rich when they haue beſt crops. And
now when there is neither plentie of haie, nor ſuffi-
ent of ſtraw, nor corne enough, and that through the
great diſorder of your lewd rebellion, can ye thinke
ye do well, when ye vndo your ſelues, and iudge
it a common-welth when the commons is deſtroyed,
and ſeeke your hap by unhappineſſe, and eſtyme your
owne loſſe to be your owne ſorwardneſſe, and by this
iudgement ſhem your ſelues, how little ye vnder-
ſtand other mens matters, when ye can ſcarſelie con-
ſider the weightieſt of your owne: hath not the haie
this yeare, as it roſe from the ground, ſo rotted to the
ground againe: and where it was want by mens
reaſonable laboz to be taken in due time, and then
ſerue for the maintenance of horſe and cattell wher-
with we liue, now by your diſordered miſcheefe hath
bene by mens ſoleneſſe and vnbutifullneſſe let alone
vntouched, and ſo neither ſerueth the poze to make
monie of, nor arie cattell to liue with. The corrie
was ſowne with labour, and the ground tilled for it
with labour, and looked to be brought home againe
with labour: and for lacke of honeſt labozers it is loſt
on the ground; the owners being loiterers, and ſe-
king other mens, haue loſt their owne, and hoping
for mounteins, lacked their preſent thiſt, neither ob-
teining that they ſought, nor ſeking that they
ought.

And how ſhall men liue when the maintenance
of their prouiſion is lacking? For labouring and
their old ſtoze is waſted by wiſdome of ſedition, and
ſo neither ſpare the old nor ſaue the new. How can
men be fed then or beaſts liue, when as ſuch waſtfull
negligence is miſerable uſed? And miſpending the
time of their profit, in ſhamefull diſorder of inobedi-
ence, they care not greatly what becometh of their
owne, becauſe they intend to liue by other mens:
Haie is gone, corne is waſted, ſtraw is ſpoiled; what
reckoning of harueſt can ye make, either for the aid
of others, or for the releefe of your ſelues? And thus
haue ye brought in one kind of miſerie, which if ye
ſaw before, as ye be like to ſee after, although
ye had hated the common-welth, yet for loue of your
ſelues ye would haue avoided the great enormitie
thereof, into the which ye wiſtullie now haue caſt
your ſelues.

An other no leſſe is, that ſuch plentie of bittels
as was abundantie in euerie quarter for the releefe
of vs all, is now waſtfullie and vniſtullie ſpent,
in mainteining you vnlawfull rebels, and ſo with
diſorder all is conſumed, which with god husbandrie
might long haue endured. For, ſo much as would
haue ſerued a whole yeare at home with diſci-
gence and ſkilfull heed of husbandrie, that is wiſtullie
waſted in a moneth in the campe, though the rauen-
ing ſpoile of bilanie. For what is vnordered plentie,
but a waſtfull ſpoile, wherof the inconuenience is
ſo great, as ye be woorthie to ſeele, and byingth in
more hardnes of liuing, greater dearth of all things,
& occaſioneth manie cauſes of diſcaſes: The price of
things muſt needs increaſe much, when the number
of things wareth leſſe, and by ſcarſitie be inhaſed, &
compelleth men to abate their liberalitie in houſe,
both to their owne, and alſo to ſtrangers. And where
the rich wanteth, what can the poze find, who in a
common ſcarſitie liueth moſt ſcarſelie, and ſeleth
quicklieſt the ſharpneſſe of ſtarrving, when euerie
man for lacke is hungerbitten. Which if ye had well
remembred before, as ye now maie after perceiue,
ye would not I thinke ſo ſtiffe-neckedlie haue reſi-
ſted and indangered your ſelues in the ſtoome of ſa-
mine, wherof ye moſt likelie muſt haue the greateſt
part, which moſt ſtubboornlie reſiſted, to your owne
ſhame

Haie rotting
on the ground.

Loſſe of corne
for lacke of
reaping.

The loſſe of
one yeares
harueſt by
barrenneſſe.

Waſtfull ſe-
ding of har-
ueſt by the
rebels in-
conuenience
to the
ſubſequent
deare.

A miſchiefe
of inhaſing
the price of
things.

hame and confusion.

Experience teacheth vs, that after a great dearth cometh a great death; for that when men in great want of meat eat much ill meat, they fill their bodies with ill humors, and cast them from their state of health, into a subjection of sicknesse: because the good blood in the bodie is not able to keepe his temper, for the multitude of the ill humors that corrupteth the same. And so grow great & deadlie plagues, and destroye great numbers of all sorts, sparing no kind that they light on, neither respecting the poore with mercie, nor the rich with fauour. Can ye therefore thinke herein, when ye see decaying of vittels, the rich pinch, the poore famish, the following of diseases, the greatnesse of death, the mourning of widowes, the pitifulnesse of the fatherlesse, and all this miserie to come thorough your vnnatural misbehaviour, that ye haue not dangerously hurt the commons of your countrey with a dolefull and incurable wound? These things being once felt in the common-wealth, as they must needs be, euery man seeth by and by what followeth: euen a great diminishment of the strength of the realme, when the due number that the realme doth mainteine is made lesse, and thereby we be made rather a prey for our enemies, than a safetie for our selues.

And how can there be but a great decaye of people at the length, when some be ouerthrowne in warre, some suffer for punishment, some pine for famine, some die with the campes diet, some be consumed with sicknesse? For although ye thinke your selues able to match with a few vnprepared gentlemen, and put them from their houses, that ye might gaine the spoile: do ye iudge therefore your selues strong enough, not onlie to withstand a kings power, but also to ouerthrow it? Is it possible that ye should haue so mad a frensie in your head, that ye should thinke the number ye see so strong, that all ye see not should not be able to preuaile to the contrary? With what reason could ye thinke, that if ye bode the hot brunt of battell, but ye must needs seele the smart, spectallie the kings power comming against you: which if ye feare not, belike ye know not the force thereof? And so much the greater number is lost in the realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommen be parties, although unlike, of one realme: and what losse is not onlie of either side, but of both, that doth plainlie redound to the whole.

When where so great and so horrible a fault is committed, as Wolfe can not be mentioned of from the beginning, and bringeth in withall such penurie, such weaknes, such disorder in the common-wealth, as no mischiefe besides could do the like: can aite man thinke with iust reason, that all shall escape unpunished that shall escape the sword, and not manie for terrour and examples sake should be looked vnto, who haue bene either great doers in such a disordered bilanie, or great counsellors to such an outrageous mischiefe; seeing the onlie remedie of redressing wilfull faults is a iust and seuerer punishment of such, whose naughty deeds god men ought to abhorre for duties sake, and ill men maie dread for like punishments sake, and a free licence to do mischiefe vnpunished is so dangerous, that the sufferance of one is the occasion of the fall of a great number, and twemans pittie to one is a deceitfull crueltie to the whole, insinuating them to their owne destruction by sufferance, which would haue auoided the danger by force punishment.

And in such a barrennesse of vittels, as must needs come after so rauening a spoile, it must needs be, that some (though few) shall be so nipt with egeresse of famine, that they shall not recouer againe themselves out of so fretting a danger. So in a generall

weakenesse, where all shall be feebled, some must needs die, and so diminish the number, and abate such strength as the realme defended it selfe withall be- fore. Which occasion of neuer so few, comming of so great a cause, if ye should make iust amends for, not of recompens which ye could not, but of punishment which ye ought; how manie, how diuerse and how cruell deaths ought euery one of ye often to suffer? How manie came to the camps from long labour to sudden ease, and from meane fare to streng of vittels; and so fell in a maner vnwares to such a contrarie change, that nature hie selfe abiding neuer great and sudden changes, can not beare it without some grounds entered of diseases to come, which vncircumpect men shall sooner seele than thinke of, and then will scarcele iudge the cause, when they shall be vexed with the effect.

It is little maruell that idlenesse and meate of an other mans charge will some feed by & fat like men: but it is great maruell if idlenesse and other mens meate do not abate the same by sicknesse againe, and spectallie comming from the one, and going to the other: contrarie in those who violentlie seeke to turne in a moment the whole realme to the contrary. For while their mind changeth from obedience to vnrulinesse, and turneth it selfe from honestie to wildnesse, and their bodies go from labour to idlenesse, from small fare to spoile of vittels, and from beds in the night to cabins, and from sweet houses to stinking camps, it must needs be by changing of affections which alter the bodie, and by vsing of rest that filleth the bodie, and by glutting of meats which weakeneth the bodie, & with cold in the nights which accreteth the bodie, and with corrupt aire which infecteth the bodie, that there follow some grievous tempest not onlie of contagious sicknesse, but also of present death to the bodie.

The greatest plucke of all is, that behemencie of plague, which naturallie followeth the dint of hunger, which when it entereth once among men, what darts of pangs, what throlues of paines, what throlues of death doth it cast out? How manie fall, not assented with the sicknesse, but fretted with the paine? How beateth it downe not onlie small tolowes, but also great countries? This when ye see light first on your beasts which lacke fodder, and after fall on men whose bodies gape for it, and see the scarcenesse of men to be by this your soule enterprise, and not onlie other men touched with plagues, but also your owne house strong with death, and the plague also raised of your rising, to fire your selues: can ye thinke you to be aie other but mankillers of other, and murderers of your selues, and the principals of the ouerthrow of so great a number, as shall either by sword or punishment, famine, or some plague or pestilence be consumed and waisted out of the common-wealth?

And seeing he that decayeth the number of cottages or plowes in a towne, seemeth to be an enemy to the common-wealth: shall we not count him, not onlie an enemy, but also a murderer of his countrey, who by harebained vnrulinesse causeth bitter ruine and pestilent destruction of so manie thousand men? Grant this folke then and ouersight to be such as woorthilie ye maie count it, and I shall go further in declaring of other great inconueniences, which your dangerous and furious misbehaviour hath hurtfullie brought in; seeing diuerse honest and true dealing men, whose living is by their owne prouision, hath come so before hand by time, that they haue bene able well to liue honestlie in their houses, & paie beside the rents of the farmed trolie, and now haue by your crueltie and abhorred insurrections lost their goods, their cattell, their houses.

Rebels punishable with meane deaths.

Idlenesse and meate of other mens charge.

The force of pestilence following famine.

The plague & pestilence occasioned by rebellion.

Rebels enemies a mankillers of their countrey.

Further mischieues of vnrulinesse arising from rebellion.

ness, which they had gotten before, and wherewith they intended to live hereafter, & now be brought to this extremitie, that they be neither able to live, as they were wont at home before; nor to paie their accustomed rent at their due time. Whereby they be brought into trouble and unquietnesse, not onlie musing what they have lost by you, but also cursing you by whome they have lost it, and also in danger of losing their holds at their lords hands, except by pitie they shew more mercie, than the right of the law will grant by iustice.

The fruits of honest mens travels long in gathering, quicklie spoiled by rebellion.

And what a grieve is it to an honest man, to labour fruitie in youth, and to gaine painefullie by labour, wherewith to live honestlie in age, and to have this, gotten in long time, to be suddenlie caught awaie by the violence of sedition, which name he ought to abhorre by it selfe, although no miserie of losse followed to him thereby. But what greater grieve ought seditious rebels to have themselves, who if they be not stricken with punishment, yet ought to pine in conscience, and melt awaie with the grieve of their owne faults, when they see innocents and men of true service hindered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, & who in a good commonwealth should for honesties sake prosper, they by these rebels onlie meane be cast so behind the hand, as they cannot recover easilie againe by their owne truth, that which they have lost by those traitors mischiefes? And if unskill men ought not so to be handled at anie mans hands, but onelie stand to the order of a law: how much more should true and faithfull subjects, who deserve praise, feele no unquietnesse, nor be vexed with sedition, who be obedientlie in subjection, but rather seeke iust amends at false rebels hands, and by law obtaine that they lost by disorder, and so constrain you to the uttermost, to paie the recompense of wrongfull losses, because ye were the authors of these wrongfull spoiles.

An argument from equitye & by right dealing censure with the unskill.

Then would ye some perceive the commonwealths hurt, not when other felt it who deserved it not, but when you smarted who caused it, and stood not & looked upon other mens losses which ye might pitie, but tormented with your owne which ye would lament. Now I am past this mischief, which ye will not hereafter denie, when ye shall praise other mens foresight, rather than your wicked doings, in be waiting the end of your furie, in whose beginning ye now reioise. What saie ye to the number of vagabonds and loitering beggers, which after the overthrow of your campe, and scattering of this seditious number, will swarme in euery corner of the realme, and not onelie lie loitering vnder hedges, but also stand Cardie in cities, and beg boldie at euery doore, leauing labour which they like not, and following idlenesse which they should not? For euery man is easilie and naturallie brought from labour to ease, from the better to the worse, from diligence to slothfulness: and after warres it is commonlie scene, that a great number of those which went out honest, returne home againe like roisters, and as though they were burnt to the wars bottome, they haue all their life after an vnfauourie smeeke thereof, & smell still toward daiesleepers, pursepickers, highwaie robbers, quarrellmakers, bea and bloudshedders too.

As what shifts soldiers fall after discomfiting and ceasing from warres.

Do we not see commonlie in the end of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering than before, and those to stand in the high waie to aske their almes, whome ye be affraid to saie naie vnto honestlie, least they take it awaie from you violentlie, and haue more cause to suspect their strength, than pitie their need? Is it not then daile heard, how men be not onelie pursued, but bitterlie spoiled, & few mate ride safe by the kings highwaie, except they ride strong, not so much for feare of their goods, which

men esteeme lesse, but also for danger of their life, which euery man loueth. Wholpe is vndone at home and loiterers linger in streets, lurke in alehouses range in highwaies, valiant beggers plate in towns and yet complaine of need, whose staffe if it be once hot in their hand, or sluggishnesse byed in theirosome, they will neuer be allured to labour againe, contenting themselves better with idle beggerie, than with honest and profitable labour. And what more noisome beasts be there in a commonwealth? Whences in hies sucke out the honie, a small matter, but yet to be looked on by good husbands. Caterpillers destroy the fruit, an hurtfull thing, and well shifted for by a diligent ouerser. Diuerse bermeine destroy corne, kill pulleins, engines and snares be made for them.

But what is a loiterer? A sucker of honie, a spoiler of corne, a stroier of fruit, a waster of monie, a spoiler of vittels, a sucker of bloud, a breaker of orders, a seeker of breaches, a queller of life, a basilisk of the commonwealth, which by companie and light doth poison the whole cuntry, and straineth honest minds with the infection of his vice, and so draweth the commonwealth to death and destruction. Such is the fruits of your labour and trauell for your pretended commonwealth, which iustice would no man should taste of but your felices, that ye might trulie iudge of your owne mischefe, and fraie other by example from presuming the like. When we see a great number of flies in a yeare, we naturallie iudge it like to be a great plague, and hauing so great a swarming of loitering vagabonds, ready to beg and biall at euery mans doore, which declare a greater infection, can we not looke for a greener and perillous danger than the plague is? Who can therefore other wise deeme, but this one deadlie hurt, wherewith the commonwealth of our nation is wounded, beside all other is so pestilent, that there can be no more hurtfull thing in a well gouerned estate, nor more throwne into all kind of vice and unrulinesse: and therefore this your sedition is not onelie most odious, but also most horrible, that hath spotted the whole cuntry with such a staine of idlenesse.

There can be none end of faults, if a man rehearse all faults that do necessarilie follow this unrulie sturdinesse. For not onelie vagabonds wandering and scattering themselves for mischefe, shall run in a mans eyes, but also disorder of euery degree shall enter into a mans mind, and shall be hold hereby the commonwealth miserable defaced by you, who should as much as other haue kept your felices in order in it. Neither be the magistrats onlie obeyed, nor the lawes iustlie feared, nor degrees of men considered, nor masters well serued, nor parents trulie reuerenced, nor lords remembered of their tenants, nor yet either naturall or ciuill law much regarded. And it is plainlie vnpossible that that cuntry shall well stand in gouernement, and the people growe to wealth, where order in euery state is not trulie observed: and that bodie cannot be without much greafe of inflammation, where anie left part is out of ioint, or not duellie set in his owne naturall place.

Wherefore order must be kept in the commonwealth like health in the bodie, and all the dist of policie loketh to this end, how this temper may be safely maintained, without anie excess of vnrulie surableness, either of the one side, or of the other. And easie enough it is to keepe the same, when it is once brought into the meane, and to hold it in the state it is found in: but when it bursteth out once with a vehemencie, and hath gotten into an unrulie disorder, it spreadeth so fast, and ouershelueth all honest mens resisting so violentlie, that it will be hard to recouer the breach of long time againe, except with great

Aggravation
ring in
that can
beare
labour.

The light
manie
a yeare
natural
plague
of a
plague
follows.

Disorder
caused by
the
billion.

Magistrats
disobeyed,
neglect of
duty in
gouernment
by rebellion.

Disorder
in
order in
estate
commonwealth
the hurt of
disorder.

Argument
made from
the text.

Argument
made from
the text.

Argument
made from
the text.

Argument
made from
the text.

Argument
made from
the text.

Argument
made from
the text.

Argument
made from
the text.

great and wise counsell, which no doubt shall be in
season used, there be wonderfull remedies sought
therefore. And even as a man falling, is easier hol-
den by by state, than when he is fallen downe he is
able to rise againe: so is the commonwealth slipping,
by the foresight of wisdome better kept from ruine;
than when it is once fallen into anie kind of miserie,
the same may be called againe to the old and former
state. Doe we not euidentlie know, that a man may
better keepe his arme or his leg from breaking or
falling out of joint, afore hurt come to it; than after
the hurt it may safelie and quietlie be healed, and re-
stored to the former strength and health againe? And
now through your sceditious means, things that were
afore quiet and in good order, laies feared and obied,
subiects ruled and kept in dutie, be all now in a great
disorder, and like (if it be not holpen) to grow to wild-
nesse, and a beaflinesse; seeing that neither common
dutie can be kept, which nature prescribeth, nor com-
mon law can be regarded, which policie requirerth.
How can ye keepe your owne if ye keepe no order?
Your wiues and children, how can they be defended
from other mens violence, if ye will in other things
breake all order? By what reason would ye be obedi-
ent of yours as seruants, if ye will not obieie the king
as subiects? How would ye haue others deale or-
derlie with you, if ye will be disorder against all
others? Seeing then there is such a confusion now of
things, such a turmoile of men, such a disorder of fa-
shions; who can loke to liue quietlie a great while,
who can thinke but that ye haue miserable tossed
the commonwealth, and so vered all men with disor-
der, that the inconuenience hereof cannot onelie nip
others, but also touch you?

But now see how that not onelie these entoked
for mischeces haue heauilie growne on ye, but also
those commodities, which ye thought to haue holpen
your selues and others by, be not onelie hindered, but
also hurt thereby. The kings maiestie by the aduise,
as intended a iust reformation of all such things as
pore men could trulle shew themselves oppressed
with, thinking equalitie of iustice to be the diademe
of his kingdome, and the safegard of his commons.
Which was not onelie intended by wisdome, but
also set on with speed, and so entered into a due con-
sidering of all states, that none should haue iust cause
to grudge against the other, when as euerie thing
rightfullie had, nothing could be but brightfullie
gruoged at. And this would haue bene done, not
onelie with your glad and willing assent: but also
bene done by this date almost throughout the whole
realme: so that quietlie it had bene obtained with-
out inconuenience, and speedilie without delai. And
whatsoener had bene done by the kings maiesties
authoritie, that would by right haue remained for e-
uer, and so taken in law, that the contrarie partie
neither could by iustice, neither would by boldnesse
haue enterprised the breach thereof.

But least wicked men should be wealtie, and
they whose hearts be not truelie bent to obedience,
should obtaine at the kings hands that they deser-
ued not in a commonwealth, ye haue maruellouslie
and worthilie hurt your selues, and greuouslie pro-
uoked (except the kings goodnesse be more vnto you
than your owne deserts can claime) that ye be not
so much worthie as to be benefitted in anie kind, as
ye be worthie to lose that ye haue on euerie side. Ye
haue thought god to be your owne reformers belike,
not onelie vnnaturalie mistrusting the kings ius-
tice, but also cruellie and vnciuillie dealing with
your owne neighbours. Wherein I would as ye
haue hurt the whole realme, so ye had not enterprised
a thing most dangerous to your selues, & most con-
trarie to the thing ye intended. If ye had let things

alone, thought god by your selues to be redressed,
and dutifullie looked for the performance of that, the
kings maiestie promising reformation, they should
not haue bene vndone at this time, as in a great
sort of honest places they be; nor whole countries, who
for their quietnesse be most worthie to be looked on,
should haue bene vnprouided for at this date. But
this commoditie hath happened by the waie, that it
is euidentlie knolone by your mischace, and others
dutie, who be most true to the king, and most worthie
to be done for, and who be most pernicious and tra-
itorous rebels. And it is not to be doubted, but they
shall be considered with thanks, and find iust redresse
without deserued miserie, & you punished like rebels,
who might haue had both praise & profit like subiects.

For that as ye haue valiantlie done of your
selues, thinke ye it will stand anie longer, than men
feare your rage, which cannot indure long; and that
ye shall not then bide the rigor of the law for your
prouat inturtes, as ye used the furie of your braines
in other mens oppessions: Will men suffer wrong
at your hands, when law can redresse it, & the right of
the commonwealth will mainteine it, and god order
in countries will beare it? Ye amend faults as ill
surgeons heale sores, which when they seme to be
whole about, they rankle at the bottome, and so be
faine continuallie to be soze, or else be mended by
new breaking of the skin. Your redresse seemeth to
you perfect and good, ye haue pulled downe such
things as ye would, ye thinke now all is well: ye
consider no further, ye seeke not the bottome, ye see
not the soze, that ye haue done it by no law, ye haue
redressed it by no order, what then? If it be no other-
wise searched than by you, it will not tarie long for
either it will be after continuallie as it was afore
your coming, or else it must be (when all is done) a-
mended by the king.

Thus haue ye both lacked in the time, and mist
in the doing, and yet besides that ye haue done, which
is by your doing to no purpose. Ye haue done the
things with such inconueniences, as hath bene both
before rehearsed, and shall be after declared; that bet-
ter it had bene for you, neuer to haue entioied the
commoditie, if there be anie; than to suffer the greets
that will insue, which be verie manie. In euerie
quarter some men (whom ye set by) will be lost, which
euerie one of you (if ye haue loue in ye) would rather
haue lacked the profit of your inclosures, than cause
such destruction of them, as is like by reason & iudge-
ment necessarilie to follow. What commonwealth
is it then, to do such abhominable enterprises after
so vile a sort, that ye hinder that god ye would do,
and bring in that hurt ye would not, and so find that
ye seeke not, and follow that ye lose, and destroye
your selues by follie; rather than ye would be orde-
red by reason, and so haue not so much amended your
old sores, as brought in new plagues, which ye your
selues that deserue them will lament, and we which
haue not deserued them may curse you for? For al-
though the kings maiestie, as intended for your pro-
fit a reformation in his commonwealth: yet his
pleasure was not, nor no reason gaue it, that euerie
subiect should busilie intermeddle with it of their
owne head, but onelie those whome his counsell
thought most meet men for such an honest purpose.

The kings maiestie, as hath godlie reformed an
vncleane part of religion, and hath brought it to the
true forme of the first church that followed Christ,
thinking that to be truest, not what later mens fan-
ties haue of themselves deuised, but what the apo-
stles and their felowes had at Christes hand receiued,
and willet the same to be knowne and set abroad to
all his people. Shall euerie man now that listeth and
fantiseth the same, take in hand vncalled, to be a re-
former,

The benefit
of rebellion in
one respect.

Reformation
intended by
rebels, like
sores cured by
ill surgeons.

Grates insur-
ring to the re-
bels upon this
rebellion.

Reformation
ought to be
no priuat
mans but the
princes action

what things
in a well and
iustitie done
matter ought
well to be
weighed.

nister, and to set forth the same, hauing no authori-
tie: I saie, though the thing were verie goodlie that
were done, yet the person must needs do ill that en-
terpriseth it, because he doth a good thing after an ill
foit, and looketh but on a little part of dutie, confide-
ring the thing, and leaueth a great part vnaduised,
not considering the person: when as in a well and
iustlie done matter, not onelie these two things
ought well to be weighed, but also good occasion of
time, and reasonable cause of the doing, ought also
much to be set before euerie doers eyes. Now in this
your deed, the manner is vngoodlie, the thing vnusuf-
ferable, the cause wicked, the person seditious, the
time traitorous: and can ye possible by anie honest
defense of reason, or anie good conscience religious-
lie grounded, denie that this malicious and horrible
fault, so wickedlie set on, is not onelie sinfull afore
God, and traitorous to the king, but also deadly and
pestilent to the whole common-wealth of our coun-
trie, and so not onelie ouerfloweth vs with the mi-
serie, but also ouerwhelmeth you with the rage
thereof?

The poke
that rebels
willfullie
bring upon
themselves.

Yet further see and ye be not wearie with the
multitude of miseries, which ye haue maruellouslie
moued, what a poke ye willfullie do bring on your
selues, in stirring by this detestable sedition, and so
bring your selues into a further slaerie, if ye vse
your selues into a further slaerie, if ye vse your
selues often thus inobedientlie. When common or-
der of the law can take no place in vnrulie and dis-
obedient subiects, and all men will of willfulnesse re-
sist with rage, and thinke their owne violence to be
the best iustice; then be wise magistrats compelled
by necessitie to seeke an extreamie remedie, where
meane waies helpe not, and bring in the martiall
law where none other law serueth. Then must ye be
contented to bide punishment without processe, con-
demnation without witnesse, suspicion is then ta-
ken for iudgement, and displeasure may be iust cause
of your execution, and so without fauor ye find stric-
tnesse, which without rule seeke violence. Ye thinke it
a hard law and vsufferable. It is so indeed, but yet
god for a medicine.

Desperat re-
medies for
desperat dis-
eases.

Rebels wor-
thie to suffer
extremite of
punishment.

The greatest
shame that can
come to a com-
mon-wealth.

Desperate sicknesses in physicke must haue despe-
rate remedies, for meane medicines will neuer
helpe great griefes. So if ye cast your selues into
such sharpe diseases, ye must needs loke for sharpe
medicines againe at your physicians hands. And
worthie ye be to suffer the extremite in a common-
wealth, which seeke to do the extremite, and by rea-
son must receiue the like ye offer, and so be conten-
ted to bide the end willinglie which set on the begin-
ning willfullie. For no greater shame can come to a
common-wealth, than that those subiects which should
be obedient euen without a law, can not be conten-
ted to be ordered by the law, and by no means kept
within their dutie, which should euerie waie offend
rather than in their dutie. It is a token that the sub-
iects lacke reason, when they forsake law, and thinke
either by their multitude to find pardon, which can
not iustlie stretch to all, or else by strength to beare
the stroke, which cannot prosper against a king.

They must needs little consider themselves, who
bring in this necessitie, rather to stand to the pleasure
of a mans will, than to abide the reason of the law;
and to be indangered more when an other man li-
ueth, than when himselfe offendeth. And this must
necessarilie folow if your rebellion thus continue:
and while ye seeke to throw downe the poke, which ye
sanke your selues burdened withall, ye bring your
selues in a greater bondage, leauing safetie and fol-
lowing danger, and putting your selues vnder the
iustice of them whose fauour ye might easilie haue
kept, if ye would willinglie and dutifullie haue ser-

ued. Now the gentlemen be more in trust, because
the commons be vnrulie, and they get by seruice,
which ye lose by stubbornnesse, and therefore must
needs, if ye thus continue, haue more authoritie from
the king: because ye would be in lesse subiection to
the king, and that as ye will not do of your selues,
ye must be compelled to do by others, and that ye re-
fuse to do willinglie, thinke ye must be compaine to
do the same constrainedlie. Which when it cometh
to passe, as wisdometh saith in your faults that it
must needs, what gaine ye then, or what profit can a-
rise to you by rising, which might haue found ease in
sitting still? And what shall ye be at length the bet-
ter for this turmoile, which beside diuerse other in-
commodities rehearsed, shall be thus clogged with
the vsufferable burden of the martiall law.

Yet there is one thing behind, which me thinke
your selues should not forget, seeing that ye haue gi-
uen the cause, ye should double looke for the effect. Ye
haue spoiled, imprisoned, and threatened gentlemen
to death, and that with such hatred of mind, as may
not well be borne. The cause therof I speake not on,
which tried, will happilie be not so great: but for the
thing, set further aside, it is the heinouest fault to a
princat man. What could more spitefullie haue bene
done against them, than ye haue used with crueltie:
Can this do anie other but breed in their stomachs
great grudge of displeasure toward you, and ingen-
der such an hatred, as the weaker and the sufferer
must needs beate the smart thereof.

The kings best kind of government is so to rule
his subiects, as a father ordereth his children, and best
life of obedient subiects is one to behaue himselfe to
an other, as though they were brethren vnder the
king their father. For loue is not the knot onelie of
the common-wealth, whereby diuerse parts be per-
fectlie ioined together in one politike bodie, but also
the strength and might of the same, gathering to-
gether into a small come with order, which scattered
would else breed confusion and debate. Dissention
we see in small houses, and thereby may take exam-
ple to great common-wealths, how it not onelie de-
caieeth them from wealth, but also abateth them from
strength. Thinke small examples to take place in
great matters, and the like though not so great to
follow in them both, and there by learne to iudge of
great things vnknotome, by small things perceived.
When brethren agree not in a house, goeth not the
weakest to the walles; and with whom the father ta-
keth part withall, is not he likeliest to preuaile? Is it
not wisdometh for the younger brother, after the good
will of the parents, to seeke his eldest brothers fa-
uour, who vnder them is most able to do for him? So
seeke them both with honestie is wisdometh, to lose
them both by fullennesse is madnesse.

Haue there not bene daily benefits from the gen-
tlemen to you, in some more, and in some lesse, but
in none considered, which they haue more friendlie
offered, than you haue gentlie required? This must
ye lose, when ye will not be thankfull, and learne to
gaine new god will by desert, when ye forsake the
old friendship vnprooked. And ye must thinke that
living in a common-wealth together, one kind hath
need of an other: and yet a great sort of you more
need of one gentleman, than one gentleman of a
great sort of you. And though all be parts of one com-
mon-wealth, yet all be not like worthie parts, but
all being vnder obedience, some kind in more subie-
ction one waie, and some kind in more seruice an-
ther waie. And seeing ye be lesse able by monie and
liberalitie to deserue god will than others be, and
your onelie kind of desert is to shew god will, which
honest men do well accept as much worth as mo-
nie, haue ye not much hindered & hurt your selues
herein,

See the
burden of
the commons
vnder the
king.

See the
burden of
the commons
vnder the
king.

See the
burden of
the commons
vnder the
king.

See the
burden of
the commons
vnder the
king.

See the
burden of
the commons
vnder the
king.

See the
burden of
the commons
vnder the
king.

See the
burden of
the commons
vnder the
king.

herein, losing that one kind of humanitie which ye have onelic left, and turning it into crueltie, which ye ought most to abhor, not onelic because it is wicked of it selfe, but also most noisome to you.

I can therefore for my part thinke no lesse herein, if ye follow your stiffenesse still, & must needs iudge that ye have wilfullie brought on your selues such plagues, as the like could not have fallen on you, but by your selues. Seeing then thus manie waies ye have hurt the common-wealth of this whole countrie within, by destruction of thires, losing of harvest, wasting of vittells, decaying of manhood, undoing of farmers, increasing of vagabonds, mainteining of disorders, binding of rebellles, bringing in of martiall law, and breeding continuall hatred among diverse states: what thinke ye, I praie you: Judge ye not that ye have committed an odious and detestable crime against the whole common-wealth, whose fartherance ye ought to have tendered by dutie, and not to have sought the hurt thereof with your owne damage?

Besides all these inward griefes, which everie one severallie must needs feele with miserie, there happeneth so manie outward mischances among strangers to us with disdain; that if there were nothing ill within the realme which we should feele, yet the shame which both touch us from other countries, should not onelic move, but also compell you hartlie to forthink this your rebellious sedition. For what shall strangers thinke, when they shall heare of the great disorder which is in this realme with such confusion, that no order of law can keepe you vnder, but must be faine to be beaten downe with a kings power: Shall they not first thinke the kings maiestie, in whose mind God hath powred so much hope for a child, as we may looke for gifts in a man; either for his age to be little set by, or for lacke of qualitties not to be regarded, or for default of love to be resisted, and no notable grace of God in him considered, nor the worthinesse of his office looked upon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred?

Shall they not next suppose, small estimation to be given to the rulers, to whom under the king we owe due obedience, that can not in iust and lawfull matters be heard, nor men to have that right iudgement of their wisdoms, as their iustice in rule, and foresight in counsell requirith: but rather prefer their owne fantasies before others experience, and deeme their owne reason to be common-wealth, and other mens wisdoms to be but dreaming: Shall they not truly saie the subjects to be more unfaithfull in disobedience, than other subjects were ordered be; and licence of libertie to make wild heads without order, and that they neither have reason that understand not the mischief of sedition, nor dutie which followeth their beastlinesse, nor love in them which so little remember the common-wealth, nor naturall affection which will dailie seeke their owne destruction?

Thus the whole countrie lacking the good opinion of other nations, is cast into great shame by your unruleinesse, and the proceedings of the countrie, be they neuer so goodlie, shall be ill spoken of, as unfit to be brought into use; and good things hereby that deserve praise, shall bide the rebuke of them that list to speake ill, and ill things untouched shall be boldlie mainteined. Nothing may with praise be redressed, where things be measured by changeable disorder, rather than by necessarie use; and that is thought most politike, that men will be best contented to doe, and not that which men should be brought unto by dutie. And with what dutie or vertue in ye, can ye quench out of memorie this foule enterprise, or gather a good report againe to this realme, who have so onelic with reppoynt flandered the same, and

diverslie discredited it among others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iust government and ruled order used heretofore in this noble realme, which is now most grievous, because it is now most without cause.

If this outward opinion (without further inconvenience) were all, yet it might well be borne, and would with ease decaye as it grew: but it hath not onelic hurt us with voice, but endangered us in deed, and cast us a great deale behind the hand, where else we might have had a iollie foretaste. For that opportunitie of time which seldome chancess, and is alwaies to be taken, hath bene by your steward meanes lost this yeare, and so vainlie spent at home for bringing downe of you, which should else profitable have bene otherwise bestowed, that it hath bene almost as great a losse to us abroad, to lacke that we might have obtained, as it was combrance at home, to go about the overthrow of you, whose sedition is to be abhorred. And we might both conveniently have invaded some, if they would not reasonably have growne to some kind of friendship, and also defended others which would beside promise for times sake unskillie set upon us, and casilie have made this stormie time a faire yeare unto us, if our men had bene so happy at home, as our likelihood abroad was fortunat.

But what is it I praie you either to let slip such an occasion by negligence, or to stop it by stubbornnesse, which once past awaite, can be by no means recovered; no not though with diligence ye go about to reinforce the same againe: If ye would with wickednes have forsaken your faith to your naturall countrie, and have sought craftie means to have utterly betrayed it to our common enemies: could ye have had anie other speedier waie than this is, both to make our strength weake, and their weakenesse strong: If ye would have sought to have spited your countrie, and to have pleased your enemy, and followed their counsell for our hinderance: could ye have had devised of them anie thing more shameful for us, and ioisfull to them: If they which lie like spials, and hearken after likelihoods of things to come, because they declare opportunitie of times to the enemy, are to be iudged common enemies of the countrie: what shall we reasonable thinke of you, who doe not secretlie betraye the counsels of other, but openlie betraye the common-wealth with your owne deedes, and have as much as lieth in you, sought the overthrow of it at home: which if ye had obtained at Gods hand, as ye neuer alloweth so horrible an enterprise, how could ye have defended it from the overthrow of others abroad?

For is your understanding of things so small, that although ye see your selues not unfit to get the upper hand of a few gentlemen, that ye be able to beat downe afore the kings power: ye and by chance ye were able to doe that, would ye iudge your selues by strength mightie enough, to resist the power of outward nations, that for praise sake would invade ye: I praie, thinke trulie with your selues, that if ye doe overcome, ye be unsure both by strength abroad, and displeasure of honest men at home, and by the punishment of God above. And now ye have not yet gotten in deed, that your vaine hope looketh for by fantasie: thinke how certainlie ye have wounded the common-wealth with a sore stroke, in procuring our enemies by our weakenesse to seeke victorie, and by our outward miserie to seeke outward glorie with inward dishonor. Which howsoever they get, thinke it to be long of you, who have offered them victorie before they began warre: because ye would declare to men hereafter (belike) how dangerous it is to make stirres at home, when they do not onelic make our

Further outward hurt becometh voice in genders of rebellions.

He meaneth the Scots & French which whom we have had since since income because.

Note in a few words of force the dangerous quality of rebellion.

A reason drawn from the little to the greater.

Rebellion may bech passage to foreign invasion, & so cause us to be overreign.

Rebellion am-
mended the
papists, & each
one believeth that
is offended at
true religion.

selues weake, but also our enemies strong.

Beside these, there is another sort of men de-
rions of advantage, and disdainfull of our wealth,
whose greife is most our greatest hap, and be offen-
ded with religion, because they be drowned in super-
stition, men sealed toward God, but not fit to iudge,
meaning better without knowledge, than they
iudge by their meaning, whether whole ignorance
should be taken awaie, than their will should be fol-
lowed; whom we should more rebuke for their stub-
bornesse, than despise for their ignorance. These seeing
superstition beaten downe, and religion set up, Gods
word taking place, traditions kept in their kind, dif-
ference made betwene Gods commandements and
mans learning, the truth of things sought out accord-
ing to Christs institution, examples taken of the
primitive churches use, not at the bishop of Romes
ordnance, and true worship taught, and wil-worship
refused, do by blindness rebuke that as by truth
they should follow, and by affection follow that as by
knowledge they should abhorre, thinking vantage to
be truth, and scripture to be error, not weigeng by the
word, but misconstruing by custome.

Religion bea-
reth the blame
and is counted
the cause of
rebellion, but
amisse.

And now things be changed to the better, and re-
ligion trulier appointed, they see matters go awrye,
which hurteth the whole realme, and they reioice in
this mischance as a thing worthe happened, mista-
king the cause, and slandering religion, as though
there were no cause whye God might haue punished,
if their vied profession might still haue taken place.
They see not that where Gods glorie is truest set
forth, there the diuell is most busie for his part, and
laboureth to corrupt by lewdnesse, that as is gotten
out by the truth, thinking that if it were not blemi-
shed at the first, the residue of his falsehood should af-
ter lesse peneale. So he troubleth by bivaies, that he
cannot plainlie withstand, and vseth subtiltie of so-
phistrie, where plaine reason faileth, and persuadeth
simple men that to be a cause, which in deed can not
be tried and taken for a cause. So he causeth religi-
on which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cause of
sedition; the doctrine of loue, the seed of dissention;
mistaking the thing, but persuading mens minds,
and abusing the plaine meaning of the honest to a
twicked end of religions ouerthrow.

The diuells
sophistrie.

Examples.

The Jewes
ascribethe their
miserie to a
false cause.

The heathens
fond opinion
of gods fauor-
ing their cru-
eltie against
christians.

The husbandman had not so some throtone sed
in his ground, but sleppeth by the enimie, and hee
soweth cockle too, and maketh men doubt whether the
good husb and had done well or no, and whether he had
sowne there god sed or bad. The fassfull Jewes in
Egypt would not beleue Jeremie, but thought their
plague and their miserie to come by his means; and
leaving of idolatrie to be the cause of penurie, wher-
fore by willfull aduise they intended to forsake the
prophets counsell, and thought to serue God most
trulie by their rooted & accustomed idolatrie. When
the christian men were persecuted in the primitive
church, & daillie suffered martyrdome for Christs pro-
fession, such faire season of weather was for three or
four peares together, that the heathen iudged there-
upon God to be delighted with their crueltie, and so
were persuaded that with the blood of the martyrs
they pleased God highlie. Such fantasies light now
in papists, and irreligious mens heads, and ioine
things by chance happening together, and conclude
the one to be the cause of the other, and then delight
in true worshippers hurt, because they iudge cur-
sedlie the god to be bad, and therefore reioice in the
punishment of the godlie. For they being fleshlie,
iudge by outward things, and perceiue not the in-
ward, for that they lacke the spirit and so iudge amis,
not vnderstanding God, what diuersitie he suffereth
to blind still the willfull, and how through all dangers
he saunth his chosen.

And thus haue ye giuen a large occasion to stub-
borne papists, both to iudge amisse, and also to reioice
in this wicked chance, contented with our mischance,
not liking our religion, and thinking God doth pur-
nise for this better change, and haue thereby an euill
opinion of Gods holie truth, confirmed in them by
no sure scripture, but by following of mischance,
which they ought to thinke to come for the pride and
stubbornesse of the people, who doth not accept
Gods glorie in god part, nor giue no due praise to
their Lord and maker. What should I saie more?
The hurt euerie waie, the dangers be so great, and
the perils so manie, which do daillie follow your dme-
lish enterprise, that the more I seeke in the matter, the
more I continuallie see to saie. And what words can
worthe declare this miserable beasliness of yours,
which haue intended to diuide the realme, and arme
the one part for the killing of the other? For euen as
concord is not onelie the health, but also the strength
of the realme: so is sedition not onelie the weaknesse
but also the apostume of the realme, which when it
breaketh inwardlie, putteth the state in great dan-
ger of recouerie, and corrupteth the whole common-
wealth with the rotten surie that it hath bene long
putrified withall. For it is not in sedition as in other
faults, which being mischances of themselves, haue
some notable hurt alwaies fast adioined to them:
but in this one is there a whole hell of faults, not se-
uerallie scattered, but clustered on a lump together,
and comming on so thicke, that it is impossible for a
region armed with all kinds of wisdom, and
strength thereto, to auoid the dangers that issue out
thereof.

When sedition once breaketh out, see ye not the
lawes ouerthrowne, the magistrates despised, spol-
ling of houses, murdering of men, wasting of coun-
tries, increase of disorder, diminishing of the realms
strength, swarming of vagabonds, scarcitie of labo-
rers, and all those mischances plentiouslie brought in,
which God is wont to scourge scuerellie withall,
warre, dearth, and pestilence: And seeing ye haue
these & murder, plague & famine, confusion and vble-
nesse linked together, can ye loke for anie more mis-
chance in one shamefull enterprise, than ye euidentlie
see to grow herein? As for warre, although it be mi-
serable, yet the one part getteth somewhat, and restor-
eth in the spoile, and so goeth lustier awaie: and ei-
ther increaseth his countrie with riches, or inhan-
seth himselfe with glorie: but in sedition both parts
lose, the ouercommer cannot stie, the ouercommed
cannot spoile; the more the winner winneth, the
more he loseth; the more that escape, the more infam-
ous men liue; all that is gained is scarcelie sau-
ed; the winning is losse, the losse is destruction, both
wast themselves, and the whole most wasted; the
strengthening of themselves, the decaye of the coun-
trie; the striving for the victorie, is a pzeie to the eni-
mie: and thortlie to saie, the hellish turmole of sedi-
tion so farre passeth the common miserie of warre,
as to staie himselfe is more heinous, than to be
slaine of another.

A noble peace, that wealth bringeth thou in, both
do all things flourish in field and in towne, what for-
wardnesse of religion, what increase of learning,
what grauitie in counsell, what deuise of wit, what
order of maners, what obedience of lawes, what re-
uerence of states, what safeguard of houses, what qui-
etnesse of life, what honoz of countries, what friend-
ship of minds, what honestie of pleasure hast thou
alwaies maintained, whose happinesse we knew not,
while now we seele thy lacke, and shall learne by mi-
serie to vnderstand plentie, and so to auoid mischance
by the hurt that it bringeth, and learne to serue bet-
ter, where rebellion is once knownen; and so to liue
trulie,

The hurt of
sedition
is great.

Concord
is not
onely
the health
but also
the strength
of the
realme.

The mischance
springing
from
sedition.

Forer
warre
is better
than
sedition
at home.

The peace
is better
than
warre.

the rebels
against the
king's
authority
and
the
peace
of
the
kingdom

the state of a
kingdom
and
the
peace
of
the
kingdom

the king's
authority
and
the
peace
of
the
kingdom

the king's
authority
and
the
peace
of
the
kingdom

the king's
authority
and
the
peace
of
the
kingdom

trilie, and keepe the kings peace. What god state were ye in afore ye began, not picked with pouver-
tie, but sturred with mischief, to seeke your destruc-
tion, hauing waies to redresse all that was amisse?
Magistrats most readie to tender all iustice, and pi-
tiffull in hearing the poore mens causes, which fought
to amend matters moze than you can deuise, and
were readie to redresse them better than ye could
imagine: and yet for a headinesse ye could not be
contented; but in despite of God, who comman-
deth obedience, and in contempt of the king, whose
lawes doe seeke your wealth, and to ouerthrow the
countrie, which naturallie we should loue, ye would
proude rise, and doe ye wot not what, and amend
things by rebellion to your utter bndwing. What
state leaue ye vs in now, besieged with enimies,
divided at home, made poze with spoile and losse of
our haruett, vnordered and cast downe with slaugh-
ter and hatred, hindered from amendments by
our owne stultichy hast, endangered with sickenesse
by reason of misorder, laid open to mens pleasures
for breaking of the lawes, and scabbed to such faint-
nesse that scarcelie it will be couered.

Therefore for Gods sake haue pittie on your
selues, consider how miserable ye haue spoiled, de-
stroied, and wasted vs all: and if for desperatnesse
ye care not for your selues, yet remember your
louies, your children, your countrie, and for sake this
rebellion. With humble submission acknowledge
your faults, and tarie not the extremitie of the kings
sword, leaue off with repentance, and turne to your
duties, aske God forgiveness, submit ye to your
king, be contented for a common-wealth one or
two to die. And ye captains for the residue sacri-
fice your selues, ye shall so best attaine the kings
gracious pardon, saue the assemblie, and helpe the
common-wealth, & to declare your doings to proceed
of no stubbornesse; but all this mischief to grow out
of ignorance, which seeing the miserie, would redresse
the fault, & to recouer best the blot of your disorder,
and staie the great miseries which be like to follow.
Thus if ye doe not, thinke trulie with your selues,
that God is angrie with you for your rebellion, the
kings sword dialone to defend his countrie, the crye
of the poze to God against ye, the readinesse of the
honest in armor to vanquish ye, your death to be at
hand, which ye cannot escape, hauing God against
ye, as he promisseth in his word, the kings power to
ouerthrow ye, gathered in the field, the common-
wealth to beate ye downe with stripes and with curs-
es, the shame of your mischief to blemish ye for
euer.

Thus far this necessarie treatise touching rebel-
lion, penned by sir John Cheeke, a gentleman e-
uerie waie in complet sort satisfieng the report
blazed abroad of him. For if there were no more
testimonies extant in the world, but this onelie trea-
tise discoursing Betes rebellion; it were enough to
warrant no lesse true, than in common speech and
writing is less witnessed of him. And suerlie it ap-
peareth, that as in this gentleman there was an ex-
traordinarie heape of laudable gifts; so was there al-
so in him the right vse of them all. Whereby he grew
in such fauor with king Henrie the eight, that partlie
for his absolute knowledge in tongues, speciallie the
Greke and Latine, and also for his integritie of life
and religion; he was chosen scholemaister to yong
prince Edward, to traينه him vp in the right vn-
derstanding, both of forren languages, & the purenes
of Gods seruice. Insomuch that by his industrie such
effects followed (God aboue prospering his actions)
that the yong prince, when he came to the kingdome
was minfull of him, and among other (I will not
saie gratuities, where cause of desert maketh chal-

lunge of some recompense) tokens of benenolence,
aduanced him to the dignitie of knight-hood; as here-
after in due place maie appeare. Of this worthie
man, whose praise though neuer so excessive (if meet
for a man) is equivalent vnto his merits, Iohn Le-
land, vpon presenting vnto him a booke, taketh oc-
casion to write this epigram, compiling in summe
no lesse than is here vnder in English remembred:

Si vis Thestiadum choro probari,
Fac ut consilio libelle nostro
Facundo studeas placere Checo,
Quem Pandionia colunt Athenae,
Et quem Roma colit diserta multum,
Quem rex maximus omnium supremisque
Hemicus reputans virum probatum,
Spectatumque satis, reconditaque
Censorem solidum eruditionis,
Edwardum bene filium suumque
Heredem puerum, illi ad alia natum,
Sic concedidit, utriusque lingue
Flores ut legeret venustiores,
Exercens facili manum labore,
Et Christi imbiberet suauis nectar.
Felicem arbitror hunc diem fuisse,
Tanto discipulo dedit magistrum
Qui talem, &c.]

Ad libellum, ut
Iohanni Checo
Cvntiano place-
re iudicet.

During the time of these commotions and sturs
here within the realme, to the great danger of the
state; the French king hauing knowledge thereof,
ment not to omit the oportunitie offered, to recouer
out of the Englishmens hands those fostresses which
they held at Bullongne and in Bullongnois. Where-
vpon he gaue summons to the gentlemen and men
of armes, and others of his realme, to put them-
selues in order with all their furniture, that they
might be readie to attend him in his armie in Bul-
longnois by a daie appointed. And about the same
time, that is to saie, in the beginning of August;
the French king purposing to surpriue the Isles of
Cernele and Jersele, appointed certeine gallies
and ships of warre to passe thither; but being recet-
ued by the king of Englands nauie that laie there,
and other of the Island, they were beaten backe and
repelled, with the losse of a thousand men (as some
write) and so were constrained to retire without at-
taining their enterpriue.

The French
king purposed
to surpriue
Cernele and
Jersele, but
was repelled.

John Fox.

Credible word was brought out of France to the
lord protectoz, that into one towne in one vessell
were brought at the least thre score gentlemen to be
buried, & also an inhibition giuen out by the French
king, not to speake of the euill successe of that iour-
nie. In the meane time, the French king being
come downe vnto Abulle, departed from thence
the firste of August, and comming vnto Aue,
lodged there that night, and the next daie came to
Spontreull, where he found the constable and
monseigneur Daumalle. The next daie being the eigh-
teenth of August, he came to his armie lodged foure
leagues on this side Spontreull at a village called
Pencafell, nere to the Forrest of Ardele, vpon
the waie that leadeth to Bullongne. The same daie
were certeine pioneers sent to Pont de Bicque to
repare the byldge there, and to make the waies easie
for the artillerie to passe. The next daie the said king
with his armie passed by Bullongne berg, and cam-
ped that night on a little hill betwixt that Forrest and
the Forrest of Suren,

The French
king is alhar-
med that ame
report should
passe of his ca-
uill successe.

The French
king perseue-
reth in his
former pur-
pose, and mar-
tiall action.

In this place he caused trenches to be cast about
a plot of ground, after the maner of a fostresse, with-
in the which he left certeine bands of men of warre
to be a safegard vnto such as should passe to and
fro with vittels to furnish his campe. He staied not
there past a daie & a halfe, but remoued to Ardenton,
a mile

Charles
Sturton, and
George Wil-
loughbie.
*Les chroniques
de Aquitaine.*
The fort cal-
led Almaine
campe mount.

a mile or little more beyond Margussen; from thence he came with his armie, and lodged on a hill, some what more than a mile & a halfe from Hambleteuue. The french king hauing viewed the forts, caused five and twentie peeces of artillerie to be planted against that fort, which was built in a place called the Almaine campe, but the frenchmen named it *Le fort de Selapre*, distant from Hambleteuue about a quarter of a mile. The artillerie had not gone off little more than the space of two houres, but that Charles Sturton capitaine of that pece, and George Willoughbie a gentleman associat with him, came forth to parlee with the Conestable, offering to yeld the fort into his hands, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. But as they were thus in hand to make their composition, the frenchmen thrust forward to the rampiers, and entered in plumps into the fortresse, slue fourescore persons, & toke the rest prisoners. There might be in all within that pece two hundred and thirtie persons, men and women. This happened the foure and twentieth of August, being Bartholomew daie.

This done, the king caused part of the artillerie to be planted against the castell of Hambleteuue, situated at the one end of the towne nere to the sea side. Towards night monsieur de Gladosme gaue an approach to the said castell, and they within by commandement of the lord Greie retired to the maine fort to helpe to furnish the same, wanting numbers sufficient to defend it. The next daie being the five and twentieth of August, the king caused approaches to be made vnto the great fort, and the morrow after the batterrie began most furiously. The same daie after dinner, the king summoned them within to yeld; but the lord John Greie being generall (although he saw how weake the pece was of it selfe, & the lacke of sufficient numbers of men to resist such a puissant force, as the french king had there with him) would not yet hearken vnto anie talke, no: suffer the herald to come nere; for that he should not perceiue the weakenesse of the pece: and so he was commanded to get him thence with speed, or else they would cause him to be packing smallie to his case. The french king sore offended here with, that his herald was so discourteouslie used, caused the batterrie to be reinforced with great diligence, which dismounting their ordinance within, and beating downe their rampiers, made such breaches, that my lord John and the capitaine within perceiued they were not able by anie meanes to defend the place anie longer. Whereupon they offered to render the fort to the king vpon composition: which in the end fell out to be thus, that the souldiers should depart with their liues saued, and that their generall (for honor sake) should haue one horse to ride on in his cosset, without sword or dagger, and likewise two other capitaine with him: but as for the other souldiers, with the women and children, should depart on foot in their shirts, leauing all their goods and substance behind them. After it was agreed that the fort should be thus surrendered, there entered monsieur de Chatillon that was after admerall of France, and monsieur de Desse, latelie returned out of Scotland. The french souldiers entring by stealth into the fort by the breaches, committed foule disorders, not onelie in ransacking the houses, but also in spoiling the souldiers by force, intreating them in most rigorous manner.

The french
writers re-
port of their
owne coun-
triemens cru-
eltie and fa-
uagenesse.

The french writers confesse, that it was pitie to see the poore men and women so miserable handled and abused as they were by the outrageous souldiers that thus entered the fort, and sacked all that they could laie hands vpon. Monsieur de Desse saued a great number of women and yong maidens from

the cruell hands of their aduersaries, causing them to passe forth by the breach, and presented them to the king, who appointed that they should be conueied in safetie, with all that they had about them, till they had gotten out of danger. Monsieur de Chatillon, by the kings commandement, caused all the rest within the fort to come forth, who passing thre and thre in a range came before the king, who stood there to behold them, with the whole armie placed so in order on either side the waie as they should come, that they might passe betwixt their rankes, as it were through a lane. They that came forth in this fort might be (as the french writers record) about seven or eight hundred in all of men and women, wherof there were manie hurt and maimed; some with halfe a shirt on to couer them, and diuerse stark naked. The lord John Greie being mounted on a curtaille, passing by the french king, and saluting him, was courtesilie of him embraced.

The morrow after was the fort of Blacknesse or Blaconnesse rendered to the french king, with like conditions as they of Hambleteuue had rendered theirs. This was on the tuesday the seven and twentieth of August. The nine and twentieth of August sir Nicholas Arnault conueieng all the artillerie, munition, vittels, and goods out of Bullongne berg, caused fire to be set on that fort, and retired with all his souldiers and other people vnto Bullongne. Whereupon shortly after the frenchmen seized vpon the said place of Bullongne berg, & kept it. The french king leauing monsieur de Chatillon within Hambleteuue with the old hands of the french souldiers, returned towards Bullongne, & approaching within a mile and a halfe of the old man, meant to build there a fort on the sea side: but what through such sharpe skirmishes as the Englishmen continually were rebde to make with his men, and what through the abundance of raine which fell in that season, he was constrained to breake by his campe, and leauing strong garrisons both of horsemen and footmen in all those places, which he had in that season wone out of the Englishmens hands, he returned himselfe with the princes of his blood into France.

In this meane time whilst the french king was thus occupied, to vse the oportunitie of time in recovering of those fortresses in Bullongnois out of the Englishmens hands, the kings maiestie and his counsell were busie still in quieting his rebellious subiects here in England: and finally for meane of a full pacification, and to set all things in god frame and quiet rest, the king published his graces most generall and free pardon to all rebelles, so that they would forthwith (vpon publication of the same pardon) returne euerie man to his house and countrie; which they gladlie did: and so these seditious and most dangerous troubles were brought to end and pacified.

& Also in this busie time Marie Steward queene of Scots was conueied by sea out of Scotland into France, and there on the nineteenth daie of April 1549, was married in our ladie church in Paris (with great triumph and solemnitie) to Francis the Dolphin, eldest sonne vnto king Henrie the second of that name french king. This conueieng of the yong queene is reported by one to haue bene prouoked, at such time as the counsell of England were in some expectation and hope to obtaine hir. Neuertheless the subtilt aduise of the french, and the trecherous forwardnesse of the Scots, bitterlie disappointed the honest and honorable purpose of the English. Now when the yong queene and hir traine, with the gard of hir person (be they whome you will) were vnder saile, the English nauie was abroade, and lieng in wait to haue intercepted hir course,

The monie
that came
forth of Ham-
bleteuue.

Caused that
compelled the
french king
to breake by
his campe.

The kings
generall par-
don.

Mr. Hall
records that
Francis.

An. Reg. 3.

course, meant not onlie to skemiſh, but also to reco-
uer the yong queene from the frenche in spite of their
hearts, had not the king of England and the most of
his counsell flatlie forbidden them to attempt any
warlike encounter, for certeine iust and weightie
causes to them knowne. But the Scots smarted
for this their baine lightnesse, as in former times for
like practises of their vile lewdesse, as C.O. saith:

*Sic leuora leui pluma promissa Scotorum
Infamem reddunt gentem, dant sanguine penas
Perfidie quandoq; sua velut ante dederunt.*

In this troubleſome yeere also Edmund Bonner
biſhop of London preached a sermon at Paules
croſſe, for the which he was accus'd vnto the counsell
by William Latimer parson of ſaint Laurence
pountneie, and John Wyper sometime a white
monke, and so conuicted before the archbiſhop of
Canturburie, and other commissioners at Lambeth,
on the twentieth daie of that same moneth, and sent
to the Marchaſſea. On the first of October he was
deprived of his biſhoprike, for disobeying the kings
order in religion.]

Now after that these hurle burlies were thorough-
lie quieted, manie of the lords of the realme, as well
counsellors as other, miſliking the gouernment of
the protector, began to withdraue themselves from
the court, and resorting to London, fell to secret con-
ſultation for redreſſe of things, but namelie for the
displacing of the lord protector. And suddenlie vpon
that occasion manie maruelled, but few knewe. The
uerie lord and counsellor went through the citie
weaponed, and had their seruants likewise weapo-
ned, attending vpon them in new lieries, to the
great wondering of manie. And at the last a great
aſſembly of the said counsellors was made at the
earle of Marſhalles lodging, which was then at Cle
place in Holborne, whither all the confederats in this
matter came priuie armed; and finally concluded
to poſſeſſe the towre of London, which by the policie
of ſir William Paulet lord treaſurer of England
was peaceablie obtained, & who by order of the said
confederats immediatlie remoued ſir John Spar-
ham then lieutenant of the towre, and placed in that
roome ſir Leonard Chamberleine. And after that
the said counsell was broken vp at Cle place, the
earle of Marſhalles remoued forthwith into the citie
of London, and laie in the house of one John Forke
a citizen of London, who was then cheefe maſter of
the mint, kept at Suffolke place in Southwarke.
The lord protector hearing of the manner of the aſ-
ſembly of this counsell, and of the taking of the
towre, which ſeemed to him verie ſtrange and doubt-
full, did preſentlie the said night remoue fro Ham-
pton court, taking the king with him, vnto the caſtell
of Windſore, and there began to fortifie the same,
and withall wrote a letter to that noble gentleman
the lord Russell lord priuie ſeale remaining as yet in
the weſt countrie, aduerting him of these troubleſ
as followeth.

A letter of the lord protectors to the
lord Russell lord priuie ſeale, concerning
troubles working againſt him.



After our right hartie commendations
to your good lordſhip. Here hath of late ri-
ſen ſuch a conſpiracie againſt the kings
maieſtie & vs, as neuer hath bene ſene,
the which they can not mainteine, with ſuch baine
letters and falſe tales ſurmised, as was neuer ment
nor intended on vs. They pretend and ſaie, that we
haue ſold Bullongne to the French, and that we do
withhold wages from the ſoldiers, & other ſuch tales
and letters they do ſpread abroad (of the which if any

one thing were true, we would not wiſh to liue) the
matter now being brought to a marvellous extre-
mitie, ſuch as we would neuer haue thought it could
haue come vnto, eſpeciallie of thoſe men towards
the kings maieſtie and vs, of whom we haue deſer-
ued no ſuch thing, but rather much fauour and loue.
But the caſe being as it is, this is to requyre & praie
you, to haſten you hither to the deſenſe of the kings
maieſtie, in ſuch force and power as you maie, to
the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie
friend: the which thing we truſt God ſhall reward,
and the kings maieſtie in time to come, and we ſhall
neuer be vnmindfull of it too. We are ſure you ſhall
haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your
dutie to the kings maieſtie, we requyre you to make
no ſtaie, but immediatlie repaire with ſuch force as
ye haue to his highneſſe in his caſtell of Windſor,
and cauſe the reſt of ſuch force as ye maie make to
follow you. And ſo we bid you right hartlie fare-
well. From Hampton court the ſixt of October.

Your lordſhips aſſured loving friend
Edward Summerſes.

An answer to the lord protectors letter.



This letter of the lord protectors ſent
the ſixt of October, the lord Russell re-
turning anſwer againe vpon the eight
of the ſaid moneth, firſt lamented the
heauie diſſention fallen betwene the nobilitie and
him, which he toke for ſuch a plague, as a greater
could not be ſent of almighty God vpon this realme
being the next waie (ſaid he) to make vs of conque-
rors, ſlaves; and like to induce vpon the whole realme
an vniuerſall thraldome and calamitie, unleſſe the
mercifull godneſſe of the Lord do helpe, and ſome
wiſe order be taken in ſtaing theſe great extreni-
ties. And as touching the dukes requeſt in his let-
ters, ſo much as he had heard before of the boile of
the lords, and feared leaſt ſome conſpiracie had bene
meant againſt the kings perſon, he haſted forward
with ſuch companie as he could make, for the ſuertie
of the king as to him appertained. Now perceiving
by the lords letters ſent vnto him the ſame ſixt daie
of October, theſe tumults to riſe vpon priuie cauſes
betwene him and them, he therefore thought it expe-
dient, that a conuenient power ſhould be leuied,
to be in a readineſſe to withſtand the worſt (what perils
ſoeuer might iſſue) for the preſeruacion both of the
king and ſtate of the realme from inuaſion of forren
enimies, and alſo for the ſtaing of bloodſhed, if any
ſuch thing ſhould be intended betwixt the parties in
the heat of this faction. And this he thinking beſt for
the diſcharge of his allegiance, humbly beſought
his grace to haue the ſame alſo in ſpeciall regard and
conſideration; firſt, that the kings maieſtie be put in
no feare; and that if there be any ſuch thing, wherein
he hath giuen cauſe to them thus to proceed, he
would ſo conſorme himſelfe, as no ſuch priuie quar-
rels do redound to the publike diſturbance of the
realme: certifieng moreouer the duke, that if it
were true which he vnderſtood by the letters of the
lords, that he ſhould ſend about proclamations and
letters for raiſing vp of the commons, he liked not
the ſame. Notwithſtanding he truſted well that his
wiſedome would take ſuch a waie, as no effuſion of
blood ſhould follow.

And thus much being contained in his former let-
ters the eight of October, in his next letters againe
written the eleuenth of October, the ſaid lord Russell
reſoiſing to heare of the moſt reaſonable offers of the
lord protector made to the lords, wrote vnto him
and

The effect
of the lord Rus-
ſells letter an-
ſwering the
lord protectors.

The content
of the ſecond
anſwer of the
lord Russell to
the lord pro-
tectors.

and promised to do, what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of sir William Herbert joined together with him) did lie, to worke some honorable reconciliation betwene him & them: so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might ensue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifieng moreover, that as touching the leueng of men, they had resolved to haue the same in readinesse for the benefit of the realme, to occurre all inconueniences whatsoeuer, that either by forren inuasion or otherwise might happen: & so ha-
 10 uing their power at hand to draw nere, wherby they might haue the better oportunitie to be solicitors and meanes for this reformation on both parts, &c. And thus much for the answer of the lord Russell to the lord protectors letters.

The good lord Russell a foli-
 citor for peace
 betweene the
 lord protectors
 and the lords.

The lords of
 the counsell
 assembled as
 gainst the lord
 protectors.

But now to proceed and go forward with the matter of the lords, who together with the earle of Warwike (vpon that occasion God knoweth) were assembled at London (as ye haue heard) against the lord protector. When the king with his counsell at Hampton court heard thereof, first secretarie Peter with the kings message was sent vnto them, whome the lords notwithstanding detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the lord protector wrote as followeth.

A letter of the lord protectors to the
 counsell at London.

The protec-
 tors letter to
 the lords.



My lords we commend vs heartlie vnto you. And whereas the kings maiestie was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do, and now remaine, and was aduised by vs and such other of his counsell as were then here about his person, to send master secretarie Peter vnto you with such a message, as whereby might haue ensued the suertie of his maiesties person, with the preservation of his realme and subiects, and the quiet both of vs and your selues, as master secretarie can well declare to you: his maiestie and we of his counsell here do not a little mar-
 40 uell, that you staie still with you the said master secretarie, & haue not as it were vouchsafed to send an-
 50 swer to his maiestie, neither by him nor yet by anie other. And for our selues we do much more maruell and are sorie, as both we and you haue good cause to be, to see the maner of your doings bent with force of violence, to bring the kings maiestie & vs to these
 60 extremities.

So word his
 hereto sent
 from the lords
 to the lord
 protector
 what they re-
 quired of him
 to do.

Which as we intend, if you will take no other waie but violence, to defend (as nature and allegiance doth bind vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who giueth victorie as it pleaseth him: so if that anie reasonable conditions & offers would take place (as hitherto none hath bene signified vnto vs from you, nor we do not vnderstand, what you do require or seeke, or what you do meane) and that you do seeke no hurt to the kings maiesties person, as touching all other priuat matters, to auoid the ef-
 60 fusion of christian blood, and to preferue the kings maiesties person, his realme and subiects, you shall find vs agreeable vnto anie reasonable conditions that you will require. For we do esteeme the kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme more than all other worldlie things, yea than our owne life. Thus praiesing you to send vs your determinate answer herein by master secretarie Peter, or if you will not let him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to giue both you and vs grace to determinate this matter, as maie be to Gods honor, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of vs all: which maie be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most hartlie

And thus
 the lords
 of the counsell
 assembled
 against the
 lord protector.

farewell. From the kings maiesties castell of
 Windsor, the seventh of October, 1549.

Your lordships loving friend
 Edward Sumner, set.

After the receipt of these letters, the lords seeming not greatly to regard the offers contained therein, persisted in their intended purpose; and continuing still in London conferred with the maior of London and his brethren, first willing them to cause a good and substantiall watch by night, and a good ward by daie to be kept for the safeguard of the citie, and the ports and gates thereof: which was consented vnto, and the companies of London in their turnes war-
 10 ned to watch and ward accordingly. When the said lords and counsellors demanded of the lord maior and his brethren five hundred men to aid them, to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king. But therevnto the maior answered, that he could grant
 20 no aid without the assent of the common counsell of the citie: wherupon the next daie a common counsell was summoned to the Guildhall in London. But in this meane time the said lords of the counsell as-
 30 sembled themselves at the lord maiors house in London, who was then sir Henrie Amcofes fishmonger, and John Poike and Richard Turke thirifes of the said citie. And there the said counsell agreed and pub-
 40 lished forthwith a proclamation against the lord pro-
 50 tector, the effect of which proclamation was as fol-
 60 loweth.

The lords
 continue in
 their intended
 purpose a-
 gainst the
 lord protector.

A proclama-
 tion published
 against the
 lord protec-
 tor.

- 1 That the lord protector, by his malicious and euill gouernement, was the occasion of all the sedi-
 2 tion that of late hath hapened within the realme.
- 2 The losse of the kings paces in France.
- 3 That he was ambitious and sought his owne glozie, as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costlie buildings, and speciallie in the time
 4 of the kings warres, and the kings soldiers impaled.
- 4 That he esteemed nothing the graue counsell
 5 of the counsellors.
- 5 That he sowed sedition betwene the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.
- 6 That the nobles assembled themselves toge-
 7 ther at London, for none other purpose, but to haue
 8 caused the protector to haue liued within his limits, and to haue put such order for the kings maiestie as appertained, whatsoeuer the protectors doings were, which (as they said) were vnnaturall, ingrate, and
 9 traitorous.

7 That the protector slandered the counsell to the king, and did what in him late to cause variance be-
 8 twene the king and his nobles.

8 That he was a great traitor, and therefore the lords desired the citie and commons to aid them to take him from the king. And in witnesse and testi-
 9 monie of the contents of the said proclamation the lords subscribed their names and titles as followeth.

Witnesseth
 the contents
 of the said pro-
 clamation.

The lord Rich lord chancellor, the lord John lord great master and president of the counsell, the lord re, quesse of Northampton, the earle of War-
 60 wike lord great chamberleine, the earle of Arundell lord chamberleine, the earle of Shrewsburie, the earle of Southampton, Marquisse de, sir Thomas Cheinie knight tresuroz of the kings house and lord warden of the cinque ports, sir John Coge knight constable of the tower, sir William Peter knight secretarie, sir Edward North knight, sir Edward Montague chiefe iustice of the common ples, sir Rafe Sadler, sir John Baker, sir Edward Wol-
 70 ton, doctor Wolton deane of Cantuarburie, sir Richard Southwell.

After the foresaid proclamation was proclaimed, the lords or the most of them continuing and lieng in London, came the next daie to the Guildhall, di-
 80 ring

ring the time that the lord maior and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and communed a long while with them, and at the last the maior and his brethren came forth vnto the common counsell, where was read the kings letter sent vnto the maior and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand men, as hath maister Fox, and to send the same to his castell at Windsoze: and to the same letter was adioined the kings hand, and the lord protectors. On the other side, by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather vnto the lords: for that the protector had abused both the kings maiestie, and the whole realme, and without that he were taken from the king, made to vnderstand his follie, this realme was in a great hazard: and therefore required that the citizens would willingly assent to aid the lords with five hundred men: herevnto was none other answer made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was a worthy gentleman called maister Spoke) still cried vpon them for answer.

At the last stepped vp a wise and good citizen, named (as maister Fox saith) George Stadlow, and said thus. In this case it is good for vs to thinke of things past to auoid the danger of things to come. I remember (saith he) in a storie written in Fabians chronicle, of the warre betwene the king and his barons, which was in the time of king Henrie the third, and the same time the barons (as our lords do now) commanded aid of the maior and citie of London, and that in a rightfull cause for the common weale, which was for the execution of diuerse good lawes, wherevnto the king before had given his consent, and after would not suffer them to take place, and the citie did aid the lords. Now it came to an open battell, wherein the lords preuailed, and toke the king and his sonne prisoners, and vpon certaine conditions the lords restored againe the king and his sonne to their liberties. And among all other conditions, this was one, that the king should not onlie grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London, which was granted, yea and the same ratified by act of parlement. But what followed?

Was it forgotten? No suerlie, nor yet forgotten during the kings life. The liberties of the citie were taken awaie, strangers appointed to be our heads and gouernours, the citizens giuen a waie bodie and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted: such it is to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon saith. The wrath and indignation of a prince is death. Wherefore for so much as this aid is required of the kings maiestie, whose voice we ought to hearken vnto (for he is our high shepheard) rather than vnto the lords: and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearlie shaken off, but that they with vs, and we with them may soine in fate, and make our most humble petition to the kings maiestie, that it would please his highnesse, to heare such complaint against the gouernement of the lord protector as may be iustlie alledged and proved. And I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the king nor yet the lords haue cause to seeke for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both. After this tale the commons staied, and the lord maior and his brethren for that time brake vp, and after ward communed with the lords.

The lords for the next daie in counsell in the Star chamber, and from thence they sent sir Philip Hobbie with their letters of credence to the kings maiestie, beseeching his highnesse to giue credit to that which the said Philip should declare vnto his maiestie in their names: the king gaue him libertie to speake, and most gentlie heard all that he had to saie. And trulie he did so wisely declare his message, and so

grauelie told his tale in the name of the lords, yea therewithall so vehementlie and greivouslie against the protector, who was also there present by the king, that in the end, the lord protector was commanded from the kings presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a tower within the castell of Windsoze called Beauchamps tower. And some after were staied sir Thomas Smith, sir Michaele Stanhope, and sir John Thyn knights, maister Whalleie, maister Fisher, Wolfe of the privie chamber, Craie of Reading, and diuers other gentlemen that attended vpon the lord protector. And the same daie the lords of the counsell came to Windsoze to the king, and the next daie they brought from thence the lord protector, and the other that were there staied, and conueied them through the citie of London, with as much wonderment as might be, vnto the tower, where they remained prisoners.

Touching the manner of the dukes coming to the tower from Windsoze, I find that it was on the foureteenth of October in the after none, at which time he was brought on horsebacke through Holburne, in at Newgate, and so to the tower of London, accompanied with diuerse lords and gentlemen with three hundred horse: the lord maior, sir Rafe Warren, sir John Gresham, maister recorder, sir William Locke, and both the shiriffes, and other knights, sitting on their horses against Soper lane, with all the officers with halberds, and from Holburne bridge to the tower, certeine aldermen or their deputies on horsebacke in euery street, with a number of householders standing with billes as he passed. Shortly after the lords resorted to the tower, and there charged the protector with sundrie articles, as followeth,

The lord protector committed to prison.

Abr. Fl. ex l. Stow. 1044.

The lord protector committed to the tower.

Articles objected against the lord protector.

In primis, you take vpon you the office of a protector and gouernour, vpon condition, expresselie and speciallie, that you would do nothing in the kings affaires publikelie or priuatlie, but by the assent of the late kings executors.

2 Also you, contrarie to the said condition, of your owne authoritie, did staie and let iustice, and subuerted the lawes, as well by your letters as by your commandements.

3 Also you caused diuerse persons, being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter and felonie, to be discharged and set at large, against the kings lawes and statutes of this realme.

4 Also you haue made and ordeined lieutenants for the kings armies, and other weightie affaires vnder your owne writing and seale.

5 Also you haue communed with the ambassadors of other realmes, discourting alone with them in the weightie causes of this realme.

6 Also you haue sometime rebuked, checked and tawnted, as well priuatlie as openlie, diuerse of the kings most honorable counsellors, for shewing and declaring their aduises and opinions against your purposes in the kings weightie affaires, saving sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters vnto them, and would therefore be otherwise aduised: and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleasure.

7 Also you had and held against the law in your owne house, a court of requests, and thereby did inforce diuerse the kings subiects to answer for their free holds and goods, and determined the same to the

subner:

subuersion of the same lawes.

8 Also you being no officer, without the aduise of the counsell, or the more part of them, did dispose of the offices of the kings gift for monie, and granted leases and wards of the kings, and gaue presentations to the kings benefices and bishopricks, hauing no authoritie so to do. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the kings lands.

9 Also you commanded multiplication and alchemie to be practised to abuse the kings coine.

10 Also you caused a proclamation to be made concerning inclosures, whereby the common people haue made diuerse inclosures, and leuied open war, and disfreined and spoiled diuerse of the kings subjects, which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole counsell.

11 Also you haue caused a commission with certaine articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning inclosures of commons, high wales, decayng of cottages, and diuerse other things, giuing the commissioners authoritie to heare and determine the same causes, to the subuersion of the laws and statutes of this realme: whereby much sedition, incurrection, and rebellion haue risen and growne among the kings subjects.

12 Also you haue suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble and to lie in campe and armes against the king, his nobles, and gentlemen, without anie speedie subduing or repressing of them.

13 Also you did comfort and encourage diuerse of the said rebels, by giuing of them diuerse sums of your owne monie, and by promising to diuerse of them, fees, rewards, and seruices.

14 Also you in fauor of the said rebels did against the lawes cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels and traitors should be sued or veried by anie person, for anie their offenses in the said rebellion, to the cleare subuersion of the same lawes.

15 Also you haue said in time of the rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said rebels and traitors, and said that the countenance of the gentlemen gaue occasion to the common people to rise: saying also, that better it is for the commons to die, than perish for lacke of liuing.

16 Also you said that the lords of the parlement were loth to incline themselves to reformation of inclosures and other things: therefore the people had good cause to reforme the things themselves.

17 Also you after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did surueille Bullongne and the peeces there, would neuer amend the same defaults.

18 Also you would not suffer the peeces beyond the seas, called Pewbawen and Blacknesse, to be furnished with men and vittells; although you were aduertised of the defaults therein by the captiues of the same peeces and others, and were thereto aduertised by the kings counsell: whereby the french king being the kings open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to win the said peeces, to the kings great losse, and dishonour of his realme.

19 Also you declared and published vntrulie, as well to the kings maiestie, as other the yong lords attendant vpon his graces person, that the lords of the counsell at London minded to destruye the king, and you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewise you required the yong lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition & discord betwene the king and his lords.

20 Also where the kings maiestie p'suie counsell, of their loue and zeale that they did beare vnto the

king and his realme, did consult at London to haue communed with you, to the intent to moue you charitable to amend your doings and misgouernment: you hearing of the said assemblee, did cause to be declared by letters in diuerse places the said lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realme.

And thus much for these troubles of the lord protector, and articles against him objected; to the end as was doubted, that the same should haue cost him his life. But such was the pleasure of almighty God, disposing mens hearts as seemeth to him best, that at length, to wit, the first of februarye next, he was deliuered; and that night he supped at sir John Poyes one of the shiriffes of London, also the proclamation before set forth against him was reuoked & called in. And thus being againe restored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie, he continued therein for the space of two yeares and two daies, till new troubles (as after shall appeare) chanced to him, which as they were too heauie for him either to cast off, or carrie aboate; so were his lovers more ready to aggravate his burthen, than willing to ease him anie waie of the weight. So that this his exaltation & raising to dignitie, in respect of the short continuance thereof, as also for the enuie therewith it was assailed, had bene better not to haue happened, than with such infelicitie in so short a time to haue ended. But this fall from honor & aduancement with losse of life (than the which nothing more p'etious, nothing more delicious) graued him the lesse: because he might perceiue (as some suspected) that rather of enuie than otherwise (referring the course of Gods iudgement and vengeance to the secrecie of his owne counsels) the same was deuised, prosecuted, & finally practised;

*Nam quo quisque magis p'ius est, iudiciorum aequi,
Charior & regi, & quo quisque potentior extat,
Sentiet a prauis se tanto odiosius in
Dente Theonino rosum, quod forte latenter
Fiet & occulte, lingua ne sentiat istum
Lethalem, donec flamen trux Atropos occet,
Et vi Parcarum cantum voluatur in imum.]*

The seventeenth of October, king Edward came from Hampton court to his place in Southwiche, and there dined, and after dinner he made maister Poyes one of the shiriffes knight, and then rode thorough the citie to Westminster. The lord mayor of London for this yeare named sir Rowland Hill, was a man of great charitie and compassion, excellent and effectuall testimonies whereof he hath left in the world; some of whose good deeds partlie in his remembrance & partlie for others example are diligently recorded. This man caused to be made a causeie, commonlie called Querlane pauement in the high waie from Stone to Pantwich, in length foure miles, for horse and man, with diuerse lanes on both sides the same causeie. He caused likewise a causeie to be made from Dunchurch to Warran in Warwickshire, more than two miles of length, and gaue twentie pounds in monie towards the making of Roitton bridge, three miles from Countreie. He made the high waie to Millborne nere to London. He made foure bridges, two of them of stone, containing eightene arches in them both, the one ouer the riuer of Seneerne, called Achambridge; the other Ternebridge, for that the water of Terne runneth vnder it; the other two of timber at Stoke, and built a good part of Stoke church. He builded one notable free schoule at Draiton in Shropshire, with maister and other, and sufficient stipends for them both, besides conuenient lodgings for the same. He also purchased a free faire to the said towne, with a free market wakellie, & also a free market for cattell euerie fourte

Abt. Pl. ext.
1044, 1045.
R. Edward
rode through
London.

Charitable
deeds of
Rowland
Hill.

Free school
at Draiton
in Shropshire.

10. Reg. 3. 4.

forerene dates. He gaue to the hospitall of Christs church in London in his life tyme five hundred pounds in readie monie, and a hundred pounds at his decesse.]

But now to retorne to other doings. Whilste these huris and tumults were in hand, to the danger of the whole state, the wars against the Scots were nothing followed, according to the former purposed meaning of the counsell: so that it seemed necessarie to giue ouer the keeping of Haddington, the same being in deed more chargeable (as was thought) than profitable, sith the garrison there could not be bitteled but with a great power to conduct the cariages in safetie, the enimies being still readie to take their advantage to distresse them upon anie opportunitie offered. It was therefore resolved, that the earle of Rutland should go thither to see the fortifications raised, and to conduct from thence the men & ordinance in safetie home into England. Whereupon the said earle with the Almans, and other souldiours then remaining on the borders, marched thither, and caused the bulwarks, rampiers, and trenches to be raised and filled flat with the ground, and bringing from thence all the men, artillerie and munition, bag and baggage returned unto Warwicke without encounter, in peaceable and quiet maner.

Shortlie after this, the kings maiestie called his high court of parlement, which began at Westminster, the foure and twentieth daie of November in this third yeare of his reigne, and there continued the same untill the first daie of Februarie next following, which was in the beginning of the fourth yeare of his reigne. And among other things there enacted and concluded, one statute was made for the punishment of rebels, and unlawfull assemblies: the which law was made by occasion of the late rebellion that happened in manner through the realme the yeare passed, & was not thought nor meant to haue touched anie noble man, speciallie such as the duke of Sumner set was, which after (as it shall appeare) it did, and by that statute he was condemned within two yeares next after.

The nineteenth of Januarie, sir John Russell lord priue seale, was created earle of Bedford: and lord saint John Lord great maister, was created earle of Wilshire: and sir William Paget, comptrolor of the kings house, was made lord Paget. On the same daie at night, were murdered by saint Dunstons church against the kings head without Newgate of London two capteins, that had serued the king of Bullongne and else where, the one was sir Peter Gambo, the other Filicirga. Which murder was committed by Charles Canaro a Flemming, who came poss from Warwicke to do that act. On the morrow, he with three of his companie was taken in Smithfield by the lord Paget, and sent to Newgate, and the foure and twentieth of Januarie they were all foure, Charles Canaro, Balthasar Canaro, Nicholas Disalueron, and Francis Denalasco, had in a cart to Smithfield. And by the waie at the place where the murder was done, Charles Canaro had his right hand striken off on the cart wheele, and then all hanged in Smithfield; who being exhorted to reconcile himselfe to God and the world by confessing his fault, by repenting himselfe of the offense, and asking forgiveness, that he might with a disburthened conscience resigne his soule into the hands of God, obstinatlie and desperatlie answered, that he would neuer repent him of the deed.]

About the same time, monsieur de Thermes that succeeded monsieur de Dese in gouernement as generall of the French forces in Scotland, came before Woughtrig, where he did so much by batterrie & other kinds of inforcement, that giuing an assault

both with his Frenchmen and certeine Scots joined with him, the twentieth of Februarie, the fort was entered by fire force, and all within it either taken or slaine. Sir John Lutterell gouernour of that peece remained prisoner amongst the Frenchmen.

Whereouer, now after the end of the parlement, the earle of Warwicke, hauing then highest authoritie, and the rest of the lords of the counsell, calling to remembrance how the last yeare in the time of rebellion, the French king had entered Bullongnois, and wone diuerse of the English forts there, being of great importance for defense of the towne and countrie, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernment of the lord protector: and for so much as they well vnderstood that the French king upon further practise had placed a capteine called the Keingraue, with diuerse regiments of Almaine lanquequenets, and certeine ensignes also of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or five thousand at the towne of Pozguison, being the midwaie betwene Bullongne and Calis, to the great perill and danger as well of the countie of Bullongnois, as al of Calis, Gullnes, and all the low countrie.

The king therefore for the defense of the said frontiers, caused all the strangers which had serued that yeare against the rebels, being to the number of two thousand, to be transported ouer the sea to the marches of Calis. And now at Christmas last past, by order of the said earle, and of the counsellors aforesaid, Francis earle of Huntington, and sir Edward Hastings his brother, sir James Croft, sir Leonard Chamberleine, and diuerse other capteins and souldiers, to the number of three thousand, were set ouer to the marches of Calis, to ioine with the said strangers, minding with as conuenient speed as they might, to remoue the campe, and otherwise to annoy the French. But in the meane time through the diligent trauell of certeine persons, speciallie of one Guidotti an Italian, and a Florentine borne, there was a motion made for a treatie to be had by certeine commissioners, appointed betwixt the kings of England and France, for the conclusion of some peace, vpon such reasonable conditions and articles as might be thought expedient for the present time; and to stand with the honoz and commoditie of both the princes.

This motion toke such effect, that about the seventh daie of Februarie, certeine commissioners, appointed for this treatie, that is to wit, John the earle of Bedford, the lord Paget, sir William Peter the kings chiefe secretarie, and sir John Mason, arrived at Calis: by reason of whose coming, the earle of Huntington, and the armie sent ouer before for the defense of the frontiers were countermanded from anie attempt, so that little or nothing was done in that voiage, sauing certeine skirmishes at diuerse times, not much materiall to be written of. These commissioners being thus arrived, passed from Calis to Bullongne, there to meet with the commissioners appointed for the French king, where as a certeine house was newlie erected for the said treatie to be had, which was vpon the side of Bullongne haue next to France, where after diuerse meetings & conferences of the commissioners of either partie, a finall peace was at last concluded betwixt both the realmes. But chiefe among other things, for the restitution of Bullongne and Bullongnois to the Frenchmen, which were vpon certeine conditions following.

First, that the French king should paye and paie to the king of England a certeine summe of monie, and the same to be paid at two payments, as it was then agreed: and for the same summe the king of England should render the towne of Bullongne,

Sir John Lutterell prisoner.

Earle of warwicke in highest authoritie.

Pozguison the midwaie betwene Bullen and Calis.

It is agreed among the lords to infect and annoy the French.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace.

A peace concluded with France vpon certeine conditions.

h h h h h.

Bullongne
given by to
the French.

By entereth.

Abr. 11. ex
I.S. pag. 1046.
New officers
created of the
nobilitie.

The libertie
of South-
wiche pur-
chased.

The duke of
Summerset
delivered out
of the tower.

A marriage to
compose strife
and stabilitie
amitie.

Rich. Grafton.
Rebellion in
Kent execu-
ted.

Priests chil-
dren legiti-
mate.
Murie for-
bidden.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 1047, 1048
Alderman of
Southwiche.

and all the forts thereto adjoining, which he then in-
toied, with all such artillerie and munition as was
there found at the taking of the same to the French
king. And for the sure payment of the said sums, the
French king sent into England for hostages and
pledges, the counte de Anguien, the duke of
Candosme his brother, the Viscount of Charters, and
the duke de Aumale and others. And on S. Marthes
daie next following, being the five and twentieth daie
of Aprill, about eight of the clocke in the morning,
the Englishmen did deliver to the Frenchmen the
possession of Bullongne, and the castles and forts in
the countie of Bullogneis, according to the agree-
ments and articles of peace afore mentioned. And
the fifteenth daie next following the French king en-
tered into the said towne of Bullongne with trum-
pets blowne, & with all the roiall triumph that might
be, where he offered one great image of silver of our
ladie in the church there, which was called our ladie
church: the which image he had caused speciallie to
be made in the honoz of the said ladie, and caused the
same to be set up in the place where the like image
before did stand, the which before was taken awaie
by the Englishmen at the winning of the towne.

¶ On Candlemasse daie, William lord S. John
earle of Wiltshire, lord great maister, and president
of the counsell, was made lord treasurer. John Dud-
leie earle of Warwike, lord great chamberleine,
was made lord great maister. William Parre mar-
quesse of Northampton, was made lord great cham-
berleine. Lord Wentworth was made lord cham-
berleine of the household. Sir Anthony Wingfield
capitaine of the gard, was made comptrollor of the
kings house. And sir Thomas Darce knight, was
made vicechamberleine & capitaine of the gard. And
the earle of Arundell late lord chamberleine, with
the earle of Southampton were put off the counsell,
and commanded to keepe their houses in London.
¶ On the 10 of Februarie, one Bell a Suffolke man
was hanged and quartered at Tyburne, for moving
a new rebellion in Suffolke and Essex. This time,
the lord mayo of London and the aldermen purcha-
sed all the libertie of Southwiche, which were in
the kings hands.]

Some after the aforesaid agreement betwene
England and France was concluded, upon the fore
remembred capitulations, because of suspicion of
displeasure and hatred that was thought to remaine
betwene the earle of Warwike and the duke of
Summerset, latelie before delivered out of the
tower, a meane was found that their friendship
should be renewed through alliance, and a marriage
was concluded betwene the earle of Warwikes
eldest sonne, and the duke of Summersets eldest
daughter: the which marriage was solemnized at
Shene, the king being then present. After the sole-
mnitie of this marriage, there appeared outwardlie to
the world great love and friendship betwene the
duke and the earle, but by reason of carietales and
flatterers, the love continued not long, howbeit ma-
nie did berie earnestlie with love and amitie to con-
tinue betwene them. ¶ About this time was a
new rebellion in Kent, but it was soon suppressed,
and certeine of the chiefe were apprehended and put
to death, namelie Richard Lion, Goddard Coxrain,
and Richard Ireland. This yeare was a parlement
holden at Westminster, where among other things
by the authoritie of the said parlement, priests chil-
dren were made legitimate, and blurie for the loane
of monie forbidden.]

¶ On wednesday in Whitsonwæke, at a court of
aldermen kept at the Guildhall, sir John Aliffe
knight, and maister of Blackwell hall, was sworne
alderman of the Widge ward without, to have iuris-

diction of the borough of Southwiche, and this was
he the first alderman that ever was there, so made
up the number of six and twentieth aldermen of Lon-
don, whereas before that time had bene but five and
twentie. Trinitie tearmes was adourned till Mi-
chaelmasse, for that the gentlemen should keepe the
commons from commotion. The eleventh of June
being S. Barnabies daie, was kept sollemnly all
London over: and the same daie at night, the high
altar in Pauls church was pulled downe, and a
table set where the altar stood, with a veile drawne
beneath the steps; and on the sondaie next a commu-
nion was song at the same table; and shortly after
all the altars in London were taken downe, and
tables placed in their romes. This yeare was no
such watch at Midsummer as had bene accustomed.

The thirtieth of Julie Thomas lord Wriothesle
erle of Southampton, knight of the garter, and one
of the executors to king Henrie the eight, deceased
at Lincolne place in Holborne, and was buried in
S. Andewes church there. Sir Andew Jude for
this yeare mayo of London, and Kinner, created one
notable freeshole at Tunbridge in Kent, wherein he
brought up and nourished in learning great store of
youth, as well bred in that shire, as brought from o-
ther countries adjoining. A noble act and correspon-
dent to those that have bene done by like worthi-
full men, and other in old time within the same citie
of London. He also builded almshouses for six
pore almshouse people, nigh to the parish church of saint
Helens within Bishopsgate of London, & gave land
to the companie of the skinners in the same citie, a-
mounting to the value of threescore pounds three shil-
lings eight pence the yeare: for the which they be
bound to paie twentie pounds to the scholemaister,
and eight pounds to the officer of his freeshole at
Tunbridge yearelie for ever, and foure shillings the
weeke to the six pore almshouse people at S. Helens
aforesaid, eight pence the pence wekelie, and five and
twentie shillings foure pence the yeare in coles a-
mongst them for ever.]

About this time there was at Feuertham in Kent
a gentleman named Arden, most cruelly murder-
ed and slaine by the procurement of his owne wife.
The which murder, for the horrible nature thereof, al-
though otherwise it may seeme to be but a private
matter, and therefore as it were impertinent to this
histoie, I have thought good to set it forth somewhat
at large, having the instructions delivered to me by
them, that have used some diligence to gather the
true understanding of the circumstances. This Ar-
den was a man of a tall and comelie personage, and
matched in marriage with a gentlewoman, young,
tall, and well favoured of shape and countenance,
who chancing to fall in familiaritie with one possie
a tailor by occupation, a blacke swart man, servant
to the lord North, it happened this possie upon some
mislaking to fall out with hir: but the being desirous
to be in favour with him againe, sent him a paire of
silver dice by one Adam Foule dwelling at the
fleure de lice in Feuertham.

After which he resorted to hir againe, and often-
times laie in Ardens house: in somuch that within
two yeares after, he obtained such favour at hir
hands, that he laie with hir, or (as the y terme it) kept
hir, in abusing hir bodie. And although (as it was
said) Arden perceived right well their mutuall fa-
miliaritie to be much greater than their honestie, yet
because he would not offend hir, and so lose the bene-
fit which he hoped to gaine at some of hir friends
hands in bearing with hir lewenesse, which he might
have lost if he should have fallen out with hir: he
was contented to winke at hir filthie disobedience, and
both permitted, and also invited possie verte often

Termes
journe.

S. Barnabie
kept solle-
mnly all
Pauls qua-
ter house.

So watch
at Midsummer

Earle of
Southampton
deceased

Charitable
works of Ar-
den Jude
freeshole at
Tunbridge

Alms
houses.

I 551
Anno Reg. E.
Arden mar-
thured.

Arden de-
scribed.

Arden and
his wife.

A paire of sil-
ver dice
brought by
mislaking.

Arden was
born at his
house in
the fleure de lice

to lodge in his house. And thus it continued a good space, before any practise was begun by them against master Arden. She at length inflamed in love with Possie, and loathing her husband, wished and after practised the meanes how to hasten his end.

There was a painter dwelling in Feuertham, who had skill of poisons, as was reported. She therefore demanded of him, whether it were true that he had such skill in that feat or not: And he denied not but that he had in deed. Pea (said she) but I would have such a one made, as should have most vehement and speedie operation to dispatch the eater thereof. That can I do (quoth he) and forthwith made her such a one, and biled her to put it into the bottome of a porringer, & then after to powze milke on it. Which circumstance she forgetting, did cleane contrarie, putting in the milke first, and afterward the poison. Now master Arden purposing that daie to ride to Canturburie, his wife brought him his breakefast, which was wont to be milke and butter. He having received a spoonfull or two of the milke, mistooke the taste and colour thereof, and said to his wife, mistress Arden what milke have you given me here: Wherewithall she tilted it over with her hand, saying, I weene nothing can please you. Then he toke horse and road towards Canturburie, and by the waie fell into extreme purging bywards and downewards, and so escaped for that time.

After this, his wife fell in acquaintance with one Græne of Feuertham, servant to sir Anthonie Ager, from which Græne master Arden had wrested a peece of ground on the backside of the abbey of Feuertham, and there had blowes and great threats passed betwixt them about that matter. Therefore she knowing that Græne hated her husband, began to practise with him how to make him awaie; and concluded, that if he could get any that would kill him, he should have ten pounds for a reward. This Græne having doings for his master sir Anthonie Ager, had occasion to go by to London, where his master then laie, and having some charge by with him, desired one Bradshaw a goldsmith of Feuertham that was his neighbor, to accompanie him to Grauesend, and he would content him for his pains. This Bradshaw, being a verie honest man, was content, and road with him. And when they came to Rainham downe, they chanced to see three or foure servingmen that were coming from Leeds: and therewith Bradshaw espied coming by the hill from Rochester, one blacke Will, a terrible cruell rusian with a sword and a buckler, and an other with a great staffe on his necke.

Then said Bradshaw to Græne: We are happe that here cometh some companie from Leeds, for here cometh by against us as murdering a kinne as any is in England: if it were not for them we might chance hardlie to escape without losse of our monie and liues. Pea thought Græne (as he after confessed) such a one is for my purpose, and therefore asked, Which is he: Ponder is he quoth Bradshaw, the same that hath the sword and buckler: his name is blacke Will. Now know you that, said Græne: Bradshaw answered, I knew him at Bullengne, where we both served, he was a soldier, and I was sir Richard Cauendishes man, and there he committed manie robberies and heinous murders on such as travelled betwixt Bullongne and France.

By this time the other companie of servingmen came to them, and they going all together, met with blacke Will and his fellow. The servingmen knew blacke Will, & saluting him, demanded of him whether he were the answerer: By his blood for his life was to sweare almost at euery word I know not, nor care not, but set by my staffe, and such as it fall

leth I go. If thou quoth they wilt go backe againe to Grauesend, we will giue thee thy supper. By his blood (said he) I care not, I am content, haue with you: and so he returned againe with them. Then blacke Will toke acquaintance of Bradshaw, saying, fellow Bradshaw how dost thou: Bradshaw unwilling to renew acquaintance, or to haue ought to doe with so shameles a rusian, said, Why do ye know me: Pea that I do (quoth he) did not we serue in Bullongne together: But ye must pardon me (quoth Bradshaw) for I haue forgotten you.

Then Græne talked with blacke Will, and said, When ye haue supped, come to mine hosts house at such a signe, and I will giue you the sacke and sugar. By his blood (said he) I thanke you, I will come and take it I warrant you. According to his promise he came, and there they made good cheare. Then blacke Will & Græne went and talked apart from Bradshaw, and there concluded together, that if he would kill master Arden, he should haue ten pounds for his labor. Then he answered, By his wounds that I will if I maie know him. Harte to morrow in Poules I will shew him the, said Græne. Then they left their talke, & Græne bad him go home to his hosts house. Then Græne wrote a letter to mistress Arden, & among other things put in these words: We haue got a man for our purpose, we maie thanke my brother Bradshaw. Now Bradshaw not knowing any thing of this, toke the letter of him, and in the morning departed home againe, and deliuered the letter to mistress Arden, and Græne & blacke Will went by to London at the tide.

At the time appointed, Græne shewed blacke Will master Arden walking in Poules. Then said blacke Will, What is he that goeth after him: Harte said Græne, one of his men. By his blood (said blacke Will) I will kill them both. Pea (said Græne) do not so, for he is of counsell with vs in this matter. By his blood (said he) I care not for that, I will kill them both. Pea said Græne in any wise do not so. Then blacke Will thought to haue killed master Arden in Poules churchyard, but there were so manie gentlemen that accompanied him to dinner, that he mistooked of his purpose. Græne shewed all this talke to master Ardens man, whose name was Michaele, which euer after stood in doubt of blacke Will, lest he should kill him. The cause that this Michaele conspired with the rest against his master, was: for that it was determined, that he should marrie a kinswoman of Possies.

After this, master Arden laie at a certeine parsonage which he held in London, and therefore his man Michaele and Græne agreed, that blacke Will should come in the night to the parsonage, where he should find the doores left open, that he might come in and murder master Arden. This Michaele having his master to bed, left open the doores according to the appointment. His master then being in bed, asked him if he had shut fast the doores, and hee said yea: but yet afterwards, fearing lest blacke Will would kill him as well as his master, after he was in bed himselfe, he rose againe and shut the doores, bolting them fast. So that blacke Will coming thither, and finding the doores shut, departed, being disappointed at that time. The next daie blacke Will came to Græne in a great chafe, swearing and flaring because he was so deceived, and with manie terrible oaths threatened to kill master Ardens man first, whereoeuer he met him. No (said Græne) do not so, I will first know the cause of shutting the doores.

Then Græne met and talked with Ardens man, and asked of him, why he did not leaue open the doores, according to his promise: Harte (said Michaele) I

In honest man is ashamed to receive new acquaintance with a kinne,

The match made to murder Arden.

Simplicity abused.

Blacke will maketh no conscience of bloodshed and murder.

Why Ardens man conspired with the rest to kill his master.

One murdering mind mistaking another, doth hinder the action whereof they agreed.

Arden wife purposely comes to master Arden.

Arden's poison brought by his wife but received.

Hee denieth her intention to dispatch her husband Arden.

Arden's long considering reason.

Arden how blacke Will might kill him: as in: Arden's letter by culter of: Arden's opposition to come to him: Arden's wish.

Arden's prayer.

The fourth
attempt to
make Arden
aware disap-
pointed.

Blacke will
mislead his
purpose.

Ardens wife
deliceth, suc-
coureth, em-
boldeneth, and
directeth blacke
will as how
to accomplish
his bloody
purpose.

Note here the
force of feare
and a troubled
conscience.

Blacke will
yet againe
disappointed.

A prepent-o
quarrell againt
Arden by the
conspirators.

will shew you the cause. My maister yesternight did
that he neuer did before: for after I was in bed, he
rose vp and shut the doores, and in the morning rated
me for leauing them vnshut. And herewith Greene &
blacke Will were pacified. Arden being redie to go
homewards, his maid came to Greene & said; This
night will my maister go downe. Whereupon it was
agreed that blacke Will should kill him on Kestem
downe. When maister Arden came to Rochester, his
man still fearing that blacke Will would kill him
with his maister, picked his horse of purpose, and
made him to halt, to the end he might protrae the
time, and tarie behind. His maister asked him why
his horse halted, he said, I knowe not. Well (quoth
his maister) when ye come at the smith here before
(betwene Rochester and the hill set ouer against
Chetam) remove his shoe, and search him, and then
come after me. So maister Arden rode on: and per
he came at the place where blacke Will lay in wait
for him, there ouertooke him diuerse gentlemen of
his acquaintance, who kept him companie: so that
blacke Will mist here also of his purpose.

After that maister Arden was come home, he
sent (as he vsuallie did) his man to Sheperie to sir Tho-
mas Cheinie, then lord warden of the cinque ports,
about certeine businesse, and at his comming awaie,
he had a letter deliuered sent by sir Thomas Cheinie
to his maister. When he came home, his mistresse
toke the letter and kept it, willing hir man to tell his
maister, that he had a letter deliuered him by sir
Thomas Cheinie, and that he had lost it; adding that
he thought it best that his maister should go the next
morning to sir Thomas, because he knewe not the
matter: he said he would, and therefore he willed his
man to be stirring betimes. In this meane while,
blacke Will, and one George Shakebag his compa-
nion, were kept in a storehouse of sir Anthoine A-
gers at Drefon, by Greene's appointment: and thi-
ther came mistresse Arden to see him, bringing and
senting him meat and drinke manie times. He ther-
fore lurking there, and watching some opportunitie
for his purpose, was willed in anie wise to be vp
earlie in the morning, to lie in wait for maister Ar-
den in a certeine broune close, betwixt Feuertham &
the ferrie (which close he must needs passe) there to do
his feat. Now blacke Will stirred in the morning be-
times, but mist the waie, & taried in a wrong place.

Maister Arden & his man comming on their waie
earlie in the morning towards Shornelan, where sir
Thomas Cheinie lay: as they were almost come to
the broune close, his man alwaies fearing that
blacke Will would kill him with his maister, feined
that he had lost his purse; Why said his maister, thou
follish knaue, couldest thou not looke to thy purse but
lose it? What was in it? Three pounds said he. Why
then go thy waies backe againe like a knaue (said
his maister) and seeke it, for being so earlie as it is,
there is no man stirring, and therefore thou maist be
sure to find it, and then come and ouertake me at the
ferrie. But neuerthelesse, by reason that blacke Will
lost his way, maister Arden escaped yet once againe.
At that time, blacke Will yet thought he should
haue bene sure to haue met him homewards: but
whether that some of the lord wardens men accom-
panied him backe to Feuertham, or that being in
doubt, for that it was late to go through the broune
close, and therefore toke another waie, blacke Will
was disappointed then also.

But now saint Valentines faire being at hand,
the conspirators thought to dispatch their diuinity in-
tention at that time. Spolbie minded to picke some
quarrell to maister Arden at the faire to fight with
him; for he said he could not find in his heart to mur-
ther a gentleman in that sort as his wife wished: al-

though she had made a solemne promise to him, and
he againe to hir, to be in all points as man and wife
together, and thereupon they both receiued the sacra-
ment on a sundaie at London, openlie in a church
there. But this deuise to fight with him would not
serue, for maister Arden both then and at other times
had bene greatlie prouoked by Spolbie to fight with
him, but he would not. Now Spolbie had a sister that
dwelt in a tenement of maister Ardens nere to his
house in Feuertham: and on the faire euen, blacke
Will was sent for to come thither, and Greene bring-
ing him thither, met there with mistresse Arden, ac-
companied with Michaell hir man, and one of hir
maids. There were also Spolbie and George Shake-
bag, and there they deuised to haue killed him in ma-
ner as afterwards he was. But yet Spolbie at the
first would not agree to that cowardlie murdering
of him, but in a furie slong awaie, and went by the
abbie street toward the flower de lice, the house of
the aforesaid Adam Foule, where he did often
host. But before he came thither now at this time, a
messenger ouertooke him, that was sent from mis-
tress Arden, desiring him of all loues to come backe
againe to helpe to accomplish the mater he knew of.
Whereupon he returned to his againe, and at his com-
ming backe, she fell downe vpon his knees to him,
and besought him to go through with the matter, as
if he loued hir he would be content to do, sith as she
had diuerse times told him, he needed not to doubt,
for there was not anie that would care for his death,
nor make anie great inquirie for them that should
dispatch him.

Thus she being earnest with him, at length he
was contented to agree vnto that horrible deuise,
and thereupon they conueied blacke Will into mai-
ster Ardens house, putting him into a closet at the
end of his parlour. Before this, they had sent out of
the house all the seruants, those excepted which were
pruiue to the deuised murder. Then went Spolbie to
the doze, and there stood in a night gowne of silke gir-
ded about him, and this was betwixt six and seven of
the clocke at night. Maister Arden hauing bene at a
neighbors house of his, named Dumphin, & hauing
cleared certeine reckonings betwixt them, came
home: and finding Spolbie standing at the doze, as-
ked him if it were supper time: I thinke not (quoth
Spolbie) it is not yet readie. Then let vs go and plaie
a game at the tables in the meane season, said mai-
ster Arden. And so they went straight into the parlor:
and as they came by through the hall, his wife was
walking there, and maister Arden said; How now
mistresse Ales? But she made small answer to him.
In the meane time one cheined the wicket doze of the
entrie. When they came into the parlor, Spolbie sat
downe on the bench, hauing his face toward the
place where blacke Will stood. When Michaell mai-
ster Ardens man stood at his masters backe, holding
a candle in his hand, to shadow blacke Will, that
Arden might by no meanes perceiue him comming
forth. In their plaie Spolbie said thus (which seemed
to be the watchword for blacke Wills comming
forth) Now maie I take you sir if I will. Take me
(quoth maister Arden) which waie: With that blacke
Will stepped forth, and cast a towell about his necke,
so to stop his breath and strangle him. Then Spolbie
hauing at his girdle a pissing iron of fourteen
pounds weight, stroke him on the hed with the same,
so that he fell downe, and gaue a great grone, insomuch
that they thought he had bene killed.

Then they bare him awaie, to laie him in the coun-
ting house, & as they were about to laie him downe, Green sent
the pangs of death comming on him, he gaue a
great grone, and stretched himselfe, and then blacke
Will gaue him a great gasp in the face, and so kil-
led

Ardens wife
blacke will
the knot of
bilans met
and conclude
vpon their
murperious
mischiefe.

Spolbie
note a blacke
die murder
stramp!

The spouse
to kill Arden
is now set
abroach.

Here the con-
spirators were
their spouses

The watch-
word to the
principall
murderer.

Arden will
murder his
husband
Arden will
murder his
husband

led him out of his house, laid him along, took the monie
out of his purse, and the rings from his fingers, and
then comming out of the counting house, said; Now
the feat is done, give me my monie. So mistres
Arden gaue him ten pounds: and he comming to
Greene, had a horse of him, and so rode his waies.
After that blacke Will was gone, mistresse Arden
came into the counting house, and with a knife gaue
him seven or eight picks into the brest. Then they
made cleene the parlor, took a clout, and wiped where
it was bloudie, and strewed againe the rushes that
were shuffed with strugling, and cast the clout with
which they wiped the blood, and the knife that was
bloudie, wherewith she had wounded hir husband,
into a tub by the wels side; where afterwards both
the same clout and knife were found. Thus this wicked
woman, with hir complices, most shamefullie
murdered hir owne husband, who most entirlye
loved hir all his life time. Then she sent for two Londoners
to supper, the one named Paine, and the other
Cole, that were grofers, which before the murder
was committed, were bidden to supper. When
they came, she said: I maruell where maister Arden
is; we will not tarie for him, come ye and sit
downe, for he will not be long. Then Polbie
sister was sent for, she came and sat downe, and so
they were merie.

Arden's
daughter
Arden's
daughter

After supper, mistres Arden caused hir daughter
to plaie on the virginals, and they danc'd, and she
with them, and so seemed to protract time as it were,
till maister Arden should come, and she said, I mar-
uell where he is so long; well, he will come anon I
am sure, I praie you in the meane while let vs plaie
a game at the tables. But the Londoners said, they
must go to their host's house, or else they should be
shut out at doores, and so taking their leave, depar-
ted. When they were gone, the seruants that were
not partie to the murder, were sent abroad into the
towne; some to seeke their maister, and some of
other errands, all sauing Michael and a maid, Pol-
bie's sister, and one of mistres Ardens owne daugh-
ters. When they took the dead bodie, and carried it
out, to laie it in a field next to the church-yard, and
joining to his garden wall, through the which he
went to the church. In the meane time it began to
snow, and when they came to the garden gate, they
remembered that they had forgotten the key, and one
went in for it, and finding it, at length brought it,
opened the gate, and carried the corps into the same
field, as it were ten paces from the garden gate, and
laid him downe on his backe streight in his night
gowne, with his slippers on: and betwene one of
his slippers and his foot, a long rush or two remain-
ed. When they had thus laid him downe, they re-
turned the same way they came through the garden
into the house.

Arden's
daughter
Arden's
daughter

They being returned thus backe againe into the
house, the doores were opened, and the seruants re-
turned home that had bene sent abroad: and being
now verie late, she sent forth hir folks againe to
make inqurie for him in diuerse places; namely,
among the best in the towne where he was wont to
be, who made answer, that they could tell nothing
of him. When she began to make an outcrie, and
said; Neuer woman had such neighbors as I haue,
and herewith wept: in somuch that hir neighbors
came in, and found hir making great lamentation,
pretending to maruell what was become of hir hus-
band. Whereupon, the maior and others came to
make search for him. The faire was wont to be kept
partie in the towne, and partie in the abbey; but
Arden for his owne priuat lucre & couetous gaine
had this present yeare procured it to be wholie kept
within the abbey ground which he had purchased; &

so reaping all the gaines to himselfe, and breauing
the towne of that portion which was wont to come
to the inhabitants, got manie a bitter curse. The
maior going about the faire in this search, at length
came to the ground where Arden laie: and as it hap-
pened, Paine the groser getting sight of him, first
said; Staie, for me thinke I see one lie here. And so
they looking and beholding the bodie, found that it
was maister Arden, lieng there throughlie dead, and
viewing diligentlie the manner of his bodie & hurts,
found the rushes sticking in his slippers, and mar-
king further, espied certeine footsteps, by reason of
the snow, betwixt the place where he laie, and the
garden doore.

Arden's dead
bodie is descried
by one of
his acquaint-
tance.

Then the maior commanded enerie man to staie,
and herewith appointed some to go about, & to come
in at the inner side of the house through the garden
as the waie laie, to the place where maister Ardens
dead bodie did lie; who all the waie as they came,
perceiued footings still before them in the snow: and
so it appeared plainlie that he was brought along
that waie from the house through the garden, and so
into the field where he laie. Then the maior and his
companie that were with him went into the house,
and knowing hir euill demeanour in times past, ex-
amined hir of the matter: but she desired them and
said, I would you should know I am no such wo-
man. When they examined hir seruants, and in the
examination, by reason of a peece of his heare and
blood found nere to the house in the waie, by the
which they carried him forth, and likewise by the knife
with which she had thrust him into the brest, and the
clout wherewith they wiped the blood awaie which
they found in the tub, into the which the same were
shrowen; they all confessed the matter, and hir selfe
beholding hir husbands blood, said; Oh the blood of
God helpe, for this blood haue I shed.

Footsteps dis-
covered from
the dead bodie
of Arden to
his dwelling
house.

A peece of Ar-
dens heare and
his blood spilt
in the house
espied, as also
a bloudie knife
and a clout
found.

Then were they all attached, and committed to
prison, and the maior with others went presentlie to
the flower de lice, where they found Polbie in bed:
and as they came towards him, they espied his hose
and purse stained with some of maister Ardens
blood. And when he asked what they meant by their
comming in such sort, they said; See, here ye may
vnderstand wherefore, by these tokens, shewing him
the blood on his hose and purse. Then he confessed
the deed, and so he and all the other that had conspi-
red the murder, were apprehended and laid in pri-
son, except Greene, blacke Will, and the painter,
which painter and George Shakebag, that was also
shed before, were neuer heard of. Shortly were the
sessions kept at Feuerham, where all the prisoners
were arreigned and condemned. And thereupon
being examined whether they had anie other compli-
ces, mistres Arden accused Bradshaw, upon occa-
sion of the letter sent by Greene from Greaves end,
(as before ye haue heard) which words had none o-
ther meaning, but onelie by Bradshaw's describing
of blacke Wills qualities; Greene iudged him a
mate instrument for the execution of their preten-
ded murder. Whereto notwithstanding (as Greene
confessed at his death certeine yeares after) this
Bradshaw was neuer made priue; howbeit, he was
upon this accusation of mistres Arden, immediat-
lie sent for to the sessions, and indicted, and declara-
tion made against him, as a procurer of blacke Will
to kill maister Arden, which proceeded wholie by mis-
vnderstanding of the words contained in the letter
which he brought from Greene.

Some of Ar-
dens blood
upon Pol-
bies purse.

The princi-
pals of this
murder did
waie.

Bradshaw as
himselfe accus-
sed, as his
simplicitie
was shame-
fullie abusive.

Then he desired to talke with the persons con-
demned, and his request was granted. He therefore
demanded of them if they knew him, or ever had a-
nie conuersation with him, & they all said no. Then
the letter being shewed and read, he declared the de-
fence.

A k k k k ij,

ris

Innocencie
no barre a-
gainst speeche
1107.

Note how
these malefac-
tors suffered
punishment.

Blacke Will
burnt at
flashing.

I wonder tou-
ching the
print of Ar-
dens dead bo-
die two yeares
after he was
slaine.

God heareth
the teares of
the oppressed
and taketh
vengeance:
note an exam-
ple in Arden.

A parliament.

Write of
common pray-
er confirmed.

Abt. Fl. ex
I.S. pag. 1049.
Sweating
sickness.

rie truth of the matter, and upon that occasion he told Greene of blacke Will: neuertheless, he was condemned, and suffered. These condemned persons were diuerſlie executed in sundrie places, for Michaele maister Ardens man was hanged in chaires at Feuerſham, and one of the maids was burnt there, pitifullie bewailing hir case, and cried out on hir miſtreſſe that had brought hir to this end, for the which she would neuer forgive hir. Spodie & his ſiſter were hanged in Smithfield at London; miſtreſſe Arden was burned at Canturburie the foure and twentieth of March. Greene came againe certaine yeares after, was apprehended, condem- ned, & hanged in chaires in the high waie betwixt Whipping & Boughton againſt Feuerſham; blacke Will was burnt on a ſcaffold at Flushing in Ze- land. Adam Foule that dwelt at the ſhore de lise in Feuerſham was brought into trouble about this matter, and caried by to London, with his legs bound vnder the hoſſe bellie, and committed to pri- ſon in the ſparchalleie: for that Spodie was heard to ſaie; Had it not bene for Adam Foule, I had not come to this trouble: meaning that the bringing of the ſiluer dice for a token to him from miſtreſſe Ar- den, as ye haue heard, occaſioned him to renew ſa- miliaritie with hir againe. But when the matter was thoroughlie ripped vp, & that Spodie had cleared him, proteſting that he was neuer of knowledge in anie beſhalfe to the murder, the mans innocencie preferred him.

This one thing ſeemeth verie ſtrange and nota- ble, touching maister Arden, that in the place where he was laid, being dead, all the propozition of his bo- die might be ſene two yeares after and moze, ſo plaine as could be, for the graſſe did not grow where his bodie had touched: but betwene his legs, be- twene his armes, and about the hollowneſſe of his necke, and round about his bodie, and where his legs, armes, head, or anie other part of his bodie had touched, no graſſe grewed at all of all that time. So that manie ſtrangers came in that meane time, be- ſide the townſemen, to ſee the print of his bodie there on the ground in that field. Which field he had (as ſome haue repoſted) moſt cruellie taken from a woman, that had bene a widow to one Coke, and after married to one Richard Read a mariner, to the great hinderance of hir and hir husband the ſaid Read: for they had long inioid it by a leaſe, which they had of it for manie yeares, not then expired: neuertheless, he got it from them. For the which, the ſaid Reads wiſe not onelie exclaimed againſt him, in ſheading manie a ſalt teare, but alſo curſed him moſt bitterlie euen to his face, wiſhing manie a vengeance to light vpon him, and that all the world might wonder on him. Which was thought then to come to paſſe, when he was thus murdered, and laie in that field from midnight till the morning: and ſo all that daie, being the faire daie till night, all the which daie there were manie hundreds of people came wondering about him. And thus far touching this horrible and heinous murder of maister Arden. So returne then where we left.

About this time the kings maiestie calling his high court of parliament, held the ſame at Weſt- miniſter the thre and twentieth daie of Januarie, in this ſift yere of his reigne, and there continued it, untill the ſiftenth daie of Aprill in the ſixt yere of his ſaid reigne. In this parlement the booke of com- mon prayer, which in ſome part had bene corrected and amended, was newlie confirmed & eſtabliſhed. ¶ In the end of this parlement, namelie the ſiftenth of Aprill the infectious sweating ſickneſſe began at Sweveſburie, which ended not in the north part of England untill the end of September. In this ſpace

what number died, it cannot be well accounted: but certeine it is, that in London in few daies nine hundred and ſixtie gaue by the gholt. It began in London the ninth of Iulie, and the twelfth of Iulie it was moſt vehement: which was ſo terrible, that people being in beſt helth, were ſuddenlie taken, and dead in foure and twentieth houres, and twelue, or leſſe, for lacke of ſkill in guiding them in their ſweat. And it is to be noted, that this mortalitie ſell cheſtie 10 or rather vpon men, and thoſe alſo of the beſt age, as between thirtie & fortie yeers. The ſpedie riddance of life procured by this ſickneſſe, did ſo terriſie people of all ſorts, that ſuch as could make liſt, either with monie or frendſhip, changed their ſoule, and leauing places of concourſe, betooke them (for the time) to a- bodes, though not altogether ſolitarie, yet leſſe frequented: to conclude, manifold meanes were made for ſafetie of life. The ſiſt weeke died in Lon- don eight hundred persons.

The manner of this ſweat was ſuch, that if 20 men did take anie cold outwardlie, it ſtroke the ſweat in, and immediatlie killed them. If they were ſuffered to ſleepe, commonlie they ſwounded in their ſleepe and departed, or elſe died immedi- lie vpon their waking. But the waie to eſcape dan- ger was cloſe keeping moderatlie with ſome ale and a little drinke, and the ſame to be poſſet-ale, and ſo to keepe them thirtie houres, & then was the dan- ger paſt; but beware of ſudden cold. Before men 30 had learned the manner of keeping, an infinit number periſhed. This diſeaſe at that time followed Engliſhmen & none other nation; for in Antwerpe and other countries, our Engliſhmen being there a- mongſt diuerſe other nations, onelie our Engliſh- men were ſicke thereof, and none other persons. The conſideration of which thing made this nation much afraid thereof, who for the time began to repent and giue almes, and to remember God from whom that plague might well ſeeme to be ſent among vs. But 40 as the diſeaſe in time ceaſed, ſo our deuotion in ſhort time decaied. ¶ At this time alſo the king with the ad- uiſe of his priuie counsell, and hauing alſo great conference with merchants and others, perceiuing that by ſuch coins and copper monies, as had bene coined in the time of the king his father, and now were commonlie currant in the realme; and indeed a great number of them not worth halfe the value that they were currant at, to the great diſhonor of the kings maiestie & the realme, and to the deceit & 50 no little hinderance of all the kings maiesties god ſubiects, did now purpoſe not onelie the abaiſing of the ſaid copper monies, but alſo meant whole to re- duce them to bullion, to the intent to deliuer fine and good monies for them. And therefore in the mo- neth of Iulie by his graces proclamation, he abaiſed the peece of twelue pence, commonlie called a ſel- ton vnto nine pence, and the peece of foure pence vnto thre pence. And in Auguſt next following, the peece of nine pence was abaiſed to ſix pence, and the peece of thre pence vnto two pence, and the pennie 60 to an halfe pennie.

On the eleuenth daie of October, there was a great creation of dukes and earles, as the lord mar- queſſe Dorſet was created duke of Suffolke, the earle of Warwike made duke of Northumberland, and the earle of Wilſhire made marqueſſe of Win- cheſter, & ſir William Herbert maister of the hoſſe; he alſo made William Cicill his ſecretarie knight, maister John Cheke one of his ſcholemaiſters knight, maister Henrie Doble knight, & maister Henrie Deuill knight. ¶ The ſixteenth daie of the ſaid moneth being fridaye, the duke of Summerſet was againe apprehended, & his wiſe alſo, & committed to the tower; with him alſo were committed ſir Michaele Stanbope,

John Case.

Of the ſweat
died within
of Charles
Spanner, the
elder ſiſt, the
the younger
after: ſo that
they both had
vnto the
Suffolke.

Rich. Gracie.

Remembre
the
danger of the
sweating
ſickneſſe.

The ſiſt
ſing of the
coin.

Two ſeals
of monie.

Creation of
honorable
eſtates.

I.S. pag. 1049.

The duke of
Summerſet
againe apprehended, and
committed to
the tower.

The duke de-
clared hath
been and
is now

The people
begging the
duke to be
renewed a
pastor
was

The duke
condemned to
die felonie.

The duke of
Summerfet
condemned
remained to
be rowed.

The people
commem-
orated at
the dukes
condemnation.

Quint.

John Foxe
the dukes
behaviour at
his death.

Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Kase Mene, Sir
Spiles Partridge & other for suspicion of treason and
felonie, whereof they were all thortis after indicted.
And so standing indicted, the second daie of Decem-
ber next following, the said duke was brought out
of the tower of London with the ar of the tower
borne before him, with a great number of billes,
gleaves, halberds & pollaxes attending upon him, &
so came into Westminster hall, where was made in
the middle of the hall a new scaffold, where all the
lords of the kings counsell sate as his iudges: and
there was he arraigned and charged with manie ar-
ticles both of felonie and treason. And when after
much mild speech he had answered not guiltie, he in
all humble manner put himselfe to be tried by his
peeres: who after long consultation among them-
selues, gaue their verdict that he was not guiltie of
the treason, but of the felonie. The people there pre-
sent (which was a great number) hearing the lords
saie not guiltie, which was to the treason, thinking
most certeinlie that he was cleerlie acquitted; and
chieftie for that immediatlie upon the pronouncing
of those wordes, he that carried the ar of the tower
departed with the ar, they made such an outcrie and
ioie, as the like hath not bene heard. Which was an
evident declaration of their good willes and hartie fa-
uours unto him, whose life they greatlie desired to
haue saved, for that he had deserued right well of
most (though the good gentleman had some priuate
enemies) and had bene as a man maie iustlie saie:

Solamen magnum patrie, solamen amicis.

But neuerthelesse, he was condemned to the
death, whereof thortie after he taked. The felonie
that he was condemned of, was upon the statute
made the last yeare against rebelles, and unlawfull
assemblies, wherein amongst other things is one
branch, that whosoever shall procure the death of anie
counsellor, that euerie such attempt or procurement
shall be felonie. And by force of that statute, the
duke of Summerfet, being accompanied with cer-
taine others, was charged that he purposed and at-
tempted the death of the duke of Northumberland,
the lord marquisse, the lord of Penbroke, and others
of the priuie counsell, which by statute was felonie.

After the duke was thus condemned, he was a-
gaine returned to the tower, and landed at the crane
of the winetree, and so passed through London, where
were both exclamations: the one cried for ioie that
he was acquitted, the other cried out that he was
condemned. But howsoever they cried, he was con-
victed to the tower of London, where he remained
untill the two and twentieth daie of Januarie next fol-
lowing. The duke being condemned (as is afore-
said) the people spake diuerlie, and murmured a-
gainst the duke of Northumberland, and against
some other of the lords, for the condemnation of the
said duke: and also (as the common fame went) the
kings maiestie toke it not in good part. Wherefore
as well to remoue fond talke out of mens mouths,
as also to recreate and refresh the troubled spirits of
the young king; who (as saith Grafron) seemed to
take the trouble of his vncke somewhat heauilie: it
was deuised, that the feast of Christs nativitie, com-
monlie called Christmasse then at hand, should be so-
lemnlie kept at Greenwich with open household, and
franke resort to court (which is called keeping of the
hall) what time of old ordinarie course there is al-
waies one appointed to make sport in the court, cal-
led commonlie lord of misrule: whose office is not
unknowne to such as haue bene brought up in no-
ble mens houses, and among great house-keepers,
which be liberal feasting in that season. There was
therefore by order of the counsell, a wise gentleman &
learned named George Ferrers, appointed to that

office for this yeare; who being of better credit & est-
imation than commonlie his predecessors had bene be-
fore, receiued all his commissions and warrants
by the name of the maister of the kings pastimes:
Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in
the way of sundrie sights and deuises of rare inuenti-
ons, and in act of diuerse interludes, and matters of
pastime played by persons, as not onelic satisfied the
common sort, but also were verie well liked and al-
lowed by the counsell, and other of skill in the like
pastimes: but best of all by the young king himselfe,
as appeared by his princelie liberalitie in rewarding
that seruice.

¶ On mondaie the fourth of Januarie, the said
lord of merie disposits came by water to London, Abr. Fl. ex
1. Stow 1055.
and landed at the tower wharffe, entred the tower,
and then rode through tower street, where he was
receiued by Hauise lord of misrule to John Spainard
one of the shiriffes of London, and so conducted
through the citie with a great compaignie of young
lords & gentlemen to the house of Sir George Warne
lord maior, where he with the chiefe of his compaignie
dined, and after had a great banquet: and at his de-
parture, the lord maior gaue him a standing cup
with a couer of silver and guilt of the value of ten
pounds for a reward, and also set a hogshed of wine,
and a barrell of beere at his gate, for his traine that
followed him. The residue of his gentlemen & ser-
uants dined at other aldermens houses, and with the
shiriffes, and then departed to the tower wharffe a-
gaine, & so to the court by water, to the great com-
mendation of the maior and aldermen, and highlie
accepted of the king and counsell.]

This Christmas being thus passed and spent with
much mirth and pastime, wherewith the minds and
eares of murmurers were metlie well appeased, ac-
cording to a former determination as the sequele
shewed: it was thought now good to proceed to the
execution of the iudgement giuen against the duke
of Summerfet, touching his conuiction & atteindor
of the felonie before mentioned. Whereupon, the
two and twentieth daie of Januarie, then next fol-
lowing being fridaie, he was brought out of the
tower, and according to the manner, deliuered to
the shiriffes of London; and so with a great compa-
nie of the gard & others with weapons, was brought
to the scaffold where he should suffer, without chan-
ging either voice or countenance, other than he was
accustomed to vse at other times.

The same morning earelie, the conestables of e-
uerie ward in London (according to a precept direc-
ted from the counsell to the maior) straitlie charged
euerie household of the same citie, not to depart anie
of them out of their houses, before ten of the clocke
of that daie: meaning thereby to restraine the great
number of people that otherwise were like to haue
ben at the said execution. Notwithstanding, by sea-
son of the clocke, the tower hill was couered with
a great multitude, repairing from all parts of the ci-
tie, as well as out of the suburbs. And before eight of
the clocke, the duke was brought to the scaffold, in-
closed with the kings gard, the shiriffes officers, the
warders of the tower, & other with halberds: where
as he nothing changing neither voice or counte-
nance, but in a manner with the same gesture which
he commonlie vied at home, kneeling downe upon
both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended
himselfe vnto God. After he had ended a few thort
prayers, standing vp againe, and turning himselfe
toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all a-
bashed (as it seemed vnto those that stood by) neither
with the sight of the ar, neither yet of the hangingman,
nor of present death, but with the like alacritie and
cheerfulness of mind and countenance as before
times

Abr. Fl. ex
1. Stow 1055.

The shiriffes
lord of mis-
rule.

1552

The executi-
on of the duke of
Summerfet.

Means to
restraine the
multitude
from the
dukes ex-
ecution.

John Foxe.
The dukes
behaviour at
his death.

times he was accustomed to heare the causes & supplications of other, & speciallie of the poore (towards whome as it were with a certeine fatherlie loue to his children he alwaies shewed himselfe most attentive) he uttered these words to the people.

The words of the duke of Summerfet
at his death.

Derelie beloued friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit I neuer offended against the king, neither by word nor deed, and haue bene alwaies as faithfull and true vnto this realme, as anie man hath bene. But forsomuch as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my selfe as well as others, to be subiect thereto. Wherefore to testifie mine obedience which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer my selfe with most hartie thanks vnto God, that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might thorough sudden death haue taken awaie my life, that I neither should haue acknowledged him nor my selfe.

Whereouer (derelie beloued friends) there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching christian religion, which so long as I was in authoritie, I alwaies diligentlie set forth, and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but reioice therein, sith now the state of christian religion cometh most nere vnto the forme and order of the primitiue church. Which thing I esteeme as a great benefit giuen of God, both to you and me, most hartilie exhorting you all, that this which is most purelie set forth vnto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your liuing: which thing if you do not, without doubt, greater mischief and calamitie will follow.

Great feare among the people assembled on the tower hill.
Rich. Grafton.
John Stow.

When he had spoken these words, suddenlie there was a great noise heard, whereupon the people were straight driven into a great feare, few or none knowing the cause. Wherefore I thinke it good to write what I saw (saith John Stow) concerning that matter. The people of a certeine hamlet which were warned to be there by seauen of the clocke to giue their attendance on the lieutenant, now came thorough the pofferne, and perceiuing the duke to be already on the scaffold, the foremost began to run, crying to their fellows to follow fast after. Which suddenness of these men, being weaponed with bills and halberds, & this running caused the people which first saw them, to thinke some power had come to haue rescued the duke from execution, and therefore cried Awaie awaie. Whereupon the people ran, some one waie, some an other, manie fell into the tower ditch, and they which tarried, thought some pardon had bene brought: some said it thundered, some that the ground moued, but there was no such matter.

This amazement of the people is in other words recorded by John Fox in the storie of this dukes troubles & death: which because they be effectuell I thinke good to interlace. When the duke had ended his speech (saith he) suddenlie there was a terrible noise heard:

whereupon there came a great feare on all men. This noise was as it had bene the noise of a great storme or tempest, which to some seemed to be heard from a boue: like as if a great deale of gunpowder being inclosed in an armorie, and hauing caught fire, had violentlie broken out. But to some againe it seemed as though it had bene a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming vpon them; such a noise was then in the eares of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened, that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, and without anie violence or stroke stricken, they ran awaie, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabout. Other some being affraid with the horour and noise, fell dolour groueling vnto the ground with their pollares & halberds, and most part of them cried out: Iesus saue vs, Iesus saue vs. Those which tarried still in their places, for feare knew not where they were. And I myselfe which was there present among the rest, being also affraid in this hurly burly, God still altogether amazed, looking when anie man would knocke me on the head. It happened here, as the euangelists write, it did to Christ, when the officers of the high priests & Phariseis coming with weapons to take him, being astonished ran backe, & fell to the ground.

In the meane time, whilst these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one sir Anthony Browne riding vnto the scaffold: which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for, that the king by that messenger had sent his uncle pardon: and therefore with great reioicing and casting by their caps, they cried out: Pardon, pardon is come: God saue the king. Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all mans helpe, yet he saw before his departure, in how great loue and fauour he was with all men. And trulie I do not thinke, that in so great slaughter of dukes as hath bene in England within this few peares, there was so manie weeping eyes at one time: and not without cause. For all men did see in the decaye of this duke, the publicke ruine of all England, except such as indeed perceiued nothing. The duke in the meane time standing still, both in the same place and mind wherein he was before, shaking his cap which he held in his hand, made a signe vnto the people that they should keepe themselves quiet: which thing being done, & silence obtained, he spake to them the second time in this maner.

The second speech of the duke of
Summerfet to the people.

Derelie beloued friends, there is no such matter in hand, as you dainlie hope or beleue. It seemeth thus good to almighty God, whose ordinance it is met & necessarie that we be all obedient vnto. Wherefore I praie you all to be quiet, and without tumult: for I am euen now quiet, and let vs soine in praier vnto the Lord, for the preservation of our noble king, vnto whose maiestie I wish continually health, with all felicitie and abundance & all manner of prosperous successe: whereunto the people cried out, Amen. Whereouer, I wish vnto all his counsellors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule althings brightlie with iustice, vnto whome I exhort you all in the Lord to shew your selues obedient, the which is also

Abr. Fl. ex
lo. Foxi
martyrologio.

also verie necessarie for you, vnder the paine of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the kings maiestie. And forsomuch as heretofore I haue had oftentimes affaires with diuers men, that it is hard to please euerie man that hath bene offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and aske them forgiveness: but especiallie almighty God, whome thoroughout all my life I haue most greivously offended. And vnto all other, whatsoeuer they be that haue offended me, I doe with my whole heart forgive them.

And once againe (dearely beloued in the Lord) I require that you will keepe your selues quiet and still, least thorough your tumult you might cause me to haue some trouble, which in this case would nothing at all profit me, neither be anie pleasure vnto you. For albeit the spirit be willing and readie, the flesh is fraile and wauering, and thorough your quietnesse I shall be much moze the quieter: but if that you fall vnto tumult, it will be great trouble & no gaine at all vnto you. Moreover, I desire you to beare me witnesse, that I die here in the faith of Iesus Christ, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I maie perseuere constant in the same vnto my liues end.

Edw. 5.
Cor.
to
the
last

When he turning himselfe about knéled downe vpon his knees, vnto whome doctor Cor, which was there present, to counsell and aduertise him, deliuered a certaine scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a briefe confession to God. Which being read, he stood vp againe on his feet, without anie trouble of mind as it appeared, and first had the shirriffes farewell, then the lieutenant of the tower, & certaine other that were on the scaffold, taking them all by the hands. When he gaue the executioner monie, which done, he put off his gowne, and knéling downe againe in the straw, vntied his shirt strings: and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe his collar round about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he couering his face with his owne handkerchiefe, lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, where his onely hope remained, laid himselfe downe along, shewing no manner of trouble or feare; neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were couered there began to appeare a red colour in the middle of his cheeks.

Edw. 5.
Cor.
to
the
last

Thus this most meeke and gentle duke lieng along and looking for the stroke, because his doublet couered his necke he was commanded to rise vp and put it off: & then laieng himselfe downe againe vpon the blocke, and calling thus vpon the name of Iesus, saying: Lord Iesu saue me, as he was the third time repeating the same, euen as the name of Iesu was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life; and slept in the Lord Iesu, being taken awaite from all the dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whose truth and gospell he alwaies shewed himselfe an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath receiued the reward of his labours. Thus gentle reader thou hast the true historie of this worthy and noble duke, and if anie man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie.

This duke was in high fauour and estimation with king Henrie the eight, of whome he receiued

sundrie high & great preferments, by reason that the said king had married ladie Jane his sister, by whome he had issue king Edward the first. He was not onely courtous, wise and gentle, being daile attendant at the court; but forward and fortunate in seruice abroad, as may well appeare in his sundrie volages, both into France and Scotland. He was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, not blemished by any thing so much, as by the death of the admiral his naturall brother, which could not haue bene brought to passe in that sort, without his consent. But of this good duke (to let passe multitude of wordes) maister Fox hath written no lesse trulie than commendably, & no lesse commendably than deservedly, and no lesse deservedly than profitably in his historie, whereto I refer the reader for further knowledge. Neuerthelesse of this vertuous duke by waie of application I saie as sometime one said (verie aptly as some thinke) of the gracions ladie An Bullen,

*Disce vos viui, quid dira calumnia possit,
Invidia alterius vita comes arcta beate,
Et falsis lingua commissa venena furrui.*

The duke of
Somerset
described.

*Who as it is
supposed and
proued since
(saith Sleidan)
was
vniuersally
condemned.

The protectors of England collected

out of the ancient and moderne chronicles,
wherin is set downe the yeare of Christ,
and of the king in which they executed
that function.



Vpon the death of this duke of Summerset protector of England, it shall not be vnfitting in this place to set downe all the protectors (whereof I can as yet haue intelligence) and who haue bene gouernors, regents, gardians, or deputies of the realme, and of the kings person during his minority and time of his insufficiencie of gouernement; or else of his absence being out of the realme: whereof I haue made an especiall title in my Pantographie of England, in which this my collection of the protectors, although perhaps I shall not set downe all (for *Barnardus non videt omnia*) yet it is better to haue halfe a loose than no bread, knowledge of some than of none at all. Thus therefore I begin.

The collectis
of Francis Thun
in the yeare
1585.

Guendoline the daughter of Corineus duke of Guendoline. Coirewall (after the procurement of warre against hir husband wherein he was slaine) was by common consent (for that hir sonne Hadane which she had by Locrine was insufficient by reason of his minority to gouerne the kingdome) made by the Britons ruler of the Isle, in the yeare of the world 2894, and so continued the same by the space of fiftene yeares, vntill hir sonne came to lawfull age.

Partia (the widow of Quenteline the king) by reason that Sicilius hir sonne was not of age conuenient to wield the scepter (as one being but seven yeares old) obtained the gouernement both of the realme and of hir sonnes person, which she most worthily deserved, being a woman of rare vertue and iudgement.

Edred, Ethelred, or Edered (for all these diuersities are found in authors) brother to Edmund king of England, while the sonnes of Edmund (Edwine and Edgar) were for their minorities insufficient to dispose the kingdome, was appointed protector to his nephewes, in the yeare of Christ 940, who about six or seven yeares after his protectorship toke on him the kingdome at Kingston on Easter daie, in the yeare of Christ, as hath Iohn Stow 946, as others haue nine hundred fortie seven.

Emma the queene of England, the widow of king Ethelred, and of Canutus, both kings of England iointlie, with Godwine earle of Kent had the gouernement of the realme vnder Hardiknutte king

Edred.

king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare
of Christ 1041.

Hayold.

Harold the sonne of Godwine at the death of king Edward the Confessor (which fell in the yeare of Christ 1066, and the thir and twentieth yeare of the same king) was by the testament of the said king Edward appointed regent of the yong Edgar Atheling (named heire in the life of the said Edward) and of the kingdome, after the death of king Edward, during the minority of the said Edgar. Beside which the like commending of the kingdome to this Harold, in respect of the quenes honour, as that before of the successours right, is set downe by one that liued at that time, and wrote the life of king Edward, of erle Godwine, and of his children, in these words.

Torrecliff, manin (meaning king Edward lieng on his death bed, and speaking in the behaffe of Goirthe the quene, sister to this Harold) *ad predictum matricum suum fratrem Haroldum; Hanc inquit cum omni regno tutandam tibi commendo; ut pro domina & sorore ut es fidei ferues & honores obsequio; ut quoad vixerit a me adeptio non priuiter honore debito. Commendo pariter etiam eos qui nationem terram suam reliquerunt causa amoris mei, imbrige hactenus fideliter sint obsequuti: ut suscipe ab eis sita volunt fidelitate eius inuicis & retinas, aut tua defensione conductos cum omnibus que sub me acquisierunt cum salute ad propria transferantur facias, &c.* *But he, when king Edward was dead, thrust by the crowne to himselfe, and thost he after loſt both his life and his kingdome.*

Bishop of
Worcester, and
William Fitz-
osborne earl
of Hereford.

The bishop of Bath, and William Fitzosborne the first, being earle of Kent, and chiefe iustice of England, and the second being earle of Hereford, were governours of the realme, in the yeare of our Lord 1067, and the first yeare of William the Conquerour, when he went into Normandie after the conquest and indifferent quietting of the realme.

Lanfranc
archbishop of
Canterburie.

Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie, as appeareth by Matthew Parker, Writing in this sort in the life of the said Lanfranke; *Abfente Gulielmo omnia Linfranco mandabantur, qui fummia prudentia cuncta moderatus, proceres & plebem in officio tranquille fine vlla motu atque tumultu continebat, adeo ut quæ defectionis fufpicio nafcebatur, ad eam illico compendendæ maximæ & potentiffimæ quifque opem & adiuvementum illi imperanti præftitit.*

Sir Richard
Lucie chiefe
justice of
England.

Sir Richard Lucie knight, chiefe iustice of Eng-
 land was p[ro]tector of the realme in the twelfth yeare
 of the reigne of king Henrie the second, being the
 yeare of our Lord 1166, in the absence of the king
 when he was in Normandie, and in the parts be-
 yond the seas. Which Lucie in the thirtieth yeare of
 the same king, being the yeare of our redemption
 1167, did valiantlie resist, and polittikelie obtu[er]e backe
 the earle of Bullongne invading the realme. He
 built the abbey of Leofnes or Westwood in the pa-
 rish of Crich in Kent (and not in Southfleet as some
 haue written) in the yeare of Christ 1178, being a-
 bout the foure and twentieth yeare of king Henrie
 the second; and further built the castell of Angier in
 Essex, in the diocesse of the bishop of London. He
 had issue Godfreie bishop of Winchester, and thre
 daughters. who after the death of Godfreie their bo-
 ther were his heires: the eldest daughter of which Sir
 Richard Lucie, was married to Robert the first cal-
 led Fitzwater: the second daughter Auelina, was
 married to Riuers, of whome Isaac John de Riuers: the
 third daughter Rose, was married to Richard
 Murraine, son to king John, as appeareth by a deed
 (belonging to my selfe, who had the reuerie of Leof-
 nes) beginning thus: *Refo de Douer quondam uxor ve-*
nerabilis viri Richardi filij regis de Chiltan.

Hugh Giffard
bishop of
Durham.

Hugh Bures de Burcauc; Judie, nephew to king Stephen, being bishop of Durham, and eric of Northumberland, and William Longchampe bishop of Elic, had the government of the realme for

Richard the first, upon his departure forth of the realme to take his iourne into the holie land. For in his absence he appointed this Hugh to haue the rule of the north parts, as chiefe iustice & warden of the realme from Ymber to Scotland, deliuering to him also the keeping of the castell of Winchester, the other parts of the realme, with the custodie of the tower, he assigned to the gouernement of William Longchampe bishop of Elic, whome he made chiefe iustice and warden of those east, south and west parts, making him also his chancellour: who being a man of great diligence and knowledge in the administration of things, was yet vertie fastidious and desirous of rule, honour and riches, farre aboue all measure. And with these two bishops he linked in authoritie by commission Hugh lord War-dolph, William Sparshall the great, earle of Chey-sow, Sir Iggull or Penbroke, Gesteire Fitzpeter, and William Bzeiwer, barons, men of great honor, wisdom & discretion. This the king did in the yeare of Christ 1190, and the first yeare of his reigne.

Walter de Conſtantis ſometime chancellor of England, biſhop of Lincolne, and now archbiſhop of Roane, vpon theſe miſdemours; of the pꝛoud biſhop of Elie William Longchamp, about the yeare 1192, had the cuſtodie and gouernement of the realme committed vnto him, whilſt king Richard the firſt remained ſtill in the holie warres: who being called from that place in the yeare of Chriſt 1193 (with Eleanore mother to the king) to come to king Richard then impriſoned in Auſtria, the archbiſhop of Canturburie Hubert ſucceeded him in the yeare 1194, whome the ſaid archbiſhop of Roane procured to be inſtalled in the ſee of Canturburie, which Walter de Conſtantis (as hath Euerclden) was made biſhop of Lincolne in the yeare 1183, and the next yeare after biſhop of Roane.

Hubert Walter, or Walter Hubert (for such a transmutation of the name is viced amongst hystorographers) was made (vpon the discharge and going of Walter archbishop of Roane beyond the seas to king Richard) gouernour and protectour of the realme, before the retorne of Richard the first into England after the said kings imprisonment (by the duke of Austria and the emperor) procured by Saracenis bishop of Glasfenburie and Welles, a kinsman to the emperor, wherof our moderne printed chronicles nor our ancient writers, except one, make any mention. This Hubert died at his manor of Tenham, and was buried at Cantuarburie in the south wall, in the yeare of our redemption 1205, the fourth ides of Iulie, being the seuenthy yeare of king John.

Cleane; widow to Henrie the second, and mother to Richard the first, was made protectresse of England, after the departure of hir son into France, when he had bene deliuered out of prison : in which office she continued during the life of hir sonne, which he ended in Poitiers in those French warres, by a hurt receiued from one that discharged a crossbow against him, on a frieide as he besieged Chalons. Touching whose death (sith I am now in hand with the same) it shall not be amisse to set before such few crull verses composed by severall men in severall sorts, as I haue read, and are not yet made common to the worlde, which verses be these, concerning his death and place of burtall, as hereafter followeth:

*Pictanus exta ducis sepelit, tellusque Chalucis
Corpus dat claudi sub marmore fontis Ebraudi,
Nemfria tuq; regis cor inexpugnabile regis,
Sic loca per trina se sparsit tanta ruina,
Nec fuit hoc finis cui sufficeret locus unus.*

Whercof also another composed these following
 verses somewhat eloquentlie, as saith Matthew Pa-
 ris (and so in truth they were, considering that age
 which

An. Reg. 5.

which mostlie bled a rining kind of Latine verses, induced into the west part of the world by the barons Colles) in his greater historie of the life of king Richard in manner and forme following:

*Ad Chalus cecidit rex regni cardo Richardus,
His ferus his humilis, his agnus, his leopardus,
Cassus erat lucis, Chalus per seculi nomen
Non intellectum fuerat, sed nominis omen
Non patuit, res clausa fuit, sed duce cadente
Prodit in lucem, pro casu lucis adeptus.*

Besides which verses of two severall men, it pleaseth my pen to ad also the third mans doing, as well for that the number of three is the holie number, as for that there is nothing so sweet, but that varietie doth refresh it: yet especiallie sith it is delightfull to see the severall inventions of manie wits, this third poet therefore, exclaiming against the daie in which the said king Richard the first received his deaths wound (being on a fridate) doth thus write:

*O veneris damnosa dies! o seditus amarum!
Iste dies tua nox fuit, Venus illa venenum,
Illa dedit letum, sed postumus ille diem,
Primus ab undecimo, quo vita victricis ipsum
Clauit vitrag dies: homicida tyrannide mira
Transgreditur, clausus exclusam, tectus opertum,
Prouidus incautum, miles inimicus inermem.*

This queene Eleanor the protectresse died in the yere of Christ 1205, being the seuenth of king John. Geoffrey Fitzpeter lord Ludgerfall, who was by Richard the first made chiefe iustice of England, after the remouing of Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie, and was in the first yere of king John girded by him with the sword of the earldome of Essex, was also protector of the realme. Who being a man of great power and authoritie, was by nature gentle, by birth noble, in the lawes cunning, in reuenues great, and to all a good iusticer. This man was a hyde to king John, to rektreine his insolencie; since he was confederat and alied in friendship & bloud with all the nobilitie of England: & for that cause was greatlie feared of the k. who said of him, as he did before of the archbishop Hubert, that he then did fullie reigne, when they two were dead. For turning to those which stood by him, when news was brought unto him of the death of Fitz Geoffrey, he sware by Gods feet, that he was then king & lord of England, and not before. Which words he would not vse, when the archbishop Hubert died; because this man was yet liuing, whome the king (as is already said) greatlie feared. And therefore vpon the death of the archbishop, he did oncelie saie that he began to reigne; but now vpon this mans departure out of the world, he said he was become a full lord & absolute king of England. This Geoffrey Fitzpeter died in the yere of our redemption 1212, being about the fourteenth yere of the reigne of the said miserable afflicted king John, who died in the yere of Christ 1216; whose death I haue bene the willing here to mention; because I would set downe his epitaph (not else before set downe in our English chronicles) as I find the same of ancient report:

*Hoc in sarcophago sepelitur regis imago,
Qui moriens multum sedauit in orbe tumultum,
Et cui connexa dum vixit probra manebant,
Hinc mala, post mortem timor est nefata sequantur.
Qui legis hac metuens dum cernis te moriturum,
Disito quid rerum pariat tibi meta dierum.*

This Geoffrey Fitzpeter married Beatrice, daughter and heire of William lord Saie, by whom he had issue, Geoffrey Pandenile earle of Essex, & Matw married to Humfreie de Bohune, by whome the Bohunes became earles of Essex.

William Marshall furnished the great, being earle of Penbroke, was made protector of the realme,

& person of the king, after that the king (being nine yeres of age) was crowned in the yere of our Lord 1216. Which office this William (being also marshall of England) vfed so honorable, that he recovered a great part of the nobilitie (which toke part with Leues son of the French king against king John father to this Henrie) to assist the yong king Henrie against the said Leues: who in the time of the said John had obtained a great part of the kingdome of England. By which meanes the said Leues was expelled, and the kingdome wholie recovered to the vse of the said yong king Henrie the third.

This William Marshall married Isabell daughter and heire to Richard Strangbow earle of Penbroke, who made him a happie father in the multitude of his children. For by hir he had five sonnes, all which were in succession marshalls of England, and earles of Penbroke; and five daughters. The sonnes were William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselme; who all dieng without issue, the inheritance was deuolued to the five sisters; which were, Matw the eldest, married to Hugh Bigod, in hir right earle marshall; Jone the second, married to Maraine Montbenie, in hir right also earle of Penbroke, as hath Nicholas Triuer; Isabell the third, married to Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester; Sibill the fourth, married to William Ferrers erle of Warbie; & Que the fift daughter, married to William de Berehuse, or de Bause. This William the great died in the yere of our redemption 1219, being the third (as hath Nicholas Triuer) or the fourth (as hath Matthew Westminster) yere of the reigne of the said king Henrie the third, and was buried at the new temple, on Ascension daie, being the seuenteenth calends of Aprill: of whome was made this epitaph by Gervasius Melcheleie, taking vpon him the person of the earle marshall:

*Sum quem Saturnum sibi sentit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.*

Which significth that he was a sharpe corrector and ruler of the Irish, an honor & gloie to the English, a counsellor and dispatcher of the affaires of Normandie, a warlike knight and invincible captain against the Frenchmen.

Petrus derupibus, or Peter of the Roch, being bishop of Winchester, was after the death of William Marshall earle of Penbroke advanced to the protectorship of the king; because that the yong king was almost destitute of aide of his owne kindred that might worthilie haue the rule of his person. For his mother queene Isabell was retolic married to Hugh Blune earle of March in France. This bishop of Winchester (who was both a wise and a stout prelat) being now in possession of the king, and mistrusting that he had entred into a more weightie office than he might well discharge, if all things were not done according to the fauor of the nobilitie, procured diuerse graue and honorable men to be preferred to the kings counsell, and to be associats to him in the administration of the weale publike; and so entred into the administration of his new atchlied honor. Which yet he did not long inioie.

But as the bishop was at the first carefull to plant such of the nobilitie about the king, for the support of the realme; so yet himselfe being a Calcoine, did after in the riper yeres of the king prefer to offices about the king such Calcoines as both were of his owne blood and kindred; and by their extrordinarie dealing procured the nobilitie with an hard and vndutifull course to oppose themselves against the king. This Peter was advanced to the seat of Winchester, in the yere of our redemption 1204, being about the first yere of king John. After which

earle of Penbroke.

Peter de la Roches.

he went to Rome, and being a prelat more fit to fight than to preach, for Mars than for the muses; did returne from Rome in the yeare of Christ 1205, being about the seventh yeare of king John. He remained bishop about two and thirtie yeares, and died at his manour house of Fernham, on the fift ides of June, in the yeare of our Lord (as haue Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster) 1238, being the two & twentieth yeare of Henrie the third. Who somewhat before his death, about the one and thirtieth yeare of his bishoprike, went into the holie land with the bishop of Excester. He builded, and indued with possessions manie religious houses: amongst which he founded Tichfield in Hampshire; of which Peter de la Roches, or of the rocks, Matthew Paris maketh a more large discourse.

Hubert de Burow earle of Kent.

Hubert de Burow, constable of Dover castle, earle of Kent, and chiefe iustice of England, being of great account in the realme for his probitie and goodnesse, was made protector of the king and kingdom, in the yeare of our redemption 1221, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the third. This man in the yeare of Christ 1221 (being the same yeare in the which he was made protector) married at Poike, Margaret, sister to Alexander king of Scots. And here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat touching the issue of this Hubert of Burow, who in a certene namelesse booke (caried about in the hands of all men) treating of the nobilitie (created since the invasion of William Conqueror) is said to die without issue: which cannot possible be so, if that be true which I haue seene: which I am led by manie reasons to believe to be most true.

For I haue read of two children which this Hubert had, whereof the one being a sonne, was called Richard de Burow, who was knighted by Henrie the third (as it seemeth to me) after the death of his father: if this Richard be not the same John, of whom Matthew Paris writeth, that in the yeare of Christ 1229, *Rex Anglorum Henricus, in die Pentecostes Iohannem filium Huberti Anglie iusticiarium singulorum militum donauit tertio nonas Junij.* The other child was a daughter called Margaret, married to Richard Beuer to the earldome of Gloucester, as noteth Iohn Beuer in these words: *Richardus habes comitis Glouernie Margaretam filiam Huberti de Burgo comitis Cantie in uxorem accepit.* This Hubert of Burow was a verie old man, who after manie persecutions by the king, and after so manie chances of both fortunes, departed this world on the fourth ides of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the seuen and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third at his manour of Wansford, or Wansford. Whose bodie was honorable caried to London, and there buried in the church of the frier preachers, to whom in his life he had giuen great gifts; and amongst other things, his goodlie place which stood not far from the palace of earle Richard of Cornewall (as I with some probable reasons coniecture) nere vnto Westminster, which afterward the archbishop of Poike did procure. His wife the countesse of Kent, being likewise verie old, a woman that kept verie great hospitalitie, and that was well beloued, died in the yeare of Christ 1259, being the thre and fortith yeare of Henrie the third, about sixteen years after the death of the earle hir husband.

Walter Greie archbishop of Poike.

Walter Greie archbishop of Poike was made protector of the realme in this sort. The French king hauing vniuersally giuen the earldome of Poitiers to his brother Adolphus; Hugh Bruce earle of March (the greatest of the nobilitie in that prouince) would not do homage vnto Adolphus, but wrote his letters to his son in law king Henrie the third. (whose mother Eleanore he had married) that if he would

come into those parts, he should haue both aid of men, and furniture of war for the perfect restoring of those dominions to the crowne of England. For which cause Henrie the third assembling his power, did with his brother Richard (then lately returned fro Jerusalem) depart the realme in the yeare of our redemption 1242, being the six & twentieth yeare of his gouernment into Poitiers, & left the administration of the kingdom to Walter Greie archbishop of Poike, whilst he should remaine in those parts. Which office the said archbishop held also in the yeare of Christ 1243, being the seauen and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third. Of this man is more mention made in my collection of the chancellors of England; in this place onelie further setting downe, that this Walter died in the yeare of Christ 1255, being about the nine and thirtieth yeare of this Henrie the third, as hath Anonymus M. S.

Eleanore daughter to Reimond earle of Poike, Eleanore; wife to king Henrie the third and quene of England, with Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother (to whose custodie was committed Edward Longshanks, being after king of England by the name of Edward the first, son to the said king Henrie) were (in the yeare of our redemption 1253, being the seuen and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third) appointed gouernors and protectors of the realme in the kings absence, whilst he went into Gascoine, whither he went to pacifie the nobilitie, and to keepe the same in safetie from the French. And because my pen hath here fallen vpon Richard earle of Cornewall, I determine to say somewhat of him in this place, not hauing other occasion offered to me therefore. This Richard the son of king John was borne in the yeare of Christ 1208, being the tenth yeare of the reigne king John. He was made (and so called) earle of Poitiers by Henrie the third, about the ninth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1225, who also that yeare with his vncle William earle of Sarisburie went into Poitiers, where he was tofullie receiued: he putteth the earle of March to flight, he recovereth that which was lost in Gascoine, he went into the holie land, refuseth the kingdom of Apulia offered vnto him, he is chosen emperor, and receiue that hono at Colen, being there crowned king of the Romans: he subdued Alfonso competitor with him for the empire, he after returneth into England: he is anemie to Simon Montfort and the barons rebelling against his brother king Henrie the third; he is taken prisoner by the barons, and is afterward deliuered: he was created knight and earle of Cornewall in the yeare of our redemption 1225, as hath Matthew Westminster, but as saith William Packington, he was created earle of Cornewall in the yeare of Christ 1227. He married foure wiues, if that Elizabeth his first wife and Isabel the widow of Gilbert de Clare were not all one woman. But leauing that to further knowledge, I do for this time make them but one person; for so in truth it must be, whatsoeuer otherwise shall be shewed in mistaking their names. Elizabeth that was his first wife, as noteth Leland, was buried in the quere of Beland, being that woman which is called Isabel, and was the daughter of William Marchall earle of Penbroke surnamed the great: and the widow of Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester was married to this erle of Cornewall, in the yeare of our Lord 1231 being the fiftieth yeare of king Henrie the third.

This Isabel died in the yeare of our redemption 1240, being the foure and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, after this manner. For the being great with child, and nere to the time of hir deliuerance, fell into *periculum interitum*: or the

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dicted, and deliuering a child into the world, which had life, and was baptised by the name of Nicholas, they both presentlie died thereupon. Which thing when the earle vnderstood being then on his iourneie into Cornwall, he burst out in teares, and greatlie lamented that losse. Wherefore hastily returning, and leauing his former iourneie, he honorable buried his wife at * Belland or Beaulen, an house of religion builded by king John from the foundation, and replenished with Charterhouse monks.

His second wife was Sinthia or Sanelia, daughter to Richmond earle of Prouince, and sister to the queene of England, wife to king Henrie the third, brother to the said Richard earle of Cornwall, who married the said Sinthia in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the seuen and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. Leland also appointeth to him the third wife, which was Beatrix de Famaia, whom he calleth queene of Almaine, & wife to king Richard, brother to Henrie the third. Which ladie died in the yeare of our redemption 1277, being the first yeare of Edward the first, and was buried at the friers minors in Orford. This noble Richard erle of Cornwall died in Februarie at Berkhamsted, in the yeare of Christ 1271, in the five and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, as saie Matthew Paris and Marthew Westminster: but Nicholas Triuet referreth his death to the yeare 1270, being the foure and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third: and the chronicle belonging to Cuesham to the yeare 1272, being the first and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third. After whose death his hart was buried in the friers minors of Orford, and his bodie committed to the earth in the monasterie of Hales (being Charterhouse monks) which he had builded at his charge of 10000 marks, which at this daie at five shillings the ounce of silver amounteth to the summe of twentie thousand pounds. He had two sonnes, the one called Henrie by his first wife Isabell; the other called Edmund de Almania by his second wife Sinthia. Henrie was slaine by Simon and Guie of Montfort sonnes of the last Simon Montfort earle of Leicester, in the life of his father Richard in Italie at Citerbo, in the yeare of our redemption 1270. Which fact being done in saint Syluesters church as he was at masse, occasioned the townesmen to paint the manner of his death on the wall of the church: and that picture being beheld by a certaine versifier, he was bigged thereupon to compose these following verses:

*Regis Theutonici Richardi clara propago,
Sternitur Henricus, velut hac designat imago,
Dum redit à Tripoli, regum sultus comitum,
In crucis obsequio patitur sub gente nocua,
Irruit in templum, post missam, stris Guenelonis
Perfodit gladius hunc Simonis atque Guidonis,
Disposuit Deus ut per eos vir tantus obiret,
Ne rescatis his, gens Anglica tota periret,
Anno milleno Domini cum septuagena,
Atque ducono, Carolo sub rege sereno,
Urbe Riterbina sit in eius carne ruina,
Celi regina precor ut sit ei medicina.*

His bones were brought into England, and buried in the monasterie of Hales, where his father was after also buried: but his hart was bestowed in a guilt cup, and placed beside the chaine of saint Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbey. The other sonne to this Richard earle of Cornwall was Edmund of Almaine, who after the death of his father was inuested with the honoz of the earldome of Cornwall, being borne at Berkhamsted in the yeare of our redemption 1250, being the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, to whom his uncle Bonifacius bishop of Canturburie was godfather, and called him Edmund in the

honoz of saint Edmund archbishop of Canturburie and Confessor. This Edmund earle of Cornwall married the daughter of Richard earle of Clare, of whome shall be more spoken when we come to treat of him as protector of England.

Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie, with others which follow, were protectors of the realme after this manner, as I haue gathered. It was ordered in the parlement at Orford called *Parlementum infanum*, that the king should chose forth twelve persons of the realme, and the communalitie of the land other twelve, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might as gardians of the kingdome take in charge vpon them the government of the realme, & should from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of iustices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers, and further prouide to see the safe keeping of the castles belonging to the crowne.

These foure and twentie persons appointed to that function, began to order all things at their owne pleasure: in the meane time not forgetting to see things chiefe to their owne aduantage, as well in prouiding excheats and wards for their children and kindred folks, as also in bestowing of patronages of churches belonging to the kings gift, vnto their owne liking. So that these prouiders which should haue made careful and beneficiall prouisions for the realme, made speedie and plentifull prouision for them and theirs, in so much that neither king nor Christ could get any thing from these protectors. There be that write, how that there were but twelve or thirteene chosen to be gouernors at this time (which for this present I deme to be the truer opinion) whose names are as follow: Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Worcester, Roger Bigod earle of Norfolk and marshall of England, Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester, Richard de Clare earle of Gloucester, Humfreie Bohune earle of Hereford, Richard Fitzalan earle of Arundell, sir John Mansell chiefe iustice of England, sir Roger lord Mortimer, sir Hugh Bigod, sir Peter de Sanoie, sir James Audley, & sir Peter de Montfort. To these (as some saie) was authoritie onlie giuen to punish all such as trespassed in the breach of any of the constitutions of the parlement of Orford. Others say that they were made rulers & protectors of the realme, and to dispose thereof, because the king was much misleed in the government of the kingdome by the peruerse counsell of his flatterers.

Which twelve gouernors I suppose did not long continue: for being euerie one priuatlie for himselfe, and so not iointlie for the common-wealth, they grew diuided, and that the one labored to set vp, the other sought to pull downe.

Boniface archbishop of Canturburie the second time, & the bishop of Worcester, with sir Philip Watset, or rather sir Hugh Bigod made chiefe iustice of England by the barons, were appointed in the yeare of our redemption 1260, being the fortie and fourth of king Henrie the third, to haue the government of the realme in the absence of the king, whilst he remained in France at Paris about the affaires of Normandie: at what time a peace was made betwene the kings of England and France.

Gilbert de Clare the second of that name that was earle of Gloucester and Hereford, was the sonne of Richard de Clare erle of Gloucester and Hereford, which died in the yeare of our redemption 1262, being the fortie & first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, and was buried at Tewkesburie, with a great image of silver and gilt vpon his tombe, and the same sword and spurs which he did weare in his life time. Of which Richard these verses were composed for his probitie and rarenelle of vertuous

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maners

Boniface archbishop of Canturburie.

Boniface archbishop of Canturburie.

Gilbert de Clare.

maners and conditions, and set vpon his tome:

*Hic pudor Hyppoliti, Paridis gena, sensus Physis,
Aeneas pietas, Hectoris iracundia.*

This Gilbert (saie) the sonne of the said Richard was after the death of Henrie the third (which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1277, & in the seuen & fiftith yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie) in the absence of king Edward the first in the holie warres made gouernour of the realme, vntill the returne of the said king Edward into England, to which function he was appointed by king Henrie the third, lieng on his death-bed: who caused the said Gilbert to sweare to keepe the peace of the land to the behoofe of Edward his sonne. Which he did most faithfully, vntill the second daie of August, in the second yeare of the said king, in which the said king Edward landed in England, being in the yeare of our redemption 1274, at what time the king was honourably interteined of the said Gilbert, and John earle of Arraine (a supporter to him in the charge of the kingdome) at the castell of Tunbridge in Kent, and Wigats in Surrie, which Gilbert with the other peers of the land, immediatlie after the death of king Henrie the third, assembling at the new temple brake the old seale of king Henrie, made a new seale in the name of king Edward, and appointed faithfull officers for the sure keeping and obseruing of the treasure, the riches, the peace, and the lawes of the kingdome.

This Gilbert had two wiues, his first wiue was Alice the daughter of Hugh le Breue erle of March, by whom he had issue a daughter, that was countesse of Fife in Scotland: his second wiue was Jone the daughter of king Edward the first, called Jone of Acres, by whome he had one sonne, called Gilbert the third, earle of Gloucester and Hertford, who married Mathe the daughter of Richard earle of Ulster in the yeare of Christ 1308 at Waltham, by whome he had issue a sonne, John bozne in the yeare of Christ 1312, being in the first yeare of Edward the second, that died without issue; after the death of which Gilbert the third, his lands and earldomes of Gloucester and Hertford came to the sister of the said Gilbert the third, who was slaine in the battell of Strueling against the Scots in the seuenth (or as others haue the eight) yeare of king Edward the second, whome the Scots would glablie haue kept for ranfome if they had knowne him: but he had forgotten to put on his cote of armes to shew what he was, after which he was brought into England and was buried at Tewkesburie, vpon whose death the two earldomes of Gloucester and Hertford were so disperfed, that there was neuer anie to this daie, that iointlie succeeded or possessed them both. Thus hauing digressed from Gilbert the second, in treating of his sonne Gilbert the third, let vs againe returns to him. He besides his sonne Gilbert the third, had by his wife Jone three daughters; Elenor, first married to Hugh Spenser, second sonne to Hugh Spenser earle of Gloucester, and after his death to William Zouch; Margaret married to Piers de Caueillon earle of Cornewall, and after to Hugh Audelcie; and Elizabeth or Isabell married in the yeare of our Lord 1308, being the first yeare of Edward the second, to John the sonne of Richard earle of Ulster. This Gilbert the second, before the marriage of his second wife, was on the fiftenth kalends of August diuorced from Alice his first wife, in the yeare of our redemption 1271, being the six and fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third; and after in Westminster church the last of Apill married his second wife, about the eighteenth yeare of Edward the first being the yeare of Christ 1290, which Gilbert the second, being taken awaie by vntimelie death, departed

this world in the yeare of our redemption 1195 (being the three and twentieth of the reigne of the said Edward the first) who was in word & deed, in commandement and authoritie the greatest person of the kingdome, next to king Edward the first: for which cause he well deserved to haue his sepulture among his worthie ancestors.

Edmund earle of Cornewall, of whome there is somewhat spoken before, being the sonne of Richard king of Almaine, and earle of Cornewall brother to Henrie the third, married Margaret the daughter of Richard de Clare erle of Gloucester, he was made protectour of the Realme by Edward the first in the fourtenth yeare (as some saie) or in the sixtenth, as others saie (for there is so much disagreement amongst authours for the accounts of yeares, as it passeth anie one man to reconcile them in all points) when the said king went into Aragon to reconcile the two kings of Aragon & Naples. He continued in this office in the yeare of Christ 1287, or 1228, as hath Treuet, being the sixtenth yeare of Edward the first, in which he subdued Rife ap Ierdach the Welch prince, rebelling against Edward the first, and ouerthrew the castell of Duffillane (as hath the said Nicholas Treuet) he was lord of Wallingford, did much cost therevpon, and died without issue, as hath Matthew Westminster, in the yeare of Christ 1300: but as hath Thomas Walsingham 1301, leauing the king of England his heire. Yet are there some pedegræes and other authours, and those not the meanest, which saie that he had a daughter, Isabell married to Horice Fitz Harding lord Barkleie: so that these authours, which saie that he died without issue, are to be vnderstood of the issue male, & not of the heire generall: for they account him to die without issue, which leaueeth no posteritie to continue his title of honoz. The which their meaning they make more plaine, in that they saie that after his issuelesse death, the earledome came to the crowne. And here because there is mention made of Wallingford, I will set downe what Leland hath written touching the same, because I desire to make common, and to pferue all whatsoeuer monuments of Leland that come vnto my hands: thus therefore he writeth of Wallingford in his commentaries of England, written in the yeare of our redemption 1542, being the foure and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight in these words.

The towne of Wallingford hath bene a verie notable thing and well walled. The ditch of the towne, and the cress wherevpon the walls stand, be yet manifestlie perceiued, and begin from the castell, going in compasse a good mile and more, and so continueth to Wallingford byrde, a large thing of stone ouer the Thames. There remaine yet the names of these streets amongst others, Thamesstreet, Fishstreet, Woodstreet, Goldsmiths rolo. And by the patents and donation of Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of the honour of Wallingford, it appeareth that there were fourtene parish churches in Wallingford: and there be men yet aliuie that can shew the places and churchyards where they stood, at this time there are but three parish churches. The towne and the castell was soze defaced by the Danes warres, yet they maetlie florished in the time of Richard king of the Romans earle of Cornewall, and brother to Henrie the third, he did much cost vpon the castell which ioineth to the north gate of the towne, and hath three ditches (as vpon the cress of the same may appere) large and deepe, about each of the two first ditches (on the cress of the ground cast out) runneth an embatteled wall now soze in ruine, and for the most part defaced. All the godlie buildings, with the tower and dungeon, be within the third ditch. There

is also a collegiat chapell amongst the buildings within the third dyche. Edmund earle of Cornewall son to Richard king of Romans was the first founder and indower of this college. Prince Edward the blacke (as one told me) augmented this college. There is a deane, foure priests, six clerkes, and foure chawncers. The late deane before doctoz London that now is, builded a faire staple of stone at the west end of the collegiat chapell, to the making whereof he defaced (as it is said without licence) a pce of the kings lodging on the east end of the chapell. The deane hath a faire lodging of timber within the castle, and to it is ioined a place for the ministers of the chapell. Thus much Leland for Wallingford, & thus much for Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of Wallingford.

Edward of Carnarvan prince of Wales, sonne to Edward the first, was in the yeare of our redemption 1295, being the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the first, protector of England, in the absence of his father in Flanders, who because he was of tender years, had as tutors and gouvernours appointed unto him Richard bishop of Durham (Eulogium hath the bishop of London) William Spontacite, with diuerse other knights, as Reignold Greie, John Giffard, & Alan Plunket, being wise, discret and expert soldiers.

Piers or Peter de Sanctone a Gascoine borne, whome king Edward the second so tenderlie loued as that he preferred him before all men, was appointed gardian of the realme in the first yeare of the said king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1308, when the king went into France and there aboad to marrie Isabell daughter to Philip king of France, before that the said Edward was crowned king of England, as hath Radulphus Higden. Of this Piers I will here saie little, because I haue spoken more largelie of him in my panto-graphie of England.

John de Dokenford bishop of Bath and Wells, was in the yeare of our redemption 1313, being the first yeare of king Edward the second, made protector of the realme in the absence of the said king Edward the second, and his wife quene Isabell, who went into France to solemnize the coronation of Philip (sonne to Philip king of France) who was at that instant created king of Navarre. This Dokenford was the fourteenth bishop of Bath & Wells. Great contention was there betwene him and the deane and priests of that church. He succeeded in the bishopricke Walter Houelshat. This Dokenford held the bishopricke about nineteene yeares, he beautified the same with manie godlie buildings, procured manie priuileges unto it, and greatlie crated his kindred. He was buried at Welles before the high altar of saint John Baptist.

Henrie Lacie or Lacie earle of Lincoln, and of Salisburie, baron of Halton and of Pontfract, corruptlie called Pontefret, and constable of Chester, was made protector of the realme in the first yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1310, whilst the king remained in the warres of Scotland. Which Henrie died shortly after in the same yeare, and was buried in the new worke of Pauls, who carried for his armes the purple lion contrary to the cote his ancestors had borne before. This man had done great seruice in the warres in the time of Edward the first, he married Margaret the daughter and heire of William Longespée earle of Salisburie, and had by hir a daughter named Alice, married to Thomas Plantagenet earle of Lancaster, Leicester, and Darbie. This Henrie (as I haue learned of other and read in Leland) had issue a ballard sonne, and hauing amongst manie other

lordships the manour of Grantcester besides Cambridge, he gaue the same with other lands unto that ballard, and commanded that the same Lacie so set vp in Grantcester, should for himselfe and his successors euer name their sonnes and heires by the names of Henrie, which hitherto hath bene reingoullie obscured amongst them. And this was the originall of the houses of the Lacies in Grantcester, as Leland learned of him which was then heire of those lands.

Gilbert de Clare the third earle of Gloucester of that name, after the death of Henrie Lacie, was chosen gouernour of the realme (the king being still in Scotland) during the time that the king should make his abode in that countrie. Of this man see before in the discourse of his father Gilbert the second earle of Gloucester and Hertford, and protector of the realme.

Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine, coming out of France with Isabell in the second yeare of Edward the second, his father was after his landing in England and the taking of his father made gardian of England vnder his father, which office he did not long continue: for deposing his father from the kingdome in the yeare of Christ 1326 he assumed the crowne himselfe in his fathers life.

Walter Reynolds archbishop of Canturburie was with others appointed gardian of England on this sort. Edward the third as before attending to the crowne in the yeare of our redemption 1327, as some others more trulie saie 1326, being fourteene yeares of age did then begin his reigne. But because he was so young (not being of power or policie to weld so great a charge) it was decreed in this first yeare of his reigne, that twelue gouernours of the greatest lords within the realme should possesse the gouernement, untill he came to riper yeares, whose names were as inuenth: Walter archbishop of Canturburie, the archbishop of Poike, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaster, Thomas Brotherton earle marshall, Edmund of Woodstocke earle of Kent, John earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Percy, the lord Bluer de Ingham, and the lord John Kesse, who were sworn of the kings counsell and charged with the gouernement of the kingdome as they would answer for the same. But this ordinance continued not long, for in the second yeare of this king, Isabell the kings mother and the lord Roger Mortimer took the whole rule into their hands, in such sort that the king and his counsellors were in all affaires of state, and otherwise, onelie gouerned by their direction. Of this Walter Reynolds the archbishop, because he was sometime chancelor, and sometime treasurer, is more mention made in the large volume of the liues of the chancellors.

John of Elham earle of Cornewall sonne to Edward the second, had (in the fourth yeare of king Edward the third being the yeare of our redemption 1330) the gouernement of the realme committed unto him, whilst king Edward the third had passed the seas onelie fiftene hoyses in his company, apparelled in clothes like vnto merchants, which office the said John of Elham executed untill the returne of the said king, and before that also when the said Edward the third, in the second yeare of his reigne, did before this time go into France to do his homage. He was made earle of Cornewall in the second yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1328, and died at Barwik, others saie at S. Johns towne in Scotland, in the month of October 1336, being the tenth yeare of Edward the third, and was honorablie buried at Westminster, for the solemnization of whose buriall the king

L. III. u.

came

Edward the
Blacke
prince.

John Strat-
ford.

came out of Scotland about the feast of the Epiphantie.

Edward the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to Edward the third, being about the age of nine yeares, was in the twelfth yere of his father, being the yere of our redemption 1338, or as saith Matthew Parker 1337, made gardian of England in the absence of his father being as then sailed into Flanders to procure the Flemmings to aid him against the French king. Under which prince as some write (or rather as I for the time take it) equall in commission to him it seemeth that John archbishop of Cantuarburie had the chiefe rule of the land, because that king Edward after his returne into England, which was about the fourteenth or the fifteenth of his reigne, charged the said bishop with certeine negligences which he used in collections of monie, whilst he had the chiefe rule of the land, when he was in the wars of France. Wherefore the words of Matthew Parker in the life of the said John Stratford (saieing that the king held a parlement, in which *Omnem regni civem & gubernationem archiepiscopo commisit*) must needs be intended that he had that charge under or equallie with the said Blacke prince, as chiefeest counsellor to support the tender yeares of his sonne.

After which also in the yere of our redemption, as hath the same Matthew Parker 1342, being about the sixteenth of the said Edward the third, the king committed the care & gouvernement of the kingdome to the said archbishop, whilst the king was beyond the seas in the warres: for thus writeth the said Parker, fol. 257. *Ac paulo post nulla purgatione indicta* (speaking of the said bishop uniuslie accused to the king, aut recepta, omnibus penes parlamenti ordinibus pro archiepiscopo deprecantibus, rex eum sua sponte legitime purgatione & excusatum promittit, et longe multo magis charum quam ante habuit, omnibusque gerendis in Anglia rebus se in militia absente praeferit. Of which archbishop being sometime chancelor and treasurer of England shall be set downe a more large discourse in my large booke of the lives of the chancellors.

Lionell duke
of Clarence.

Lionell third sonne to Edward the third, was in the ninth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yere in which the word became flesh 1345, made gardian of England, in the absence of his father, who as then was sailed into the parts (beyond the seas) of Flanders. Of this man there is more spoken in my following treatise of the dukes of England.

Henrie lord
Perrie.

Henrie lord Perrie, & Rafe lord Penill, when Edward the third was sailed into Normandie, were in the twentieth yere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption 1346, appointed to be gardians of the realme in his absence with the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Lincolne, and Thomas Hatfield bishop of Durham.

Thomas of
Woodstocke.

Thomas of Woodstocke being verie yong was made custos or gardian of England, in the yere that God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1359, being the thre & thirtieth of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, when he sailed into France with a 1100 ships. Of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England, set downe in the time of quene Elizabeth: and in my treatise of the constables of England, set downe in the time of Henrie the eight pag. 867.

John of Gaunt
duke of Lancaster.

John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, fourth sonne of Edward the third, because the king his father was feeble and sicklie (being now about thre score & five yeares of age, though Bodinus in his *Methodo historiae* saie that he died in his climactericall yere of thre score and thre: for the truth is, that the said Edward the third was fourtē yeares old when he began to reigne, and he reigned about one and fiftie yeares,

which make of his age thre score and five yeares, but especiallie for the sorrow which the king inwardlie conceived for the death of that worthy prince his son, commonlie surnamed the Blacke prince. This John of Gaunt (after the death of the said Blacke prince, which died in the yere of Christ 1376, being the fifth yere of the reigne of Edward the third, whose death was deemed to be hastened by the said John of Gaunt aspiring to the crowne, the plat whereof though it toke not effect in the life of the said John, yet it was performed in his sonne Henrie of Bullingbrooke, who deposed Richard the second) was appointed by his father Edward the third to haue the rule of the realme under him, the which he continued during his fathers life, which was not a full yere after that he had made the said John of Gaunt gouernour of England. After which death of king Edward the third, when Richard the second, a child of eleuen yeares of age began his reigne, in the yere of our redemption 1377, in the first yere of the said Richard the second, after his coronation, the said John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, & Edmund of Langley earle of Cambridge brother to the said John of Gaunt, were appointed to haue the gouernement of the kings person, and the administration of the common-wealth. But shortly after, in the same yere of the king, in the yere of our redemption 1378, the said John of Gaunt gaue up the same office. Of this man is more said in my treatise of the dukes of England.

William Courtneie bishop of London (but shortly after his protectorship aduanced unto the see of Cantuarburie, in the yere of Christ 1381, about the ninth of Januarie, being about the fourth of Richard the second, was made gouernor of the realme in this maner. After (as is before said) that the duke of Lancaster had wiselie weied the sickle estate of the realme, and considered that by the euill gouernment of the nobilitie, and inconstant mind of the yong king, there must needs fall a change of the estate, & doubting that if any thing succeeded otherwise than the nobles liked, the cause and negligence might be imputed to him, as one who chiefe had the gouernment in his hands (and thanks howsoever the state was ruled he looked for none) bid in the end after a few months authoritie (wholie misliking the maners of the court, which commonlie are not of the best in the minority of princes) surrender his protectorship, and obtained licence of the king to depart, and so got him quietlie to his castell of Kenelworth, permitting others to haue the whole swaie of the kingdome.

Notwithstanding all which, in the second yere of Richard the second, about the yere of Christ 1379 being not altogether carelesse of the kings well doing; this duke before his departing to Kenelworth, caused certeine graue persons with his full consent, to be ordeined, which should haue the gouernement of the kings person, and administration of the common-wealth. The names of whome were, William Courtneie before mentioned, Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Rafe Ergumne bishop of Salisbury, and William lord Latimer, with others, of whome for the most part the people had conceived a good opinion: yet because the said bishop of Salisbury, and the lord Latimer were associat to the rest, and of equall authoritie with them, the commons murmured greatlie against them. The cause for which they so misliked the lord Latimer, was for that he had sometimes bin too much fauouring to dame Alice Piers, concubine to king Edward the third, to whome the said lord Latimer was chiefe chamberleine, & therefore was of him best beloved, which two persons, the lord Latimer, and dame Alice, were by parliament in

William
Courtneie
bishop of
London.

in the fifth yere of Edward the thirde removed from the king, for that they miscounted him, but especiallie sith much mischief grew in the realme by the same Alice Piers. For she being now exalted in pride by ouermuch loue of h^r Edward the thirde, would beyond the modestie and maner of women, sit in iudgement with the kings iustices, he with the doctors in the consistorie, turne sentences to what side she would, and require manie things dishonest in themselves, and dishonourable to the king. Of which woman, an old written chronicle belonging to the house of Cuesham, hath deliuered to me these words: *Alicia Piers regis concubina supra modum mulierum nimis supergressa sui etiam sexus & fragilitatis femineae immemor, nunc iuxta iusticiarios regios nunc in foro ecclesiastico iuxta doctores sedendo, pro defensione causarum suaderet, & etiam contra iura postulare minime verebatur, unde propter scandalum petierunt ab illo (which was the king) penitus amoveri in parlamento tento anno Domini 1376 & 50 Ed. 3.* Thus that autho^r.

And here before I go any further with my protectors, because some curious heads that find not all these matters in the records of the tower, which they daily turne with a charlith hand, or else thinke that nothing may be knowne out of the walles of their office, will seeme to seke a knot in a rush, and saie that I in compasse of some few lines haue written a contrarietie, in saing that John of Gaunt thirde after the kingdome, and for that cause hastened the death of his elder brother prince Edward the blacke as Richard the third did the death of his brother George duke of Clarence, which intent could not possible be in John of Gaunt, as appeareth by my owne following words: where I saie that he gaue ouer the protectorship of his nephue, because he would auoid all suspicion of euill gouernement: which he would neuer haue done if he had so ment, that place being so apt for the execution of his purpose, and might giue occasion to him that neuer ment any such matter before, to attempt it being in that place, as Richard duke of Poike did attempt, but not performe it, in the time of Henrie the first; and as Richard duke of Gloucester, being in the same office of protectorship, did not onelie attempt it, but brought to perfection. Whereunto I answer, that all this is no contrarietie, but onelie a manifest shew and confirmation, the one part of my words to the other. For sith he could not in the life of his father Edward the third before the crowning of king Richard the second (as Richard the third did) attaine the crowne, he would not now attempt it (the king being once crowned, and in full possession of the kingdome) so rashlie and vnadvisedlie (as did Richard duke of Poike against Henrie, for which he was in the end haine) least that thereby his part might seeme to carie the face of a rebellion, as in truth it should haue done. For whosoever either for colour of God, bene- fit to their countrie, or for whatsoeuer cause, lift up the sword against a crowned king, sitting at the scerne of gouernement, being one of the gods of the earth, the same must needs tend vnto a rebellion, which John of Gaunt would not seeme to execute, & so; that cause leauing off his purpose at that time, he did in the end also leaue the whole matter to his son to performe, especiallie sith he afterward perceiued Richard the second so much to fauor and further him with monie, munition, and men, to recouer the kingdome of Castile & Arragon in Spaine, in the right of the wife of the said John of Gaunt. To whom and to his wife (as hath Henrie Knighton) king Richard the second gaue a generall crowne of gold to honour them withall, & to shew how interlie he loued them when they both went into Spaine. And for these causes the said John of Gaunt refused the oportunitie

of time & place in the king his nephues minority to execute it. But did he cease it for so. For that sparke although it were a little cooled, was not vtterlie quenched, because he hastened the same in his son, whom he not onelie persuaded, but furthered (after the banishment of his said sonne Henrie of Bullingbroke by Richard the second in the life of the said John of Gaunt) to returne into England, and after his death to challenge by sword the earldome of Lancaster his right inheritance, and vnder the same to reuenge the death of the duke of Gloucester and others: and by that means, when Richard the second was out of the realme of England in Ireland, the said Henrie Bullingbroke sonne of John of Gaunt entered the realme, put downe the king, and got the crowne which his father sought. Thus this much digressing from the protectors, and to returne to that course which I haue in hand, I will leaue the discourse of policies to obtaine kingdoms, because they be no balles for me to handle, and follow on my former intent as meter for my simplicitie.

Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick was in the third yere of Richard the second, being the yere of our redemption 1380, made protector in this sort. In the parlament holden the same yere, at the speciall sute of the lords, and of the commons, the bishops and barons chosen (as you haue heard) before by John of Gaunt to be protectors of the realme, were removed, and the earle of Warwick especiallie elected to that function, to remaine continually with the king as chiefe gouernor of his roiall person; & one that should giue answer to all foreigners repairing thither, vpon what cause soeuer their coming were; hauing further as ample gouernment of the kingdome giuen vnto him, as the other removed gouernors had. Being placed in that office by the duke of Lancaster, he died the first ides of Aprill, in the yere of Christ 1401, being the third yere of Henrie the fourth. He married Margaret, the daughter of William lord Ferrers of Grobie; by whome he had issue, Richard earle of Warwick.

Thomas Fitzalane otherwise called Arundell bishop of Ely, the two and twentieth that inioined that seat, being two and twentie yeres of age, and the son of Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell & Warrent, was with others made protector of England in this sort. At a parlament holden at London in the tenth yere of Richard the second, being the yere of Christ 1386, were certeine gouernors of the kingdome elected, because the treasure of the realme had bene imbeisled & lewde waste, nothing to the profit of the king and kingdome, by the couetous and euill gouernment of the deposed officers, which were Michael de la Pole earle of Suffolke lord chancellor, John Foxtham bishop of Durham lord treasurer, & diuerse other persons that ruled about the king.

Now the gouernors elected by this parlament were in number thirteene; and by name Thomas Arundell bishop of Ely, then made lord chancellor; John Gilbert bishop of Hereford made lord treasurer; and Nicholas abbat of Waltham at that time made keeper of the priuie seale; William Courtenie archbishop of Cantuarburie, Alexander Beuill archbishop of Poike, Edmund Langleie duke of Poike, Thomas of Woodstocke duke of Gloucester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Excester, Richard Fitzalane erle of Arundell, John lord Deuereux, and Reinold lord Cobham of Starbozow. These were thus by parlament chosen to haue vnder the king the whole ouersight and gouernment of the realme, as by their commission in the statutes of the tenth yere of the said Richard the second it doth in the printed booke appeare.

Thomas
Beauchampe
earle of War-
wicke.

Thomas
Arundell bi-
shop of Ely.

Edmund Langley duke of York, uncle unto Richard the second, was in the eighteenth yeare of the said Richard, being about the yeare of our redemption 1395, ordeined lord gardian of England, in the kings absence in the realme of Ireland. This protector caused a parlement to be assembled at Westminster: where he dealt so effectualie, notwithstanding the unthankfulness of the burgeses, that a tenth was granted by the cleargie, and a fiftieth by the temporallie; but not without protestation, that those payments were granted of a man's freewill, for the love they bare to the king, and to have the affaires in Ireland to succeed the better. After this, about foure yeares; king Richard the second in the two and twentieth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1399, making another viage into Ireland (being the last and most unhappie that euer was to him, for before his returne he had in effect lost his realme, which after his coming he lost in deed) did againe in his absence substitute this Edmund duke of York as chiefe gouernor of England. Who in the absence of the king, assembled a power of men against Henrie of Bulkingbroke, now entered into the land to challenge the dukedome of Lancaster after the death of his father John of Gaunt, and vnder that colour to stirre the crowne. Which Edmund passing into Wales in the thre and twentieth yeare of Richard the second, was receiued into the castell of Barkeleie, & there remained vntill the coming of Henrie of Bulkingbroke. Whom when he perceived (for the power which the said duke of Lancaster had assembled from all parts of the realme) that he was not of sufficiencie to resist; he came forth into the church that stood without the castell, and there fell to parles with the duke of Lancaster; after which he did neuer forsake the duke of Lancaster, vntill he came to the crowne. Who, if he had faithfullie stood vnto his nephew, might perhaps haue saued vnto him both his crowne and life. Of this man is more said in my treatise of the dukes of England.

Jone de Pammures
widow to Henrie
the fourth.

Jone de Pammures sometime duchesse of Britaine, (widow to Philip Montfort, as saith Hypodigma; but Walsingham in his historie calleth him John duke of Britaine; being also the widow of king Henrie the fourth) was substitute gouernor of the realme by hir son in law king Henrie the first, king of England, in the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare from the birth of the Messias 1415, when the said Henrie the first took his iourney into France to conquer the same. This woman in the seventh yeare of Henrie the first, which was in the yeare of Christ 1419, being suspected (as saith John Stow) to practise witchcraft against the king, was committed to the custodie of John Wellam, or rather John Delham, who appointed nine seruants to attend vpon hir, and brought hir to Deuenseie castell to be gouerned vnder his prouidence. But shortly after clearing hir selfe, she was deliuered. This ladie died at Haueing at the bolwe in Essex the ninth of Iulie in the seventeenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, and was buried at Canturburie with hir husband king Henrie the fourth.

John de
Plantagenet
duke of Bedford.

John duke of Bedford son to Henrie the fourth, & brother to R. Henrie the first, was in the fourth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1416, by parlement appointed regent of the realme, to inioie the same office so long as the king was imployed in the French wars. Which place he possessed accordingly; and in the ninth yeare of the victorious prince, king Henrie the first, being gardian of England, he, with Henrie

Beauford bishop of Winchester uncle to Henrie the first, and Jaqueline duchesse of Holland remaining then in England, were godfathers, and godmother to Henrie, after king by the name of Henrie the first, the son of Henrie the first; Henrie Chichele archbishop of Canturburie baptizing the child. In the tenth and last yeare of Henrie the first, this John with a strong power conueied quene Katharine wife to Henrie the first, from Southampton into France. This man being duke of Bedford, earle of Richmond and of Wendall, constable of England, and warden of the marches of Scotland, died the fourteenth daie of September at Rouen in Normandie, who (hauing also bene regent of France, a most valiant gentleman, and one that kept the parts beyond the seas in great obedience to the crowne of England) had for his yearelie pension 20000 crownes at the least. After whose death all things went backward, and the English lost all that they had beyond the seas, Calis, & those dominions onlie excepted.

This man (I saie) died in the yeare of our redemption 1435, being the thirtieth yeare of the unfortunate government of the deposed king Henrie the first, and was honorable buried at Rouen in our ladie church there. Touching whome it shall not grieue me to set downe the answer of a French king lately in our age made to one of his nobilitie; saing vnto the king (then being in the said ladie church of Rouen, and beholding the tome of this John of Bedford) that it were convenient that the same tome were defaced and pulled downe; since he was the onlie man that brought the greatest damage that euer happened vnto France. To whom the king said; Hold thy peace foole, God forbid that euer we should do such reproch to him being dead; whome the proudest of our nation durst not looke in the face when he was liuing. This duke John married the second yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ 1423, Anne the daughter of John duke of Burgonie, who died in the tenth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ 1433, after which he married Jaques daughter to Peter earle of S. Paule in the same yeare, and yet died without issue. Of this man is mention made in my former discourse of the constables of England, pag. 868.

Humfreie duke of Gloucester brother to Henrie the first, and uncle to Henrie the first, was in the tenth and last yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1422, made regent of England, vpon the removing and departure of John duke of Bedford with quene Katharine, wife to Henrie the first into France. In which yeare (happening the lamentable death of that worthy prince king Henrie the first) the said Henrie vpon his death-bed appointed this Humfreie to be protector of the realme; which he did exercise in the time of the minority of Henrie the first, from the time of his first enterance into the kingdome. Who at that time taking vpon him that function, called vnto him graue and wise counsellors; with whose support he might with better honor to the realme, and benefit to the subiects, rule the ship of this kingdome, sailing in the dangerous waues of the kings infancie. By which meanes holding the sterne thereof, directed by the course of iustice, he did most honorable during his life discharge the dutie of so weightie an office. Who in the fourteenth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1439, did with five hundred faile land at Calis, and for eleuen daies spoiled the low countries and so by Calis returned againe into England. This man in the five & twentieth yeare of king Henrie first, being the yeare of Christ 1447, was in his castell of Ules in Wiltshire, & coming from thence

Humfreie
duke of Gloucester.

to the parliament was lodged in the hospitall, and arrested by John lord Beaumont high constable of England. But on the foure and twentieth daie of februarye he died for sorrow as some said, and as John Stow hath noted, because he might not come to his answer. Other write that he was murdered in the night by the queens procurement, to the great griefe of the commons, and in time following to the utter destruction of the king and the queene. He was duke of Gloucester, and also in the right of his wife duke of Holland and Zelaud, earle of Penbrooke, lord chamberlaine of England, and protector of the realme, being highly esteemed of learned men, himselfe also not meanlie furnished with knowledge, having rare skill in astrologie, wherof beside manie other things he compiled a singular treatise, obtaining the name of *Tabula directionum*, touching whose death I haue read these verses following in John Whethamsted:

*Aemula fors varijs signanter honoribus alci
Causavit misere mala multos fere ruina,
Latus erat iulius, unda mensus Ptolomaeus,
Iulius Targuinius, exul factusque Tydeus,
Dux nimis propere iam dictus tempora vite
Compleuit tristis, heu indignatio regis
Causa fuit magna, maior detractio falsi,
Plebis et iuncta fallaci et infidula,
Nam regis patris, quamvis et proximus heres,
Tunc fueratque suus consiliorum in ordine primus,
Vir prudensque pius, vir doctus et ingeniosus,
Non tamen erubuit, nec pertimuit, ve pepercit
Hunc accusare falsae de proditiōis,
Discre quodque suam clam vellet tollere vitam
Et sibi surripere violenter iura corona,
Duxit argentum, proprium qui capiat in usum,
Desiderat medium quo vindicet aptius ipsum,
Sic regem plures comitantes collaterales
Sequitur praedon, mediat frans, dat dolus ipsam,
Fidior in regno regi duce non fuit isto,
Plisue fide stabili aut maior amator honoris,
Et tamen et i prado voto poriretur iniquo,
Fraudem consuluit, cum fraude dolum sociavit,
Sicque ducem falsi maculans cum proditiōe
Obtinuit votum, praedator eratque bonorum
Illius, et tristis obijt dux criminis expertus.*

Which duke Humfrie was buried at saint Albons, dieng without issue, after he had married two wives; wherof the first wife was Iacoba or Jaqueline (daughter and sole heire of William of Bauler) being then the lawfull wife to John duke of Babant then living, which wife this Humfrie married in England in the yere of our redemption 1424 being the third yere of king Henrie the first, upon which greto great warrs, and Humfrie duke of Gloucester challenged the combat of the duke of Burgognie, taking part with his cousine John duke of Babant. But in the end the duke of Gloucester left his wife at Spous and returned into England, and she into Gaunt, and so into Holland, and the combat staid by means of the duke of Bedford brother to the duke of Gloucester. But after (as it seemeth) the duke of Gloucester was divorced from this dutchesse, and then married Eleanor Cobham (whome he had tenderlie loved as his paramour before that) in the yere of our redemption 1428, being the first yere of the reign of king Henrie the first. This woman in the nineteenth yere of the said Henrie the first (upon the taking of Henrie Bullingbroke for practising necromancie, thereby to consume the king) fled in the night to Westminster for sanctuarie, which caused him to be suspected of treason. Whereupon Bullingbroke confessing that he wrought the same at the procurement of the said Eleanor, desirous to know to what estate she should come into, the said dame Eleanor did oftentimes for the same fact appeare be-

fore the bishop, and in the end was convicted. After which in the twentieth of Henrie the first she did grievous penance therfore, and so escaped with hir life. And here because I haue said somewhat of Jaqueline dutchesse of Holland, I thinke it not amisse to adde a little more of hir, being a woman of great beautie, and desire of change in performing the pleasures of the flesh; wherfore I will set downe what I haue seene written under the pictures of hir and hir husband Francis in this sort.

The subscription vnder the pictures of
the ladie Jaqueline, and of Francis
hir husband.

Iacoba Dei gratia comitissa Hannonia, Hollandia, et Zelaudia, domina Frisia, Zutbuerlandia, terre Brilenfis, Forensis, et Gulielmi Bauariensis ducis filia et haeres unica, quae primo desponsata fuit Philippo Burgundiorum duci: postea Delphino Francorum regis filio: tertio Iohanni duci Brabantia Antony filio: deinde Humfrido Glocestria duci Henrici quarti Anglia regis filio: et postremo Franconi Burghliensi comiti Osteruandia matrimonio copulatur. Quae obiit absque liberis 8 Idus Octobris, anno Domini 1463 sepulta apud Hagam comitis in Hollandia.

Beside which was this written in Dutch:
Vrouwen Iacoba van Byeren Grauenne van
Hollant starfe Anno Domini 1463.

The subscription vnder the picture
of hir husband Francone or Francis
was in this sort.

Franciscus Dei gratia comes de Osteruant (erfginodt) in comitatibus Hollandia, Hannonia, Zelaudia, et Friselandia, dominus de Boursalia de Vorne, Zuylen, Hochstraten, Kortkene, de la Peer, Elshing, Zandenburge, terre Brilenfis, Sentmartinslike, quo loco fundavit canonicum canonicorum, et regi Edwardo quarto fideliter assistebat, necnon equestri ordinis divi Antony.

Beside which also was this written in the Dutch tongue. Here vranck van Boselen graue van Osteruant starfe Anno Domini 1470.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Excester (appointed to that office by Henrie the first on his death-bed) was with Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester great uncle to king Henrie the first in the yere of our redemption 1422, being the first yere of the reign of king Henrie the first (then but nine months old) made protector and gardian of the person of the young king, to see him tenderlie and carefulie brought up and instructed in all such parts as were to be required in the person of a monarch. Which office he left about the fourth yere of king Henrie the first, and died on the twelfth daie at his manor of Crantwich in the said first yere of Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1446: he married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Beuill of Hornesbte.

Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick son of the former Thomas Beauchampe, being beyond the seas, and there deputie for John duke of Bedford (being regent of France) did (whilest the said regent was come ouer into England) obtaine manie castels in his deputiethip; who being thus imploied in the foren warres, was in his absence out of his countrie (for his singular wisdom and valor) ordered by the three estates of the realme of England in open parliament, to be gouernor of the person of the young king Henrie the first, in the place of Thomas Beaufort duke of Excester lately deceased: which Richard did not yet forthwith hasten his returne into England, but remained in France for a season, enlarging

Thomas Beaufort
duke of Excester.

Richard Beauchampe
earle of Warwick.

inlarging the same of his martiall exploits. This his election to the protectorship of the kings person, was in the first yere of Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1426. He died in the yere of our Lord 1439, being the seuententh yere of the deposed king Henrie the first, at Rone in Normandie the last daie of Maie, as hath Iohn Stow; and the fourth of October next following his corps was honorablie conueied, as well by land as by water from Rone to Warwicke, and there honorablie buried in the college of our ladie church founded by his noble ancestors. He married two wiues, the first Elisabeth daughter and heire of Thomas lord Barkleie; by whome he had three daughters, Margaret married to Iohn lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, Eleanor married to Thomas lord Rosse, and Elisabeth married to George Nevill lord Latimer. His second wife was Isabell the daughter and heire of Richard lord Spenser, by whome he had issue Henrie duke of Warwicke, and Anne married to Richard Nevill earle of Salisbury.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambridge, and father to Edward the fourth king of England, notwithstanding that he made challenge to the crowne against Henrie the first, then in possession thereof, as heire to the house of Yorke, and was to be preferred before the house of Lancaster; and notwithstanding that he was by parliament appointed to weare the crowne after the death of Henrie the first: yet after all this, in the thirteenth and thirtieth yere of the same king, being the yere of our redemption 1455 (such was the imperfection of the king to gouerne) he was appointed protector of the realme, ruling the same at his owne disposition. Which office he did not long inioie, and that most worthilie: for the next yere after being the foure and thirtieth of king Henrie the first, and the yere of our redemption 1456, he was deposed from the same, and queene Margaret wife to Henrie the first tooke againe the absolute regiment into his hands: which duke after in the nine and thirtieth of king Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1460, the thirtieth daie of December, being lord of Wakefield, was there with his sonne the earle of Rutland slaine at the battell commonlie called the battell of Wakefield; of which I haue read these verses in Whehamsted once abbat of saint Albons:

Anno milleno centum quater quoque seno,
Terdenoque die, duodeno mense Decembre,
Intra Eboracensem iuxta Wakefield comitatum
Dux dominus velle fortis pugnans habuisse
Conflictum grandem contra gentem borealem,
Ac praeceps plures praerant quae gentibus ipsis,
Quod docuit, quia fors quod res fortuna secundas,
Pitar habere mores, cecidit dux natus & eius,
Ac comes insignis fors belli, fors fuit ipsis
Obuia, sicque satis regniferuat breui heres
Omen & id latum culerat mutamine maestum
Defendum multis, ius regni, ius fuit eius.

He married Cicilie daughter to Rafe Nevill first earle of Westmerland, by whome he had issue Edward duke of Yorke, earle of March, and after king of England by the name of Edward the fourth: George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloucester, after king of England by the name of Richard the third: three daughters, Anne married to Henrie Holland duke of Excester, Elisabeth married to Iohn de la Pole duke of Suffolke, and Margaret married to Charles duke of Burgognie.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, and conestable of England, sonne of the foresaid duke of Yorke, and brother to king Edward the fourth, with Richard Nevill earle of Warwicke (who set by and

pulled downe kings at his pleasure) were after the flight of Edward the fourth out of England into Burgognie to his brother in law (in the tenth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward, being the yere of our redemption 1470, when Henrie the first had by their means readepted the kingdome) made gouernors of the land, which office they inioied not long. For the said Edward the fourth returning into England, in the eleuenth yere of his reigne, being the yere of our redemption 1471, reconciled to him the duke of Clarence, did againe put downe king Henrie the first, and due the said earle of Warwicke (sleng awate) at Barnet field (on Easter day) by one of the men of his campe. After this, on the fiftieth daie of Januarie began a parliament, in the eighth yere of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yere of our redemption 1478, where this duke of Clarence was atteinted of treason, and the eleuenth of March following he ended his life in a but of malmesleie, and was buried at Teukesburie beside his wife, who being with child died by poison a little before him. Of this man see more in my discourse of the conestables of England pag. 869.

Richard Plantagenet third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was conestable of England and gouernour of the person of the king, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the conestables of England pag. 869. But here mentioning the conestables of England, I thinke it better now than not at all, to mention also some imperfection and default in my former discourse of the said conestables, set downe by me before in pag. 865. Which default of mine in that place grew by reason of ouermuch hast, which I vsed in sudden seeking for the same, whereby (according to the old proverbe) I brought forth a blind helpe. For in the former description I haue omitted diuerse the which were conestables of England, the names of which were Henrie the first in the life of his father, Sigellus, and Robert de Dilie, with others of that line in descent, which Sigellus I can not as yet learne to be anie other but Sigellus de Dilie, brother to Robert de Dilie that came in with the Conqueror, who gaue Drifordshire vnto the said Robert.

Besides which, if it shall seeme to anie that I haue in my former treatise rashlie written I know not what, & that here I make Henrie the first conestable in his father the Conquerors time, & by contrarietie thereto did before make Walter conestable also in the Conquerors and William Rufus his time: let them know that there is no contrarietie herein. For Walter might first be conestable, & then Henrie the first, and both they in the Conquerors time, this office being taken from the first, and giuen to the latter by the Conqueror. After whose death William Rufus might take it from his brother Henrie, because he would not make him too great in England, for doubt least he might hereby put the crowne in hazard, being fauoured of the people as one borne in England, and for that cause might restore that office to Walter. Againie it maie be, that some men reading that I haue before set downe, that Matilda the emperesse gaue the conestableship to Hilto the son of Walter in the first of king Stephan, and that king Stephan tooke that office from Hilto in the first yere of his reigne, and gaue it to Walter Beauchampe, will condemne me therefore of like bradused writing: because it seemeth thereby that Stephan tooke it from Hilto before that Hilto had it. Which is not so, for I can proue with some reason and authoritie, that Hilto had it a little before the death of king Henrie the first, and also after his death in part of the first yere of king Stephan, being witness to a deed by king Stephan, made and dated the first of his reigne, to

Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloucestre.

A digression concerning the conestables of England now more named before in pag. 865.

Sigellus de Dilie conestable of England.

Reg. 5.

to which he subscribed his name *Nigellus Constabularius*, after which king Stephan might in that yeare take that office from him, and so he did. Which *Palus* the emperesse understanding, and finding *Spilo* (noto fallen from king Stephan) one which assisted hir, the better to confront Stephan, gave the constableship to *Spilo* (accounting hir selfe as quene) in the first of Stephan.

This being thus spoken in defense of that which before I have written pag. 866. let us go to our other matter concerning the constables not mentioned before in the said discourse, wherein I find my selfe in a marvellous laberinth (out of which I doubt that the best antiquaries cannot loose themselves, no not he which thinketh and saith that he can controule all men, for I suppose he will be lame in this matter) how all these could be constables, unless that in the time of Henrie the first, and of king Stephan, as it is most likeliest, there was chopping & changing, putting in and taking out, setting up and pulling downe one man in diuerse yeares of one and the selfe same king: for king Stephan was sometime a king, and sometime as no king, and then againe a king. And so likewise was it with *Palus* the emperesse at the same time, bearing hir selfe sometime as quene, and then dejected as no quene. But be it as it will be, I will here set downe what I find in ancient charters and pedegrees touching the constables of England not before mentioned, leaving the same to others (either to order for succession of time, or to amend for truth of matter) who peradventure reading these things, which I have sene and will here set downe, can bestow them in better order than I can, which I earnestlie praie them to do, whereby truth may be brought to light and perfection; which as yet touching these constables set downe in this place, seemeth to be obscured and confused untill the time that Roger fitz Piles had that office: for from his time the same is without all controuersie sufficientlie knowne. Wherefore, here before I enter into the descent of the de *Willics*, who were constables of England, I will set downe a strange note of three persons witnesses to a deed, dated *Primo Stephani, anno Dom. 1136*, who do all subscribe their names as constables. Which charter being the same wherein king Stephan gave the manors of Sudon or Sutton to the house of Winchester, the same was amongst other witnesses thus signed, *Robertus de Peer constabularius, Nigellus constabularius, Brientius filius comitis constabularius*: all who could not be constables of England at one time. Wherefore saving correction I suppose that it is out of all controuersie, that neither the first nor the last of these three were constables of England, but of some other places, as of Dover or other castles. And so to that which I have further to saie of the kings constables in one descent and succession of the de *Willics*, being teamed the kings constables, both in ancient charters and pedegrees, whereof *Nigellus* before mentioned seemeth to be one.

This *Nigellus* was constable of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first yeare of king Henrie the first, as may appeare by a deed of confirmation made by Henrie the first touching the cathedrall church of Dorwich, whereof I thinke good to saie somewhat to bring in the profe that this *Nigellus* was constable. This church was built for the most part in the time of William Rufus, by Herebert de Losinga the first bishop of Dorwich, who translated the see from Ectford into Dorwich, in the yeare of Christ 1094, which church being finished and consecrated to the holie trinitie, was afterward confirmed by Henrie the first, and *Palus* his wife, in the first yeare of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1101, to

the charter whereof signed by king Henrie & *Palus* his wife, were manie bishops, noblemen and abbats witnesses, amongst whom are these two set downe; *Nigellus Constabularius*, and *Rogerus Cancellarius*, of which *Nigellus* thus writeth Leland in his commentaries on the song of the swan in the word *Isidis insula*: *Erat Roberto frater Nigellus nomine, de quo fama non admodum multa refert*, which I suppose is this *Nigellus* de Oille the constable, as I before said.

Robert de Oille, sonne of the said *Nigellus*, did succeed his father, and was as may appeare by some authoꝝ (who tearme him accordingly) great constable of England. This man together with his wife Edith were the founders of the religious house of *Wineie*, touching whom I shall not greue to set downe what I have gathered out of Leland and others. This Edith obtained of hir husband to build a church in the Isle of *Wineie* in *Drfordshire*, to our sauiour Christ, about the yeare of our redemption 1129, being about the ninth and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, which church did after grow to be of great renowne and building, the occasion of building whereof is set downe by others in this sort. Edith being in great estimation with Henrie, first married the said Robert de Oille by the kings procurement, which Robert began the priorie of the blacke chanons of *Wineie* by *Drford*, amongst the Isles made by the ruler of *Isis* or *Wise*. This Edith used oftentimes to walke out of *Drford* castell with hir gentlewomen for to solace and recreate hir selfe. At what time at a certeine place, as often as she came by the same, certeine pies assembled themselves in a tree, where they chattered and as it were spake vnto hir. This ladie much maruelling at the matter, happening so continually at one time in one place after one order, and with one maner of foules, was manie times astonished and feared therewith, esteeming it a verie strange wonder. Whereupon she sent for one *Kadulph* or *Kase* a chanon of saint *Frediswalde* in *Drford*, a man of vertuous life & hir confessor, asking his counsell vpon the same. To whom he answered (after that he had sene the order of those pies onelie chattering at hir comming thither) that she should build some church or monasterie in that place. Whereupon she intreated hir husband to build a priorie, and so he did, making that *Kadulph* the first priore of that house. All which matter, that is the coming of Edith to *Wineie*, *Kadulph* waiting on hir, and the tree with the pies were all extant (at the generall dissolution of the abbeies in the time of Henrie the eight) to be sene painted on the north side of the high altar, in the arch of the wall ouer Ediths tombe in *Wineie* priorie, vpon which tombe there late a stone image of Edith in the habit of a voluente holding a hart in hir right hand. This Robert de Oille was buried in *Wineie* in the verie middle of the presbiterie, vnder a flat marble stone; whereupon was a flowred crosse portraied, which Robert had issue Henrie de Oille, baron of *Hochnoton*, & the kings constable, which married *Margerie* the daughter of *Humfrice* de *Woburne*, by whom that Henrie had issue Henrie de Oille baron of *Hochnoton*, and the kings constable which died without issue. Thus this much by waie of digression, touching the constables of England, left out in my former discourse of those officers. And so againe to the protectoꝝ.

Katharine the daughter of *Ferdinando* king of Spaine, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was (in the absence of the said king beyond the seas in the warres of *Flourne* and *Armenie*) made regent of the realme, in the yeare of Christ 1513, and the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, she had bene the widow of Arthur prince of Wales, eldest sonne vnto king Henrie the seauenth, and eldest brother to king Henrie

Robert de Oille constable of England.

The foundatton of the abbey of *Wineie* or *Wineie* in the yeare of Christ 1129, being about the thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, as some write.

The foundatton of the cathedrall church of Dorwich.

Katharine quene of England.

Henrie the eight, who after the death of that Arthur was by dispensation of the pope married to Henrie after king, by the name of Henrie the eight, being younger brother of the said Arthur, from which king Henrie he was afterward not onelie divorced, in the one and twentieth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1529, but after by parlement also in the four and twentieth of the kings reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1532, disgraced from the name of quene, and from thenceforth appointed onlie to be called the princeesse dowager of prince Arthur, about five yeers after which she died on the eight of Januarie, being the yeare of our redemption 1535, which was the seauen and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, and was honourable buried in the abbey of Peterborough, for which cause afterward in the generall dissolution of the abbeyes, when all those houses were spoiled, this abbey was not onelie for hir buriall there spared and not defaced, but also further honozed with a greater title, and turned into a bishoprike, by the said king Henrie the eight.

Katharine Par, the daughter of sir Thomas Par, lord of Kirkbie Rendall, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was by patent made protectresse of the realme of England, when king Henrie the eight went in person to the wars of Bullongne, on the thirtieth of Julie in the yeare of our redemption 1544, being the six and thirtieth yeare of the triumphant reigne of the said king. This ladie Katharine being the lord Latimers widow, was married to the king at Hampton court, one the twelfth of Julie being the five and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, and the yeare of Christ 1543, who having no issue by the king, was after the kings death married to Thomas Seimer knight, lord Seimer of Sudley and high admerall of England.

Edward Seimer knight, viscount Beauchampe earle of Hertford, & after duke of Summerfet, was protector of the kings person, and of the kingdome, in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt, his nephue which was in the yeare of our redemption 1546, the king being then but nine yeares old. Of this man is more spoken in my following discourse of all the dukes of England by creation or descent since the conquest, with which duke of Summerfet, the last in office of protectorship, Francis Thim knitteth up this simple discourse of the protectors of England of the kings person.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.
1551.

Curtis, alderman of London committed to ward for recrend swords and signes to the lord chancellor.

Anno Reg. 6.
Sir Rafe Clane & other executed.
House blowne up with gunpowder.

Master of horsemen before the king in Greenwich park.

Dukes.

On the 17 of February, on which date were received the bookes of the reliefe of all the wards of London, towards the new hospitals, by the kings commissioners, the councill dined at maister Coopers the shiriffe, and after dinner maister Thomas Curtis alderman came thither to speake with the lord chancellor for a matter he had depending afoze him in the chancerie, but for his misdemeanour in words and signes to the lord chancellor at that time, the said maister Curtis was committed to ward in the Fleet. The six and twentieth of February, sir Rafe Clane and sir Miles Partridge were hanged on the tower hill; & sir Michael Stanhope with sir Thomas Arundell were beheaded there. The last of Aprill, through negligence of the gunpowder makers, a certaine house nere the tower of London, with thye last of powder was blowne up and burnt, the gunpowder makers being fiftene in number, were all slaine.

The sixtenth of Maie was a godlie muster of horsemen made before the king, in the parke at Greenwich, under the kings banner his band of pensioners, in number a hundred and fiftie, euerie pensioner two great horses and a gelding, the lord Wale their lieutenant. The duke of Northumberland,

great maister of the kings household under the white lion & the ragged staffe fiftie. The duke of Suffolke under the unicorn in the starre a hundred and ten. The lord marquisse of Winchester, high treasurer, under his banner the falcon, one hundred men. The marquisse of Northampton high chamberleine under the maidenhead a hundred. The earle of Westmoreland lord priue seale under the goate a hundred. The earle of Warwicke maister of the kings horses under the white lion fiftie. The earle of Huntingdon under his banner fiftie. The earle of Rutland under the peacocke fiftie. The earle of Penbroke under the greene dragon fiftie. The lord Darcie under the madens bodie fiftie. The lord Cobham under the Saracens head, fiftie. The lord Clinton lord admerall under the anchor, fiftie. The lord warden of the five ports, under the rose in the sunne beames, one hundred.

Not long after the death of the said duke of Summerfet and his complices, it chanced the reuerend father in God maister doctor Wolcie then bishop of London, to preach before the kings maiestie at Westminster. In the which sermon he made a fruitfull and godlie exhortation to the rich, to be mercifull vnto the poze, and also to monie such as were in authoritie, to traueil by some charitable waie & means, to comfort and relieue them. Whereupon the kings maiestie being a prince of such towardnesse and vertue for his yeares, as England before neuer brought forth, and the same also being so well retained and brought up in all godlie knowledge, as well by his dere uncle the late protector, as also by his vertuous and learned schoolmaisters, was so careful of the good gouernement of the realme, and chiefe to be and prefer such things as most speciallie touched the honoz of almighty God. And understanding that a great number of poze people did swarme in this realme, and chiefe in the cite of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did suddenie and of himselfe send to the said bishop as soon as his sermon was ended, willing him not to depart, vntill that he had spoken with him (and this that I now write was the verie report of the said bishop Wolcie) who according to the kings commandement gaue his attendance. And so sone as the kings maiestie was at leasure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him in a great gallerie at Westminster, where (to his knowlege) and the king also told him so, there was present no mo persons than they two, and therefore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which (as it seemed) were before the coming of the bishop there purpose set, & caused the bishop (maugre his teeth) to be couered, and then entered communication with him in this sort.

First giuing him most hartie thanks for his sermon and god exhortation, he therein rehearsed such speciall things as he had noted, and that so manie, that the bishop said; Trulie, trulie for that was com- monlie his oth I could neuer haue thought that excellencie to haue bene in his grace, that I beheld and saw in him. At the last, the kings maiestie much commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the poze. But my lord (saith he) ye willed such as are in authoritie to be carefull therof, and to deuise some good order for their reliefe, wherein I thinke you meane me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make answere vnto God for my negligence, if I should not be carefull therein, knowing it to be the expresse commandement of almighty God, to haue compassion of his poze and needy members, for whome we must make an account vnto him. And trulie my lord, I am before all things most willing to traueil that waie, and I

Rich. Curtis
Dorcas
before the
king, maister
and chamberlain

The dinner
port of bishop
Wolcie, when
in the way he
saw that some
followed him
his sermon.
Ergo the hearing
of the
word preached
is precious
bile.

A most noble
and vertuous
saying of king
Edward the
bishop Wolcie.

"doubt nothing of your long and approued wisdom
"and learning, who hauing such good zeale as wissheth
"helpe vnto them, but that also you haue had some
"conference with others, what waies are best to be ta-
"ken therein, the which I am desirous to vnderstand,
"and therefore I prae you saie your mind.

The citizens
of London
came to be
admitted in
the hospital
of St. Thomas.

The bishop thinking least of that matter, and be-
ing amazed to heare the wisdom and earnest zeale
of the king, was (as he said himselfe) so astonied, that
he could not well tell what to saie: but after some
pause, said that as he thought at this present for some
entrance to be had, it were good to practise with the
citie of London, because the number of the poore
there are verie great, & the citizens are manie & also
wise: and he doubted not but they were also both pi-
tiffull & mercifull, as the maior & his brethren, & other
the worshipfull of the said citie. And that if it would
please the kings maiestie to direct his gracious let-
ter vnto the maior of London, willing him to call
vnto him such assistants as he should thinke meet, to
consult of this matter, for some order to be taken
therein, he doubted not but god should follow there-
of. And he himselfe promised the king to be one him-
selfe that should earnestlie trauell therein.

The king forthwith not onelie granted his letter,
but made the bishop tarie vntill the same was writ-
ten, and his hand and signet set therevnto, and com-
manded the bishop not onelie to deliuer the said let-
ter himselfe, but also to signifie vnto the maior, that
it was the kings speciall request and expresse com-
mandement, that the maior should therein trauell,
and as sone as he might conuenientlie glue him
knowledge how farr he had proceeded therein. The
bishop was so iolous of the hauing of this letter,
and that he had now an occasion to trauell in that
god matter, wherein he was marvellous zealous,
that nothing could moze haue pleased and delighted
him: wherefore the same night he came to the maior
of London, who then was sir Richard Dobs knight,
and deliuered the kings letter, and shewed his mes-
sage with effect.

The maior
of London
was so
pleased
with the
good deed,

The maior not onelie iolouslie receiued this let-
ter, but with all speed agreed to set forward this mat-
ter, for he also fauoured it verie much. And the next
daie being mondaie, he desired the bishop of London
to dine with him: and against that time, the maior
promised that he would send for such men, as he
thought meetest to talke of this matter, and so he did.
And sent first for two aldermen and six commoners,
and afterward were appointed moze, to the number
of foure and twentie. And in the end after sundrie
meetings (for by meane of the god diligence of the
bishop it was well followed) they agreed vpon a
booke that they had deuised, wherein first they con-
sidered of nine speciall kinds and sorts of poore people,
and those same they brought in these three degrees:

These of
the

These degrees of
poore.

1 The poore by
impotencie are
also diuided in-
to three kinds,
that is to saie:

3 The thirde
poore are three
kinds in like
wise, that is to
saie:

The poore by
impotencie.
Poore by casualtie.
The fatherlesse poore.

- 1 The fatherlesse poore mans
child.
- 2 The aged, blind, and lame.
- 3 The diseased person, by le-
prosie, dropsie, &c.
- 4 The wounded souldier.
- 5 The decayed householder.
- 6 The visited with grievous
disease.
- 7 The riotor that consumeth
all.
- 8 The vagabond that will a-
bide in no place.
- 9 The idle person, as the
strumpet and others.

For these sorts of poore were provided thre severall
houses, first for the innocent and fatherlesse, which
is the beggers child, and is in deed the seed and bre-
der of beggerie, they provided the house that was
late Graie friers in London, and now is called Chri-
sties hospitall, where the poore children are trained in
the knowledge of God, and some vertuous exercise
to the ouerthrowe of beggerie. For the second de-
gree is provided the hospitall of saint Thomas in
Southwoke, & saint Bartholomew in west Smith-
field, where are continuallie at least two hundred
diseased persons, which are not onelie there lodged
and cured, but also fed and nourished. For the third
degree they provided Bridewell, where the vaga-
bond and idle strumpet is chastised and compelled to
labour, to the ouerthrowe of the vicious life of idleness.
They provided also for the honest decayed householder,
that he should be relieved at home at his house, and
in the parish where he dwelled by a weekelie reliefe
and pension. And in like manner they provided for
the lazer to keepe him out of the citie from clapping
of dishes, and ringing of bells, to the great trouble of
the citizens, and also to the dangerous infection of
manie, that they should be relieved at home at their
houses with severall pensions.

Charles hos-
pitall.

St Thomas
hospitall.

Bridewell.

Reliefe for the
decayed houses
holder and
lazer.

Now after this god order taken, and the citizens
by such meanes as were deuised, willing to further
the same, the report thereof was made vnto the kings
maiestie: and his grace for the aduancement here-
of, was not onelie willing to grant such as should be
the ouersers and gonerors of the said houses a cor-
poration and authoritie for the gouernement there-
of: but also required that he might be accounted as
the chiefe founder and patrone thereof. And for the
furtherance of the said worke, and continuall main-
tenance of the same, he of his mere mercie and good-
nesse granted, that where before certeine lands were
giuen to the maintenance of the house of the Sa-
uioie, founded by king Henrie the seventh, for the lod-
ging of pilgrims and strangers, and that the same
was now made but a lodging of loiterers, vaga-
bonds, and strumpets that laie all daie in the fields,
and at night were harboured there, the which was
rather the maintenance of beggerie, than the reliefe
of the poore, gaue the same lands, being first surren-
dred into his hands by the maister and fellows
there (which lands were of the yearelie value of six
hundred pounds) vnto the citie of London, for the
maintenance of the foundation aforesaid.

It Edward
the sixt found-
der of the hos-
pitals in L. 6.
don.

And for a further reliefe, a petition being made
to the kings maiestie for a licence to take in mort-
maine, or otherwise without licence, lands to a cer-
teine yearelie value, and a space left in the patent for
his grace to put in what summe it would please him;
he looking on the void place, called for pen and inke,
and with his owne hand wrote this summe, in these
words (foure thousand marks by yeare) and then said
in the hearing of his counsell: Lord God I yeld the
most hartie thanks, that thou hast giuen mee life thus
long, to finish this worke to the glorie of thy name.
After which foundation established, he liued not a
bone two daies, whose life would haue bene wished
equall to the patriarchs, if it might haue pleased God
so to haue protracted the same. But he was too good
a prince for so bad a people, and therefore God re-
moued him, and translated him to his owne king-
dome, foresaieing the euent of something which in his
secret counsell he had purposed, against a nation
that knew not the benefit of the acceptable time of
grace: wherein God by this paterlesse princes
means ment all god to this land, as might be gathe-
red by the reformation of religion, wherein the kings
care was exceeding great, as his desire to establish
Gods glorie was zealous: according to that notable
allusion

A blessed
king.

*Alluso ad ety-
pon nominis
Eaduerdi.*

allusion of Iohn Leland recorded in praise of this
most excellent prince, as followeth in this epigram:

*Quisquis Eaduerdum Romano expresserat ore,
Custodem fidei dixit esse sacra.
Huc ego crediderim puero feliciter orto
A superis nomen calitis esse datum.
Est pater antiqua fidei defensor amicus,
Degener & nullo tempore natus erit.*

Sir William
Chester.
John Cal-
throp draper.

But to returne where we left. By example of the
charitable act of this vertuous young king, sir Will-
iam Chester knight and alderman of London, and
John Calthrop citizen and draper of the said citie,
at their owne proper costs and charges made the
bicke walles and way on the backside that leadeth
from the said new hospitall, vnto the hospitall of
saint Bartholomewes, and also couered and bau-
ted the towne ditch from Alderigate to Fleetgate,
which before was verie noisome and contagious to
the said hospitall.

Richard Cas-
tell thowmaker.

This hospitall being thus erected and put in good
order, there was one Richard Castell *alias* Casteller,
thowmaker, dwelling in Westminster, a man of
great trauell and labor in his facultie with his owne
hands, and such a one as was named the cocke of
Westminster, for that both winter and summer he
was at his worke before foure of the clocke in the
morning. This man thus trulie and painfullie labour-
ing for his lining, God blessed and increased his
labours so abundantly, that he purchased lands and
tenements in Westminster, to the yearelie value of
fourtie and foure pounds. And hauing no child, with the
consent of his wife (who furnished him, & was a ver-
tuous & good woman) gaue the same lands whole to
Christs hospitall aforesaid, to the reliefe of the inno-
cent and fatherlesse children, and for the succor of the
miserable, foure and sicke, harbored in the other hospi-
tals about London, whose example God grant ma-
nie to followe.

I. Stow. 1053.
Monster.

The third of August, at Wilsenton eleuen miles
from Oxford, a woman brought forth a child which
had two perfect bodies from the nauill vpyward, and
were so ioined together at the nauill, that when they
were laid in length, the one head & bodie was east-
ward, and the other west: the legs for both the bo-
dies grew out at the midd where the bodies ioined,
and had but one issue for the excrements of both bo-
dies: they liued eightene daies, and were women
children. The eight of August were taken at Quin-
borow three great fishes called dolphins: & the weke
following at Blackewall were six more taken, and
brought to London, the least of them was more
than anie horse.]

Great fishes,

Sebastian
Sabato.

Such about this season there were thre no-
table ships set forth and furnished for the great
adventure of the vnknowne voyage into the east by
the north seas. The great doer and encourager of
which voyage was Sebastian Sabato an English-
man, bozne at Bilsow, but was the sonne of a Ge-
nowaite. These ships at the last arrived in the coun-
trie of Moscouita, not without great losse and dan-
ger, and namelie of their capteine, who was a woo-
thy and aduenturous gentleman, called sir Hugh
Willoughbie knight, who being tossed and driuen by
tempest, was at the last found in his ship frozen
to death and all his people. But now the said voyage
and trade is greatlie advanced, and the merchants
aduenturing that waie, are nowlie by act of parle-
ment incorporated and indued with sundrie priuile-
ges and liberties.

Three maria-
ges betwene
great estates.

About the beginning of the month of Maie next
following, there were thre notable mariages con-
cluded, & thortle after solemnized at Durham place.
The first was betwene the lord Wilford Dumbleie, the
fourth sonne of the duke of Northumberland, and the

ladie Jane, eldest daughter to Henrie duke of Suff-
olke, & the ladie Francis his wife, was the daugh-
ter of Marie second siller to king Henrie the eight,
first married to Lewis the French king, and after to
Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke. The second ma-
riage was betwene the lord Herbert, son and heire to
William earle of Penbroke, and the ladie Katha-
rine, second daughter of the said ladie Francis, by
the said Henrie duke of Suffolke. And the thir was
betwene Henrie lord Hastings, sonne and heire to
Francis earle of Huntington, and ladie Katharine
youngest daughter to the forenamed duke of North-
umberland.

These mariages were compassed & concluded chief-
lie vpon purpose to change & alter the order of succe-
ssion to the crowne, made in the time of king Henrie
the eight, from the said kings daughters, Marie and
Elizabeth, and to conuie the same immediatlie af-
ter the death of king Edward to the house of Suff-
olke, in the right of the said ladie Francis: wherein
the said young king was an earnest traouler in the
time of his sicknesse, & all for feare that if his siller
Marie, being next heire to the crowne, should suc-
ceed, that she would subuert all his lawes and sta-
tutes made concerning religion, whereof he was
most carefull: for the continuance whereof he sought
to establish a meet order of succession, by the aliance
of great houses by waie of marriage, which neuer-
thelesse were of no force to serue his purpose. For
tending to the disheriting of the rightfull heirs, they
proued nothing prosperous to the parties: for two of
them were soon after made frustrate, the one by
death, the other by diuorfe.

In the meane while, the king became euerie daie
more sicke than other of a consumption in his lungs,
so as there was no hope of his recouerie. Where-
vpon those that then bare chiefe authoritie in coun-
cell, with other prelates and nobles of the realme, cal-
led to them diuerse notable persons, learned as well
in diuinitie as in the lawes of the land, namelie bi-
shops, iudges, & other, who fell to consultation vpon
this so weightie cause, and lastly concluded vpon the
deuise of king Edwards will, to declare the said la-
die Jane, eldest nece to king Henrie the eight, and
wife to the said lord Wilford, to be rightfull heire in
succession to the crowne of England, without re-
spect had to the statute made in the five and thirtieth
yeare of king Henrie the eight: the true meaning of
which statute they did impugn and ouerthrow by di-
uerse subtill sinister constructions of the same, to dis-
herit the said kings daughters, to whom the suc-
cession of the crowne of England of right appertei-
ned, as well by the common lawes of this realme, as
also by the said statute made in the said five and thi-
rty yeare of king Henrie, as aforesaid. To which
new order of succession, all the said kings counsell,
with manie bishops, lords, doctors and iudges of the
realme subscribed their names, without refusal of
anie, except sir James Hales knight, one of the iu-
stices of the common pleas, who being called to this
counsell, would in no wise giue his assent, either by
word or writing, as ye shall heare more in the hys-
torie of queene Marie.

Now when these matters were thus concluded,
and after confirmed by a number of hands, as aforesaid,
then the noble prince king Edward the first, by
long lingering sicknesse and consumption of his
lungs aforesaid, approached to his death, and departed
out of this life the first daie of Julie, in the seuenth
yeare of his reigne, and seuententh of his age, after
he had reigned and noblie gouerned this realme six
yeares, five moneths, and eight daies. And a little be-
fore his departing, lifting vp his eyes to God, he
prayed as followeth.

The crowne
disherited
the king
in marriage
tended.

The kings
feare fell out
to be true.

The kings
sicknesse
increased.

An euill mi-
ned consi-
deration of causes
cellings.

Sir James
Hales the
ob man.

The death of
king Edward
the first.

The

The praier of king Edward the
first at his death.

LORD GOD, deliuer me out of this
miserable and wretched life, take
me among thy chosen: howbeit
not my will, but thy will be done.
Lord I commit my spirit to thee, oh Lord
thou knowest how happie it were for me
to be with thee: yet for thy choleus sake if
it be thy will, send me life and helth, that I
maie trulie serue thee. Oh my Lord blesse
thy people, and saue thine inheritance.
Oh Lord God, saue thy chosen people of
England. Oh my Lord God defend this
realme from papistrie, and mainteine thy
true religion, that I and my people maie
praise thy holie name. And therewithall he
said, I am faint, Lord haue mercie vpon
me, and take my spirit.

Thus vnto this good yong king paied vp to God
his ghost the first daie of Iulie (as before is mentio-
ned) whome if it had pleased God to haue spared with
longer life, not unlike it was, but he should haue so
gouerned this English common-wealth, that he
might haue bene comparable with any of his noble
progenitors: so that the losse of so towardlie a yong
king, greatlie discomforted the whole English na-
tion, that looked for such a reformation in the state of
the common-wealth at his hands, as was to be wi-
thed for of all good subiects: which bred such a liking in
them toward him, that euen among verie traitorous
rebels his name yet was had in reuerence, although
otherwise they neuer so much forgot their dutie both
towards him and other, appointed to gouerne vnder
him, through a malicious and most wilfull error; as
if his tender yeares had not sufficientlie warranted
his roiall authoritie, but that the same had bene v-
surped by others against his will and pleasure.

And as he was interlie beloued of his subiects,
so with the like affection of kindnes he loued them a-
gaine, of nature and disposition meeke, much inclined
to clemencie, euer hauing a regard to the sparing of
life. There wanted in him no promptnes of wit, gra-
uitie of sentence, ripenesse of iudgement, as his age
might beare, fauour and loue of religion was in him
from his childehood, his skill and knowledge in scien-
ces, besides his other excellent vertues, were such,
that to them he seemed rather borne than brought vp.
It maie seeme verie strange, that in his yong yeares
(as maister Fox reporteth of him) he could tell and
recite all the poets, hauens, and crakes, not with-
in his owne realme onelie, but also in Scotland, and
likewise in France, what comming in there was,
how the tide serued in euerie of them; moreover,
what burthen, and what wind serued for the com-
ming into each haue: also of all his iustices, magi-
strates, & gentlemen that bare any authoritie within
his realme, he knew their names, their houskeeping,
their religion and conuersation what it was. He had
a singular respect to iustice, a vertue most commen-
dable in a prince, and chieflie to the dispatch of poore
mens lites. He perfectly vnderstood the Latine
tong, the French, the Graeke, Italian, and Spanishe,
neither was he ignorant (saith Cardanus) in Lo-
gike, in the principles of naturall philosophie, or in
musicke.

To conclude, his towardlinesse was such in all
heroicall vertues, noble gifts, and markable quali-
ties convenient for his princelie estate, that so much
was hoped for in his roiall person (if he had liued till
full might haue bene had of the poore) as was to
be wished for in any one prince that euer had rule

ouer this noble realme. ¶ The eight of Iulie, the lord
maior of London was sent for to the court, then at
Orerwich, and to bring with him sheribermen, as
manie merchants of the Staple, and as manie mer-
chant aduenturers, vnto whom by the counsell was
secretlie declared the death of king Edward, & also
whom he had ordeined to the succession of the crowne
by his letters patents, to the which they were sworn,
and charged to keepe it secret. ¶ But now to proceed
with the doings that followed. Immediately after
the death of this so worthie a prince king Edward,
the aforesaid ladie Jane was proclaimed queene of
this realme by the found of trumpet, that is to saie,
the ninth daie of Iulie, at which proclamation were
present the lords of the counsell, the maior of Lon-
don, with others.

¶ The eleauenth of Iulie, Gilbert Pot, dialuer to
Pirion Sanders blintener, dwelling at S. Johns
head within Ludgate, who was accused by the said
Sanders his maister, was set vpon the pillorie in
Cheape, with both his eares nailed, and cleane cut
off, for words speaking at time of the proclamation
of ladie Jane. At the which execution was a trumpet
blowne, and a herald read his offense, in presence of
one of the shiriffes, &c. About five of the clocke the
same daie in the afternone, Pirion Sanders, ma-
ster to the said Gilbert Pot, and John Owen a gun-
ner, comming from the towler of London, by water
in a wherrye, and passing London bysidge, towards
the blacke friers, were drowned at saint Maries
Locke, and the wherryemen saued by their oyes.

The ladie Marie, a little before lieng at Honeidon
in Hartfordshire, hauing intelligence of the state of
the king hir brother, and of the secret practise against
hir: by the aduise of hir friends, with all speed toke
hir iourneie toward hir house of Kenninghall in Sou-
thfolke, intending there to remaine, untill she could
make hir selfe more strong of hir friends and allies,
and to call vnto the lords of the counsell in
forme as followeth.

A letter of the ladie Marie sent to the
lords of the counsell, wherein she claimeth the
croune now after the decease of hir
brother king Edward.

MY lords we greet you well, and haue re-
ceiued sure aduertisement, that our
dearest brother the king our late souer-
aigne lord is departed to Gods mer-
cie: which newes, how they be wofull
to our heart, he onelie knoweth, to whose will and
pleasure we must and doe humble submit vs, and all
our wils. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to
wit, now after his maiesties departure and death,
concerning the crowne & gouernance of this realme
of England, with the title of France, and all things
thereto belonging that hath bene prouided by act of
parlement, and the testament and last will of our
dearest father, besides other circumstances aduan-
cing our right: you know, the realme, and the whole
world knoweth, the rolles and records appeare by the
authoritie of the king our said father, and the king
our said brother, and the subiects of this realme, so that
we verelie trust that there is no true subiect that is,
can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of
our part we haue our selues caused, and as God shall
aid and strength vs, shall cause our right and title in
this behalfe to be published and proclaimed accor-
dinglie. And albeit this so weightie a matter seemeth
strange, that the dieng of our said brother vpon
thursdaie at night last past, we hitherto had no
knowledge from you thereof: yet we consider your
wise domes and prudence to be such, that hauing
estimates amongst you debated, pondered, and well

I. Stow. 1584.
Is. Edward's
death opened.

Ladie Jane
proclaimed
queene.

I. Stow. 1589.
Gilbert Pot
punished in
Cheape.

Open brow-
ned at Lon-
don bridge.

The ladie
Maries chail-
enge to the
croune by
right of suc-
cession.

Excommu-
nication of king
Edward.

Maister Fox
the 1584
Summours
Marthe title
Edward
title.

Excommu-
nication of
king Edward
by Comons
the 1584

She certifieth the lords that she knoweth what is intended against hir.

She chargeth the lords w^{ch} on their loialties to cause hir right to the regement to be proclaimed.

The lords aduertise the ladie Marie that the ladie Jane is quene.

A subtilt shift to proue the ladie Marie illegitimate.

weighed this present case with our estate, with your owne estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceiue great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loialtie and seruice, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye yet will like noblemen to be the best.ouertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations to vnder the p^{ro}visions made for our p^{re}ferment, no^r of the great bands and p^{ro}visions for cible, whereunto ye be assembled and prepared, by whome, and to what end, God and you know, and nature can feare some euill. But be it that some consideration politike, or whatsoeuer thing else hath moued you thereto, yet doubt you not my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right readie to remit and fullie pardon the same, with that frellie to escheu bloudshed & vengeance against all those that can or will intend the same, trusting also assuredlie you will take and accept this grace and vertue in good part, as apertly neth, and that we shall not be inforced to vse this sentence of other our true subiects and frends, which in this our iust and rightfull case. God (in whome our whole affiance is) shall send vs. Wherefore my lords, we require you, and charge you, and euerie of you, that euerie of you of your allegiance which you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for our honour, and the suretie of our realme, onelic imploie your selues and forthwith vpon receit hereof cause our right and title to the crowne and government of this realme, to be proclaimed in our cite of London, and such other places as to your wisdoms shall seme good, and as to this case apertly neth, not failing hereof, as our verie trust is in you: and thus our letter signed with our owne hand shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalfe. Given vnder our Signet at our manor of Weningall the ninth of Julie 1553.

To this letter of the ladie Marie, the lords of the counsell answered againe as followeth.

MAdam, we haue receiued your letters the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you iudge your selfe to haue to the imperiall crowne of this realme, and all the dominions thereto belonging. For answer wherof, this is to aduertise you, that forsomuch as our soueraigne ladie quene Jane is, after the death of our soueraigne lord Edward the first, a prince of most noble memorie, inuested and possessed with the iust and right title of the imperiall crowne of this realme, not onelic by god order of old ancient god lawes of this realme; but also by our late soueraigne lords letters patents, signed with his owne hand, and sealed with the great seale of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, iudges, with diuers other graue and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must therefore, as of most bound dutie and allegiance, assent vnto hir said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithfull subiects cannot) fall into gracious and vnspokeable enormities. Wherefore we can no lesse do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you also, to aduertise you, that forsomuch as the diuor^{se} made betwene the king of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, and the ladie Katharine your mother, was necessarie to be had, both by the euertlasting lawes of God, and also by the ecclesiasticall lawes, and by the most part of the noble and learned vniuersities of christendome, and confirmed also by the sundrie acts of parlements, remaining yet in their force, and thereby you iustlie made illegitimate, and vnder heritable to the crowne imperiall of

this realme; and the ruler, dominions, and possessions of the same: you will vpon iust consideration hereof, and of diuers other causes lawfull to be alleged for the same, and for the iust inheritance of the right line, and goodlie orders taken by the late king Edward the first, and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease, by any pretense to vex and molest any of our soueraigne ladie quene Jane hir subiects, from the true faith and allegiance due vnto hir grace, assuring you, that if you will for respect theto your selfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you shall find vs all, and seuerall, readie to do you any seruice that we with dutie may, and to be glad of your quietnesse, to preserve the common state of this realme, where in you may be otherwise gracious vnto vs, to your selfe, and to them. And thus we bid you most hartlie well to fare. From the towne of London this ninth of Julie.

Your ladieships freends shewing your selfe an obedient subiect,

Thomas Cantuarburie, the marquisse of Winchester, John Bedford, William Northampton, Thomas Cle Chancellor, John Northumberland, Henrie Suffolke, Henrie Arundell, Francis Shrewsburie, William Penbroke, Cobham, R. Rich, Huntington, Darcie, Cheineie, R. Cotton, John Gates, William Peter, William Cecil, John Cheke, John Spalton, Edward Poole, Robert Botwys.

All these aforesaid, except onelic the duke of Northumberland, and Sir John Gates, were either by speciall fauour, or speciall or generall pardon, discharged for this offense against hir committed, after hir comming to be quene. But now vpon the receit of this answer, vnderstanding by hir frends that she could not lie in suretie at Weningall, being a place open & easie to be approached, she remoued from thence vnto hir castell of Fremingham, standing in a wood countrie, & not so easie to be invaded by hir enemies. So sone as the counsell heard of hir sudden departure, and considering that all came not to passe as they supposed; they caused speiallie a pow^{er} of men to be gathered together. And first they agreed that the duke of Suffolke father to the new made quene, should haue the conduct and leading of the armie.

But afterward it was deuised and decreed vpon further considerations, and by the speciall means of the ladie Jane his daughter, who taking the matter heauilie, with weeping teares, made request to the whole counsell, that hir father might tarrie at home in hir companie. Where vpon the counsell perswaded with the duke of Northumberland, to take that voiage vpon him, saying, that no man was so fit therfore: because that he had atchued the victorie in Suffolke once already, and was therefore so feared, that none durst once lift by their weapon against him: besides that, he was the best man of warre in the realme, as well for the ordering of his camps and souldiers, both in battell and in their tents, as also by experience, knowledge and wisdom; he could both animate his armie with lustie persuasions, and also pacifie and allate his enemies pride with his stout courage, or else to dissuade them (if need were) from their enterprisse. Finally, said they, this is the short and the long, the quene will in no wise grant, that hir father shall take it vpon him: wherefore (quoth they) we thinke it good, if it may please your grace, it lieth in you to remedie the matter. With these & the like persuasions the duke was allured to put himselfe desperatlie vpon hazard:

Non morte horrenda non vllis tenitus armis.

Insomuch that he retained vpon their talke, and said: Well then, sith ye thinke it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelitie to the quenes maiestie.

Table of the remouing of the king to Fremingham castle.

Ab. Fl. et L. 1659.

The counsell perswade the duke to undertake this enterprisse.

maistrie, which now I leaue in your custodie. So that night he sent for both lordes, knights, and other that should go with him, and caused all things to be prepared accordingly. Then went the counsell in to the ladie Jane, and told hir of their conclusion, who humbly thanked the duke for reseruing hir father at home, and beseeched him to vse his diligence: where to he answered, that he would do what in him laie. The morrow following, great preparation was made, the duke earlie in the morning called for his owne harnesse, and saw it made readie at Durham place, where he appointed all his retinue to meet. The same daie carts were laden with munition and artillerie, and field peeces were set forward.

The same forenoon the duke moued offshores the counsell to send their powers after him, as it was before determined, the same to meet with him at Newmarket, and they promised they would. He said further to some of them: My lordes, I and these other noble personages, with the whole armie that now go forth, as well for the behalfe of you & yours, as for the establishing of the quenes highnesse, shall not onlie aduenture our bodies and liues amongst the bloodie strokes and cruell assaults of our aduersaries in the open fields: but also we do leaue the conseruation of our selues, childzen, and families at home here with you, as altogether committed to your truth and fidelities: whome, if we thought ye would through malice, conspiracie, or dissention leaue vs your friends in the bylers, and betraie vs; we could as well sundrie waies foresee and prouide for our owne safegards, as anie of you by betraieing vs can do for yours. But now upon the onelie trust and faithfulness of your honours, whereof we thinke our selues most assured, we do hazard our liues. Which trust and promise if ye shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion: yet shall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquite you of the sacred and holie oth of allegiance, made frielie by you to this vertuous ladie the quenes highnesse, who by your and our intilement is rather of force placed therein, than by hir owne seeking and request. Consider also, that Gods cause, which is the preferment of his word, & feare of papists entrance, hath bene (as ye haue here before alwaies said) the originall ground whereupon ye euen at the first motion granted your goodwills and consents thereunto, as by your handwritings appeareth; and thinke not the contrarie, but if ye meane deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter God will reuenge the same.

I can saie no more, but in this troublesome time wish you to vse constant hearts, abandoning all malice, enuie, and priuat affections. And therewithall the first courte for the lordes came vp, wherefore the duke shut vp his talks with these words. I haue not spoken to you in this sort upon anie mistrust I haue of your truths, of which alwaies I haue euer hitherto conceiued a trustie confidence, but I haue put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance so euer might grow amongst you in mine absence: and this I praeie you, with me not worthe god speed in this iourneie, than ye would haue to your selues. My lord, saith one of them, if ye mistrust anie of vs in this matter, your grace is farre deceiued, for which of vs can wash his hands cleane thereof? And if we should shrink from you as from one that were culpable, which of vs can excuse himselfe to be gilllesse? Therefore herein your doubt is too farre cast. I praeie God it be (quoth the duke) let vs go to dinner: and so they sat downe. After dinner the duke went in to the quene, where his commission was by that time sealed, for his lieutenantship of the armie, and then took his leaue of hir, and so did certaine other lordes also.

Then as the duke came through the counsell chamber, he took his leaue of the earle of Arundell, who praied God be with his grace, saieing he was sorie it was not his chance to go with him and beare him companie, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood euen at his feet. Then the earle of Arundell took Thomas Louell the dukes boie by the hand, and said: Farewell gentle Thomas with all my heart. Then the duke, with the lord marquisse of Northampton, the lord Greie, and diuerse other took their charge, and went to Durham place, and to White h. where that night they mustered their men: and the next daie in the morning the duke departed with the number of six hundred men, or thereabouts. And as they rode through Shordich, said the duke to the lord Greie: The people please to see vs, but not one saith God speed vs. The same daie sir John Gates and other went out after the duke.

Now as the duke went forward on his waie (with his commission from the whole counsell, and his warrant under the broad seale of England, without mistrust of that which after fortun'd to his owne destruction, as in the historie of quene Marie shall appeare, accompanied with no small number of lordes and gentlemen, hauing notwithstanding his times prescribed, and his iourneies appointed by the counsell, to the intent he would not seeme to do any thing but upon warrant) what a do there was, what stirring on euerie side, what sending, what riding and posting, what letters, messages, & instructions went to and fro, what talking among the souldiers, what hartburning among the people, what faile pretences outwardlie, inwardlie what priuie practises there were, what speeding and sending forth ordinance out of the towler, yea euen the same daie that quene Marie at euen was proclaimed quene, what rumors, and comming downe of souldiers as there was from all quarters, a world it was to see, and a procelle to declare, enough to make (as saith master Fox) a whole volume, euen as big as an Atlas.

The greatest helpe that made for the ladie Marie, was the short iourneies of the duke, which by commission were assigned vnto him before, as aboue is mentioned: and happilie not without the politike forecast of some in fauour of the ladie Marie: for the longer the duke lingered in his voiage, the ladie Marie the more increased in puissance, the hearts of the people being mightilie bent vnto hir. Whereupon the in the meane time remaining at Fremingham, and hearing of this preparation against hir, gathered together such power of the noblemen & other hir friends in that countrie, as she could get. And first of all, the noblemen that came vnto hir aid, were the earles of Suffolke, Bath, and Oxford, the lord Wentworth, sir Thomas Cornewallis, sir Henrie Teringham, sir William Malgraue, with diuerse other gentlemen and commons of the countie of Suffolke and Suffolke. Here (as master Fox noteth) the Suffolke men being the first that resorted to hir, promised hir their aid and helpe to the bittermost of their powers, so that she would not go about to alter the religion which hir brother had established, and was now vsed and exercised through the realme. To this condition they agreed, with such promise, as no man would haue doubted that anie inuocation of matters in religion should haue followed, by hir sufferance or procurement during hir reigne: but how soon she forgot that promise, it shall shortly after plainlie appeare.

In this meane season, the lord Windso, sir Edmund Beekham, sir Robert Darcie, and sir Edward Hastings, called the commoners of the shire of Buckingham; vnto whome sir John Williams, which afterward was lord Williams of Thame, sp in m m y. and

The earle of Arundell protesteth himselfe sorie that he goeth not with the duke of Northamptonberland.

Such a do on all sides during this time broched betwene the duke and the ladie Marie.

The old proverb becometh Delate breedeth danger.

Suffolke men the first that resorted to the ladie Marie.

Assistants to the ladie Marie.

and sir Leonard Chamberleine, with the cheefe power of Dorsetshire. And out of Northamptonshire came sir Thomas Tresham, and a great number of gentlemen out of diuerse parts, whose names were too long to rehearse. These capitaine with their companies being thus assembled in warlike manner, marched forward towards Dorsetshire to the aid of the ladie Marie, and the further they went, the more their power increased.

Abr. Fl. ex
LS pag. 1062.

And by word
and whether
for quene
Marie that
was bent
against hir.

About this time sir Shippes well manned, that were appointed to lie before Harmouth, and to haue taken the ladie Marie if she had fled that waie, were by force of weather driuen into the hauen, where one maister Jerningham was raising power on the ladie Maries behalfe, who hearing thereof, came thither. Whereupon the capitaine took a bote and went to the ships, but the sailers and souldiers asked maister Jerningham what he would haue, and whether he would haue their capitaine or no, and he said yea. Marie said they, ye shall haue them or we will throw them into the bottome of the sea. But the capitaine said forthwith, that they would serue quene Marie willingly, and so brought forth their men, and conueied with them their great ordinance. Of the coming of these ships the ladie Marie was wonderfull ioyous, and afterward doubted little the dukes puilliance: but when newes thereof was brought to the tower, each man there began to draw backward: and ouer that, word of a greater mischance was brought to the tower: that is to saie, that the noblemens tenants refused to serue their lords against quene Marie.

The duke of
Northumber-
land writeth
for more sac-
cour.

The duke thought long for his succors, and wrote somewhat sharpe to the counsell at the tower in that behalfe, as well for lacke of men as munition, but a slender answer had he againe. And from that time forward, certeine of the counsell, to wit, the erle of Penbroke, and sir Thomas Cheineie lord warren, and other, sought to get out of the tower to consult in London, but could not. On the sixteenth of Iulie, being sundae, doctor Kibleie bishop of London, by commandement of the counsell, preached at Pauls crosse, where he bechmentlie perswaded the people in the title of the ladie Jane, late proclaimed quene, and inuied earnestlie against the title of ladie Marie, &c. The same sixteenth of Iulie, the lord treasurer was gone out of the tower to his house in London at night, and forthwith about seauen of the clocke the gates of the tower vpon a sudden were shut vp, and the keyes borne vp to the ladie Jane, which was for feare of some packing in the lord treasurer: but he was fetched againe to the tower about twelue of the clocke in the night.

The lords of
the counsell
suspecting
that all would
go against
them, procla-
med the ladie
Marie quene.

The lords of the counsell, being in this meane while at London, after they vnderstood how the better part of the realme were inclined, and hearing euerie daie newes of great assemblies, began to suspect the sequell of this enterprise. So that providing for their owne suertie, without respect of the duke (who now was at Burie) they fell to a new counsell, and lastlie by assent made proclamation at London in the name of the ladie Marie, by the name of Marie quene of England, France, & Ireland, defender of the faith, & of the churches of England & Ireland

supreme head. Of which proclamation, after the duke of Northumberland, being then at Burie, was aduertised by letters of discomfirt from the counsell, he incontinentlie, according to the new order receiued from them, returned with his power againe to Cambridge. Now so sudden change of minds forthwith appeared in his armie, that they which before seemed most forward in that quarrell, began first to flie from him, so euerie man shifting for himselfe, he that late before was furnished of such multitude of souldiers, was suddenlie forsaken of all sauing a few, whose perills were ioined with his.

But now before I proceed anie further in the historie of quene Marie, who was now receiued and proclaimed quene, as then to succed hir brother, I will speake somewhat of the learned men that wrote & published anie pamphlets or treatises in his daies, as in deed there were manie: but for that the more part of them died in quene Maries time, or in the quenes maiesties time that now is, or else are yet liuing, I do omit those here, meaning to speake of them hereafter, if God shall permit, as occasion maie serue. For the residue that ended their liues in this kings daies, these I find: David Clapham a lawyer and well sene in the Latine tong, wrote sundrie treatises; Robert Calbot a prebendarie of Norwich, verie skillfull in antiquities; Edward Hall a counsellor in the common law, but excellentlie sene in histories, wrote a notable chronicle of the union of the two houses of Yorke & Lancaster.

Furthermore Richard Tracie of Lodington in Gloucestershire, an esquier, and verie well learned, sonne to William Tracie; doctor Joseph an excellent preacher; George Jole a Bedfordshire man, that wrote diuerse treatises concerning diuinitie, and died either in the last yeare of king Edward, or in the beginning of quene Maries reigne, as appeareth by master Bale; Alexander Barkleie a Scot, a notable poet, and a good rhetorician, departed this life in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and two; William Hugh a Northshireman, wrote besides other things, a notable treatise called the troubled mans medicine, he deceased by the burking of a beine, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine; Thomas Sternehole borne in Southampton, turned into English meter seven & thirtie psalmes chosen forth of Dauides psalter. Of strangers that liued and died here in this kings daies, excellentlie learned, and renowned for such treatises as they published to the world, Martine Bucer and Paulus Fagius are most famous. To end now with this part of the booke concerning king Edward, I haue thought good to set downe Ierom Cardans verses, written as an epitaph of him (and recored by master Fox in his historie) as here followeth:

*Elete nefas magnum, sed toto flebilis orbe
Mortales, vester corrui omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, & inuenum flos, spique bonorum,
Delicia seculi, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis, doctaque Minerva:
Flosculus heu misere concidit ante diem.
Te cumulo dabimus misera, supremæque stentis
Munera, Melpomene tristitia fata canet.*

Carmen epi-
graphice Caroli
in obitu regis
Edwardi.

Thus farre the good and vertuous yoong prince Edward the sixt, successor
to Henrie the eight of most famous memorie.